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MUNICIPAL LONDON,
AS SUB-DIVIDED INTO
FORTY DISTRICTS,
TOGETHER WITH
ESTIMATED POPULATION.
NOTE.
The Boundaries of the City are retained intact, and those of the rest of the districts are carried along Public Roads
HAMPSTEAD 80,000
KENTISH TOWN 80,000
HIGHBURY 80,000
STOKE NEWINGTON 80,000
HACKNEY 80,000
CLAPTON 80,000
CAMDEN TOWN 100,000
ISLINGTON 100,000
REGENTS PARK 100,000
MARY-LE-BONE 100,000
HOLBORN 100,000
PADDINGTON 100,000
PORTMAN 100,000
CITY
STRAND 100,000
WESTMINSTER 100,000
SHOREDITCH 100,000
BETHNAL GREEN 100,000
BOW 100,000
STEPNEY 100,000
WHITECHAPEL 100,000
POPLAR 90,000
LIMEHOUSE 100,000
SOUTHWARK 100,000
BERMONDSEY 100,000
ISLE OF DOGS
HAMMERSMITH 80,000
KENSINGTON 100,000
CHELSEA 100,000
KENNINGTON 100,000
NEWINGTON 100,000
WALWORTH
DEPTFORD 100,000
GREENWICH
WOOLWICH
FULHAM 80,000
LAMBETH 80,000
BRIXTON 80,000
CAMBERWELL 80,000
WANDSWORTH 80,000
STREATHAM 80,000
GREENWICH 80,000
WOOLWICH 80,000
Hampstead
Highgate
Crouch End
Willesden
Kilburn
Harlesden Green
Acton
East Acton
Notting Hill
Kensington
Kensington Gardens
Hyde Park
Chiswick
Barnes
Putney
Fulham
Battersea
Clapham
Wandsworth
Roehampton
Wimbledon
Wimbledon Common
Merton
Tooting
Balham
Streatham
Upper Norwood
South Norwood
Brixton
Stockwell
Peckham
Camberwell
Dulwich
Forest Hill
Sydenham
Lewisham
Catford Bridge
Lee
Eltham
Blackheath
Greenwich
Deptford
New Cross
Charlton
Shooters Hill
Crown Woods
Plumstead
Plumstead Marshes
North Woolwich
Victoria Docks
Blackwall
Bromley
Beckenham
Penge
Anerley
Norwood
Tooting Graveney
Tooting Common
Streatham Common
Clapham Common
Battersea Park
Kennington Oval
Waterloo Bridge
Westminster Bridge
Blackfriars Bridge
Southwark Bridge
London Bridge
Vauxhall Bridge
Chelsea Bridge
Albert Bridge
Battersea Bridge
Putney Bridge
Hammersmith Bridge
Kew Bridge
Richmond Bridge
Kew Gardens
Richmond Park
Barnes Common
Putney Common
Ravensbury Manor
Surrey Canal
Grand Surrey Canal
Regents Canal
Grand Junction Canal
Thames
River Lea
Ravensbourne
Effra
Wandle
Hogsmill
Ringsen
Beverley Brook
Lewisham & Bromley Road
Dover Road
Lee Road
Peckham Road
Camberwell Grove
Clapham Road
Brixton Road
Kennington Road
Vauxhall Road
Grosvenor Road
Millbank
Victoria Street
Oxford Street
Regent Street
Piccadilly
Strand
Fleet Street
Holborn
Theobalds Road
Gray's Inn Road
Pentonville Road
City Road
Old Street
Shoreditch
Bethnal Green Road
Mile End Road
Commercial Road
Whitechapel Road
Leman Street
Minories
Aldgate
Cannon Street
Queen Victoria Street
Upper Thames Street
Lower Thames Street
Tower Hill
Tower of London
St Katharine Docks
London Docks
Surrey Docks
Commercial Docks
Millwall Docks
Isle of Dogs
Rotherhithe
Deptford Creek
Greenwich Park
Blackheath
Shooters Hill
Crown Woods
Eltham
Lee
Lewisham
Catford Bridge
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Sydenham
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Beckenham
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Wimbledon
Wimbledon Common
Merton
Putney
Fulham
Barnes
Chiswick
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Hammersmith
Kensington
Notting Hill
Paddington
Marylebone
Regents Park
Hampstead
Highgate
Crouch End
Willesden
Kilburn
Harlesden Green
Stoke Newington
Hackney
Clapton
Homerton
Bow
Bromley
Poplar
Limehouse
Blackwall
Victoria Docks
North Woolwich
Plumstead
Plumstead Marshes
Woolwich
Charlton

MUNICIPAL LONDON;

OR,

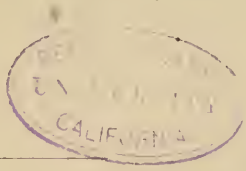
LONDON GOVERNMENT AS IT IS,

AND

LONDON UNDER A MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

BY

JOSEPH F. B. FIRTH, LL.B.



"The subdivision of London into independent districts, each with its separate arrangements for local business (several of them without unity of administration within themselves), prevents the possibility of consecutive or well-regulated co-operation for common objects; precludes any uniform principle for the discharge of local duties; compels the general Government to take things upon itself which would be best left to local authorities, if there were any whose authority extended to the entire Metropolis; and answers no purpose but to keep up the fantastical trappings of that union of modern jobbing and antiquated foppery—the Corporation of the City of London."

JOHN STUART MILL.

LONDON:

LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

1876.

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PREFACE.

In many of the essentials of a Capital, London stands at the head of the cities of the world. In the wealth, enterprise, science, skill, and number of her citizens, she has no rival. London is the centre from whence the destiny of more than two hundred millions of human beings is moulded by the hands of the Great Mother of free peoples. From within her borders are issued every day decrees affecting the most complex relations of mankind; and the elaborate network of communications which, through the electric telegraph, the Post-office, and the steam-ship, enwraps the globe in its embrace, is woven in the brain of this Great City. It is here that the human interests of the world are focussed; and it is here that there may be found—as Humboldt has it—"human development in its richest diversity."

Such being the position of London, it would be incredible—if it were not so palpably true—that this power of government receives no illustration from the capital itself. Although the ablest organizing minds of the age live in London, yet, the government of the Metropolis is utterly without system, regularity, or order. The

average citizen of London, whilst conscious of the existence of various taxing authorities, rarely knows either their origin, their powers, or even the names of the men who constitute them. If he does succeed in ascertaining the facts with respect to any one of the various bodies that rule him, and endeavours to procure its reform, he soon despairs of the task, being appalled by the magnitude and complexity of the work, and overcome by the strength of opposing interests.

The following pages have been written in order to clear the ground for reform, by delineating the exact character and power of every existing institution exercising or claiming to exercise Municipal or quasi-Municipal functions within the Metropolitan area. An endeavour has also been made to indicate the manner in which such authorities may be absorbed into a single Municipal system. The difficulty of collecting and collating the facts as to existing institutions, has in some cases, been very great, and in view of the enormous variety of matter that has been dealt with, it is not unlikely that errors will be found. But every effort has been made to render the narrative part of the work absolutely correct, and the Author has to return his grateful thanks to those, who, in various departments of London Administration, have rendered kind and valuable assistance, by the loan of books; the supply of information; or in the correction of proof-sheets. In the few cases in which it has been deemed necessary in the public interest to

animadvert strongly upon either institutions or individuals, the facts are, as a rule, given upon the authority of responsible men, prepared in case of necessity to justify what has been written.

In addition to the services thus rendered by workers in every department of the field of London Government, the Author has to express his deep obligation to Mr. James Beal, who may be justly regarded as the father of Municipal Reform in London. It is to his energy and patriotism that the present advanced condition of this question is mainly due, and if ever from existing chaos, there should come forth a London Municipal Government worthy of the name, it is to him that the thanks of the citizens should be given.

The Author has not travelled on exactly parallel lines to those laid down in a recent parliamentary measure prepared by Mr. Beal, and introduced by Lord Elcho, but the end and the means are practically the same. Without the aid of his unrivalled collection of current municipal literature —freely placed at the Author's service—the chapters on Gas and Water Supply could never have been written, whilst many of the details of the inner life of the Metropolitan Board, and of the London Vestries, have been supplied from his intimate knowledge of those institutions. Valuable aid has also been rendered by way of suggestion as to the constitution and functions of the Supreme Council and its Committees.

To the second part of the work are prefixed three chapters, containing a history of attempted Municipal Reform, and a discussion of the various schemes that have been proposed. These chapters will serve a useful purpose in illustrating the different methods by which the interested City Corporation has succeeded in shelving the question, and they will enable future Municipal Reformers to steer clear of the rocks on which former measures have been wrecked.

A system whereby the whole Metropolis may be governed by a Supreme Representative Council, is elaborated in the later chapters of the book. For this part of the work the Author claims only such credit as may be due to practical suggestions, based upon well-considered principles of Municipal Government.

It is impossible for any independent student of London Government as it is, to derive any substantial satisfaction from the investigation of its character, or to avoid forming some exceedingly strong opinions about it. Whilst there are some institutions, as for example, the London School Board, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and the Thames Conservancy Board, which merit much commendation, there are others that must excite very opposite sentiments.

Whatever may be our future condition — whether the London Vestries and the Metropolitan Board do or do not continue to extend over us the benefits of what by a figure of speech

is called their "rule"—it would seem to the ordinary intelligence impossible that the grave public scandal involved in the existence and proceedings of the present Corporation of the City (in which are of course included the Livery Companies) can be allowed much longer to continue.

But it is not to be forgotten that when Lord Brougham (himself a member of a Livery Company) delivered in 1843 in the House of Lords, his scathing denunciation of the City and its practices, he prophesied an early change, and yet thirty years have rolled away without that prophecy being fulfilled. Like many other people, Lord Brougham under-estimated the power of the City, and miscalculated the nature and extent of the influence that it was able to exert. The same mistake ought to be carefully avoided in the future, and it is satisfactory to know that those who have this reform at heart to-day are taking a juster measure of the difficulties in their path.

Various writers in the daily, weekly, and quarterly press* are bringing the facts of civic life to the surface, and gradually the public opinion of the Metropolis is being moulded and prepared for the impending struggle. *This book lays no claim to conclude the whole question.* But it sets out in terms some of the counts in that Great Indictment which, sooner or later, the people of London will prefer against their rulers.

* *Vide Edinburgh Review*, October 1875, and *Westminster Review*, January 1876.

If those rulers are innocent of the charges preferred against them, nothing will be easier than for them to demonstrate such innocence; but the day is now gone by when the public will rest satisfied with a simple denial, or will bate one jot of their just demands because they do not coincide with the interests of a dominant section. From all quarters, evidence is coming to hand which makes it clear that the impeached governing bodies have nothing to fear so much as the publication of the exact truth respecting them.*

Charges of the utmost gravity have been made against the Livery Companies of the City, and it behoves those members of these Companies, who are also members of the House of Commons—said to be about one-fourth of the whole House—to insist upon a full investigation at the hands of a Commission, if they have any reason to doubt their truth. It is announced that Mr. Gladstone has now joined the Turners' Company. This is one of the few Companies that appear to be at all carrying out the objects of their foundation.

There are those who believe that within the Corporation of the City there exist more malversations of public trust and misuse of public trust funds than elsewhere throughout the whole broad realm of England; and when the voice of the

* The Author would suggest to those who are anxious to assist in this patriotic work, that they put themselves in communication with the Hon. Secretary of the Municipal Association, 20, Regent Street, W.

people of London shall, in unmistakeable tone, demand the restitution of their rights, and the cession of that Municipal freedom which is granted to the smallest town in the Empire, there can be no doubt but that Parliament will hearken to their request.

If this book should, by one single day, advance the coming of that time, then the object with which it has been written will be amply satisfied.

South Kensington,
February 4th, 1876.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

MUNICIPAL LONDON.

Chapter I.

THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

City Charters: their origin, nature, provisions, and effect; their present validity and value.

The charters of the City of London form the basis of its constitution. They are the legal framework upon which rest the rights, privileges, franchises, and legal status of its citizens. Strangely enough these title deeds have never received an authorized interpretation. Their language is frequently archaic, conflicting, and of the vaguest possible character: they were generally granted by needy monarchs in consideration of money payments: they are intended to apply to a state of circumstances of which we have but a meagre conception, and to which we have no parallel; and yet they form the only fount whence a knowledge of the privileges and rights of the City can be derived.

From one point of view they may be said to be of equal validity and force with Acts of Parliament, inasmuch as by a statute of William and Mary, the rights, charters, liberties, franchises, and customs of the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens were re-granted to them, and the judgment in the *Quo Warranto* case set aside. But the statute gives no summary or definition of what these rights and franchises consist in, and so we are relegated back to the charters themselves.

It would be difficult to conceive a more hopeless task than that of endeavouring to evolve from these 120 documents any fair conception, or indeed any definite conception at all, of the rights and powers of the Corporations of London. Hitherto, the rulers of the City have never applied for a governing charter, and they have deftly eluded all alien attempts to impose one upon them. They prefer to rest their title upon prerogatives sanctioned by hoar antiquity; upon charters of undefinable extent; and upon customs ripened into law by long prescription, and when needful, certified as such, *ore tenus* by the mouth of the Recorder.

In this chapter we propose succinctly to set out such of the charters as have been of notable value and importance to the City, together with those which may be supposed to continue of any validity or force. We shall attempt to indicate how far one charter is modified or abrogated by a succeeding one, and in some measure to estimate the extent and character of the privileges and customs of the Corporation. In a subsequent chapter we shall consider how these charters, liberties, and franchises may be most fairly dealt with in the event of any alteration being made in the extent, jurisdiction, or character of the City of London.

We have no available record of any special franchises or privileges being possessed by London prior to the year 827, when Egbert the king of the West Saxons, after uniting the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy under his banner, chose it for his capital. Stow, the great historian of the City, and "that painfull Searcher into Reverend Antiquity" (as one of the editors of his Survey styles him), makes no such claim for her, and we may dismiss as finally exploded what Maitland terms "the infamous and iniquitous romances" of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who ascribed the foundation of the City to Brute the son of Æneas, and who

interposed no less than seventy kings of London between the death of Brute and the advent of Julius Cæsar.

There can, however, be little doubt that very soon after Egbert had fixed upon it for his capital, London began to be distinguished by special usages and customs. These were digested and published by Alfred the Great: they were afterwards reviewed and altered by Edgar, and finally remodelled and codified by Edward the Confessor. King Edward confirmed the usages and customs of London to the citizens *as law*, and specially preserved and confirmed the "privilege" of meeting in "hustings" every Monday, for the transaction of the business of the City.

A deputation left London in 1066 and went to offer the keys of the City to William Duke of Normandy. He accepted the offering, and promised the deputation to preserve inviolate the ancient rights of the City. Subsequently to his coronation he ratified this promise by what is regarded as the First of the City Charters. It is in these terms :—

"William the King greets William the Bishop and Godfrey the Portreeve and all the Burghers within London, French and English, friendly, and I make known to you that I will that ye be law-worthy as ye were in the days of King Edward. And I will that each child be his father's heir after his father's days. And I will not suffer that any man command you any wrong. God keep you."

Probably this first charter was the most important, so far as regarded its actual effect, that ever was granted to the City. Within a few years from its promulgation a change was introduced into the tenure of land in England, perhaps as radical and complete as ever took place in any country at any time. Whilst the Feudal System was gradually bringing within its grasp all the lands in the country, the citizens of London were permitted by virtue of

this charter to hold theirs in a manner scarcely less free than in the days of Edward the Confessor. The galling incidents of Aids, Relief, Wardship, Marriage, Livery, and so forth, which were incident to even the best form of feudal tenure,—to say nothing of villenage, which reduced men to a condition little better than *adscripti glebæ*,—were unknown in London. The citizens were in the proud position of tenants *in capite*, holding directly of the king with no intervening lord, and probably compounding for services by the payment of a sum of money into the king's exchequer. And their rights in these respects were never subsequently lost. Whilst the country at large during the centuries that followed was painfully struggling to free itself from the iron bands of the Feudal System, and the courts of law were devising fictions to circumvent it, London enjoyed free proprietary rights. It was not until the Restoration, six centuries later,* that England generally, obtained the privileges conceded to London by this charter. The right of Testamentary Disposition remained intact in London alone, and was unknown elsewhere in England for nearly five centuries.† So, too, the free right of transmitting property to a successor was to be found under the Norman kings in London alone.

The good old customs were preserved nearly intact: the privilege of electing their own Magistrates, the Portreeve, the Bishop, and the Ealdermen: the right of suing and being sued in their own Hustings Court: the right of trial by jury. These were the privileges at this time enjoyed by the capital city, and although they are now the common birthright of every Englishman, they were peculiar after the Norman Conquest to London alone. Her position was a most enviable one, enshrining as it did all the freedom and

* By the Stat. 12 Car. II., c. 24. † 32 Hy. VII., c. 1.

independence of the laws of Alfred the Great and Edward the Confessor, amid the bondage of an enslaved nation. Probably the citizens of London were at this time as independent and well governed a community as was to be found on the face of the globe. All the rights confirmed and preserved by the charter of William remain still intact, but the rest of the country is now fully abreast of them, and so, save in the election of its own judicial officers, there is no marked peculiarity remaining from this charter to London.

London suffered three times from fire in the 11th century, and each time came forth better built and better laid out. Henry the First, ascending the throne whilst his brother was still alive, endeavoured to strengthen his position by conciliating his Saxon subjects. To his capital city he granted a charter extending and confirming their franchises and rights. He grants to the citizens of London the Sheriffwick of Middlesex on payment of £300 yearly to him and his heirs. This right is still exercised, one of the two sheriffs elected every year being Sheriff of Middlesex and the other Sheriff of London. Probably the Sheriffwick of London was also granted, but if so, it would seem to have been lost in the succeeding reign. He also granted to the citizens the right of appointing their own Justiciar, and that none other shall be Justiciar over them: they were also privileged from being impleaded without the walls. Thus justice was always at their own doors, and they were relieved from following the *aula regis*. And the citizens have been very tenacious of the privilege; those pleading outside were disfranchised; freemen on taking out their freedom were compelled to swear not to do it; and City pleaders, upon their appointment, were sworn not to plead a foreign plea. The City pleaders are now a thing of the past; the freeman's oath was abolished in 1725; and this privilege, which was

of enormous advantage when justice was intermittent and ambulatory, is of no use in the present day, and so the custom has long since sunk into desuetude.

The citizens were also freed from "Scot" (not the ordinary citizen tax, but probably some royal exaction): and from Danegeld: from fines in case of undiscovered murderers: from having the king's servants and soldiers quartered on them: and from trial by battle. All these have long since passed away, the last of them being legislatively abolished in 1819.* Power was granted to creditors to attach the goods of those debtors who declined either to pay or to discharge themselves in London; probably one of the first beginnings of the custom of foreign attachment, which was long peculiar to the Mayor's Court, and which has done much to make it popular with suitors. The Court of Hustings met on the Monday in every week, the king undertaking to decide according to the laws of London.

The rights of the citizens were confirmed to them by Stephen; and when Matilda summoned the great Ecclesiastical Council to settle the crown, deputies from London were present and insisted that the king should be liberated from prison.

It was at this Council that the king's brother, answering, replied to these deputies "that they were almost accounted noblemen because of the greatness of their city, and it did not become them to condescend to take part with these barons who had basely forsaken their lord in battle, and who had treated the Holy Church with contumely." The reputation of the City was well founded, as Matilda herself found after her exactions had spurred the citizens to revolt, and when by their influence she was driven from the kingdom and Stephen reinstated on the throne.

In the reign of Henry the Second the prosperity of

* Consequent upon the case of Ashford *v.* Thornton, 1 B. & Ald. 405.

London was unchecked. London Bridge was rebuilt of stone, and a new wall with seven noble gates erected. The houses of ecclesiastics and of the chief nobility rose in every quarter of the City, and more than one hundred churches attested the liberality of the citizens. One charter only was granted by this king. It was mainly confirmatory of the privileges already obtained.

King Richard the First granted two charters to the City. One of these was confirmatory: the second, in 1197, provides for the removal of all obstructions and weirs on the river Thames. This charter does not expressly grant the Conservancy of the Thames, but it may be doubted whether it was not the first step towards that supremacy over the river which was subsequently asserted.

King John endeavoured by all means in his power to conciliate the citizens, hoping to profit by their support in case of any difficulties arising as to the succession. He granted them no less than five charters. The same privileges that were in the charter of Henry the Second are continued. The weirs and obstructions which had again appeared in the Thames and Medway are again removed. The shrievalty of London and of Middlesex are re-granted at the rent of £300. In 1215 a charter was granted which contains the first mention of a Mayor *eo nomine*, and the Barons of the King's City of London are empowered annually to elect a discreet man to this office. The Chamberlainship is reserved to the king. This officer was the Treasurer of the King within the City, and moneys received by him for forfeitures, estreats, tolls, and from other sources, were paid by him into the Royal Exchequer.

In the struggle which preceded the grant of Magna Charta the City sided with the barons, and when afterwards the king obtained from the Pope absolution from the oath he swore at Runnymede to the barons and to the people the

City of London at once rose in rebellion. They successfully maintained their position until the death of the king. They had invited over Louis, husband of Blanche, grand-daughter of Henry the Second; but after all the kingdom, save London, had recognised Henry the Third, Louis returned to France, having first obtained from the guardians of the young king an undertaking that they would confirm the rights and privileges of the city that had treated him so hospitably. Magna Charta declares that London shall preserve its customs and franchises (*antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines suas*), and being probably regarded by the citizens as specially beneficial to the City they were proportionately anxious to have it upheld.

During the reign of Henry the Third the City of London suffered much at the hands of the Crown. The nine charters granted by the king were so many new declarations of old but violated rights. Again and again the liberties of the City were taken away, and charter after charter, granted and confirmed privileges and rights supposed to be the inalienable possession of the citizens, but of which the "life passed in a series of perjuries,"—as Hallam says,—required the constant re-assertion. It is probably true that the citizens were rarely well-affected to the king, and their open advocacy of the cause of the barons would not incline him to leniency. The fifth charter is confirmatory of a sale of land at Queenhithe made by the king's brother to the Corporation, and the sixth is addressed for the first time to the "Mayor and Commonalty:" the seventh is to the "Mayor and citizens." The last of the charters granted in 1267 recites that the king had received the citizens into grace and favour after transgressions by which they had incurred forfeiture of life and limb. The "consideration for this gracious proceeding was twenty thousand marks."

London prospered under Edward the First, but she quarrelled more than once with her master, and in 1284 the king being offended at the haughty conduct of the Mayor and citizens deposed the chief magistrate for twelve years. The franchises and liberties of the City were only restored on payment of 20,000 marks. An Inspeximus Charter, quoting and setting out several of the charters of Henry the Third, and confirming them, was granted by the king.

In 1319 the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London agreed upon certain articles for the government of the City. These were submitted to Edward the Second, and being by him modified and altered, they were confirmed "to be perpetually observed in *the City and suburbs thereof*." There does not seem, judging from the conduct of the Corporation, to have been the smallest question as to the supreme prerogative of the Crown as to all matters dealt with in these articles. They provide for

The election of Mayor and Sheriffs according to old charters;

Mayoralty to be annual;

Aldermen amoveable from year to year by the full body of citizens;

Assessment of Tallages and Aids not to be arbitrarily increased by Mayor and Aldermen;

Aliens admitted to the freedom only at Court of Hustings;

English trader only by surety of six members of the Company of the same trade;

Persons who are not in scot and lot, and who do not partake in burdens of City, to lose their freedom;

Common Seal of the City to be in custody of two aldermen and two commoners;

Judgments in City Courts not to be delayed;

Weights and scales to be in custody of men elected by the *Communitas;*

Merchants not freemen forbidden to sell by retail in the City *and suburbs;*

Chamberlain, Town Clerk, and Common Serjeant to be elected by the *Communitas,* and amoved at will;

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Citizens, and *Communitas,* to have power to raise moneys by taxes in the City to carry out government of same: such taxes to be raiseable upon their own chattels, *upon the mysteries,* or in any other way;

and these are to be observed in the City and suburbs for the benefit of the persons inhabiting therein or resorting thereunto.

In 1322 a charter of the same king recognises the prescriptive right of the City to confine its citizens from serving under arms out of the City, or from being impressed for the Navy.

The first confirmatory charter of the reign of Edward the Third was granted in 1328, and was granted with the assent of the Parliament at Westminster, and in "consideration of the good service rendered to the king and his progenitors." The franchises of the citizens as set out in Magna Charta are confirmed to them, and many of the special privileges are set out at length. No attachment is to be made within the City except by officers of the City. No market shall be granted by the Crown to be held within seven miles of the City: the Mayor shall always be of the commission for the delivery of Newgate.

In 1336 an ordinance was made in Parliament at York, enacting that all persons, irrespective of their citizenship, might buy and sell wares and merchandize in all towns and cities notwithstanding any charter or statutes granted to

such place to the contrary. But the power of the City, whenever its profits were in danger, was felt then as it has often been felt since, and we find two years later a charter by which London was excused from this excellent law. The ground alleged for the exception is that Magna Charta, in the sentence, "*Quod civitas Lond. habeat omnes libertates suas antiquas et liberas consuetudines suas illæsas,*" provided for the continuance of the custom of exclusion in London, and that it was not the intention of Parliament in any way to repeal Magna Charta. In 1342 the king granted another confirmatory charter, and further, that if any customs within the City should be defective, the Mayor and Aldermen, with the consent of the *Communitas*, should have power to ordain such remedy as might be consonant with reason and good faith: hence would seem to have arisen the right of alteration of constitution or internal City legislation possessed by the Corporation.

During the reign of this king the position of the capital city was well maintained, and upon one occasion four sovereigns — those of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus,—partook with the Black Prince of the almost regal hospitality of Henry Picard, the first Mayor to whom the prefix of "Lord" was given. The citizens and their rulers seem to have made plentiful use of the power of petition. They petitioned Parliament for a grant (or, in fact, a re-grant) of the town of Southwark, on the pretence that it was the resort of malefactors and thieves from the City, and that City officers could not meddle with them in that asylum. This was granted.* They petitioned that their Serjeants-at-Mace might carry maces of gold or silver gilt, as did the King's Serjeants-at-Arms, and not as hitherto of copper, and here, too, their supplication was successful,† and they seem to have been constantly presenting

* 1 Edw. III. † 38 Edw. III.

petitions against "strangers" being allowed to settle and to deal in the City, contrary to the ancient franchises of the City, whereby, as they allege *inter alia*, "the navy was impoverished and the secrets of the realm disclosed"! In the last year of the king's reign, these petitions seem to have been acted upon, and the king with the assent of Parliament, grants to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, that in future, no stranger should be permitted to act as broker, to keep hostel, or to sell by retail within the City.

Richard the Second began his reign with the usual confirmatory charter, including, upon the express prayer of the citizens, the penalties of forfeiture of merchandize on non-freemen trading in the City. Subsequently, in 7 Ric. II., another confirmatory charter was granted. In this reign the dagger was added to the City arms, in honour of the slaying of Wat Tyler, by the Chief Magistrate, and the wealth of the citizens was illustrated by the armament of one thousand men, fitted out by Sir John Philpot, to rid the north-eastern coast from Scotch privateers. The king, however, imposed many exactions upon the City. London gave a warm welcome to Henry the Fourth. It also supplied him with a contingent of men, and enabled him to defeat the Duke of Surrey and those conspiring with him to reinstate Richard. In the first year of his reign the king granted the City a full confirmatory charter exemplifying and confirming many of the preceding charters, including Magna Charta itself. A second charter dealt with the vexed question of foreigners trading within the City. This reign marked material progress in the City; the Guildhall was built; the streets paved and first lighted with lamps; conduit pipes were also laid down to supply the City with water from Highbury and Paddington.

Henry the Fifth and Henry the Sixth granted confirmatory charters. Under a charter of the latter king the

Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen who have passed the chair, are to be Justices of the Peace within the City. Fines imposed in the courts of justice, treasure trove, waifs, goods of felons, and all waste grounds within the City, are also granted to the citizens and their successors. The rights of package, carriage, and porterage of the goods of aliens are also confirmed. This charter was supposed to be invalidated in consequence of a resumption by the king, in 1448, of all rights granted by letters patent during his reign.

The allegiance of the City seems to have been more constant to the House of York than to that of Lancaster, and the efficient service they rendered to Edward the Fourth did not pass unrewarded. We accordingly find this king granting no less than four important charters to the City. The old charters are confirmed, and many of the former grants specifically re-granted, as that the Mayor and Aldermen past the chair should be Justices of the Peace, and it is further provided that they shall be Judges of Oyer and Terminer within the City. Southwark, mentioned in many charters, is granted with rights as full "as if the same were in the king's own hands." The grant is to the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens. In the third charter of this king, it is provided that for the consideration there set out the City should have the liberty to purchase in mortmain, lands and tenements to the value of 200 marks per annum, the Statutes of Mortmain notwithstanding. It is provided further that officers appointed for collection of the various customs due to the king, should be under the control of the City, thus preventing royal extortion on citizens. The sum of £1,923 9*s.* 8*d.* seems to have been paid for the right to purchase lands in mortmain. And £7,000, part of a larger sum due to the City by the king, was released as the consideration for the fourth charter granted in 1478. This charter granted, or re-granted, the package, carriage, and

portage of merchandize in London, and also the right of appointing the coroner for the City, a privilege which seems at that time to have belonged to the Chief Butler of England.

Henry the Seventh granted only one charter to the City, and for it they were compelled to pay a large sum of money. No new rights were granted by it, but a re-grant of certain rights of survey, of the office of gauger, and of the rights of forfeiture in case of goods or merchandize sold between non-freemen, or "foreigners"—as they were called—within the City. It also grants in specific terms to the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens, the government of all men within the mysteries.

The jealousy against foreign intruders, which is stamped upon the petitions of the citizens through so many reigns, seems to have led to serious riots in the following reign, and in 1515 many of the houses of foreigners within the City were pillaged, and much property destroyed. Henry the Eighth severely reprimanded the Mayor and Aldermen, but ultimately most of the culprits were reprieved, the rules of exclusion became more stringent than ever, and in 1526 we find the Common Council prohibiting the import of wood by foreigners, and in the following year a decree was passed, that citizens trading in the goods of foreigners should be disfranchised. Two charters were granted by the king, and the control of the City over all weights and measures confirmed. An effectual stand was made in 1525 against a Royal Benevolence, but beyond this the City took little part in political action. The wealth of the citizens largely increased under the rigorous system of excluding every foreign trader: most of the citizens lived within the walls, and the appearance of the City improved. Moorfields was drained, and the principal streets were paved. The suppression of the monasteries brought with it many changes, as it is estimated that two-thirds of the City area was in ecclesiastical hands. St.

Bartholomew's developed into a hospital, and the monastery of the Grey Friars into a school.

Edward the Sixth granted a charter in 1550, giving the Lordship and Manor and the King's Manor of Southwark, and re-granting the forfeitures in the same, and also granting the right of appointing coroners in Southwark, and the cognizance of pleas, and in other ways assimilating the borough to the City, apparently with the intention of finally uniting the two into one body. The civil jurisdiction of the City was complete. Aldermen past the Chair, and the Lord Mayor, were the Justices of the Peace, and the Ward of Bridge Without, with a representative Alderman, was constituted. These rights seem intact, although the union of the two was never completed. The High Steward and High Bailiff* of Southwark are both officers of the City.

The action of the City in Edward's reign was one of the main causes of the downfall of Somerset, and in the reign of Mary, the stand taken by the City against the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt was probably the cause of its non-success. These may be taken as indications of the powerful position filled by the City. Both Queen Mary and her successor granted confirmatory charters, and Elizabeth received essential assistance from the City in the time of the Spanish Armada, when London fitted out and maintained at its own expense 10,000 men, and thirty vessels. A large sum was paid by the City to Queen Mary for her assistance in prohibiting the exportation of goods by foreigners in London, and in Elizabeth's reign, the dangerous riots against traders led to the establishment for a time of martial law in the City.

In view of this state of things, it is somewhat disedifying to find James writing to the Lord Mayor from Holyrood before his coronation; "London, the chamber of my imperial crown, has ever been free from all shadows of tumults

* This officer fulfils the duties of Sheriff.

and unlawful courses." James the First was very anxious to conciliate the good will of the citizens, and during his reign the king and capital were on fairly good terms: the obstinacy of the latter in the matter of loans being the main point of disagreement. He granted the Mayor, Citizens, and Commonalty three charters. Their "prescriptive rights" to the conservancy of the Medway, and of the Thames from Staines Bridge in the west to Yenfleet in the east, and their control of the banks, shores, and wharves, were recited and confirmed. The metage of coal, grain, salt, and fruit, in which they had been "hindered," was confirmed. The second charter is mainly confirmatory, but it specifically alludes to rights of search and survey in articles coming to the Port of London, and specifies certain districts which shall be within the jurisdiction of the City. All these districts are within the present City boundaries. They were, in all probability, the sites of suppressed monasteries, and places where the City jurisdiction was matter of doubt. The third charter deals with the weighing and metage of coal. The corn and coal metage long remained in the hands of the Corporation.

In 1638, Charles the First granted a confirmatory charter. It recites and sets out nearly all the charters and patents granted to the Corporation from William the Conqueror downwards, and they are all confirmed and restored. The title of the City to waste and reclaimed lands is confirmed. Much of the title to the present house property, standing on the site of the City walls, and old waste ground, seems to rest on this charter. The right to hold fairs and markets in West Smithfield is confirmed. The possession of Moorfields for the public use is confirmed; but by virtue of an Act of Parliament, in 1812, this public playground was covered with houses. Many of the specific privileges of the City are also set out and re-granted. The widows of freemen are entitled to carry on as widows, their husbands' trades in the City.

And the old provision that no market shall be granted, erected, or allowed by the Crown, "*infra septem leucas in circuitu civitatis*" is specially re-granted. Right is also given to purchase and build upon five acres in the parish of St. Giles, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain.

A general Inspeximus Charter was granted in 1641. The City had been grudging in the supplies granted to Charles. When he applied for a loan of £100,000, to aid him in his projected war against France and Spain, the City refused to aid him, but were ultimately compelled to furnish twenty ships. In 1634, to the claim for ship money, the Common Council, relying on the City charters, returned no satisfactory answer; but by dint of confiscation, and of the imprisonment of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and four Aldermen, the City was brought to terms. The king had also, in consequence of a riot, threatened the withdrawal of all the City charters. But London struck a notable blow for liberty during this stormy reign, when the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Common Councillors, and leading Citizens presented a petition to the king for the redress of grievances under which the people suffered: grievances, as they believed, contrary to the law of England, and for the summoning of a Parliament. The grievances of ship money, monopolies, imprisonment of citizens, constant dismissal of Parliaments, acts of the Star Chamber, &c., were duly set out and enlarged upon. The king promised to summon a Parliament, and forthwith the City presented a petition setting out twenty-eight different grievances under which they suffered, and petitioned the House of Lords for the impeachment of Strafford.

The credit due to the City for this public-spirited course is by no means her due in all the acts of this period of her history. She early deserted the cause of the king, and subscribed £10,000 a week to the support of the Parliamentary forces. But so far as exactions went, she found her new allies more ex-

acting than her legal sovereign. No charters were granted to the City during the period of the Commonwealth; but the welcome accorded to the Protector in 1654 was certainly not less effusive than that given to sovereigns of royal line.

The allegiance of London was easily changed, and she blazed with illuminations to welcome Charles the Second. From Breda he had written a special letter full of good promises, and soon after his arrival we find him confirming the grant of the Ulster Estates. In 1663 he granted to the City the last of its general charters. It is a most comprehensive document, and recites and sets forth nearly all the previous charters granted to the City, and in the fullest possible manner confirms them. This Inspeximus Charter of Charles the Second is by some regarded as the most valuable of the City charters. But in the later years of the king's reign, when the minds of the citizens were alienated by that hatred of Popery, and of the Duke of York, which was fast becoming common to the whole kingdom, the "privileges and rights" built and buttressed up in so many charters and royal grants were first encroached on, and then forfeited. The encroachment began with the arrogation by the Crown of the appointment of Sheriff, whereby the justice of verdicts was no longer ensured by impartially-summoned jurymen. This was followed by the forfeiture of the rights of the City in the famous "*Quo Warranto*" case. The grounds of forfeiture alleged were the presentation of a seditious petition by the Common Council, and the establishment of certain tolls on the rebuilding of the markets after the fire, "whereby they had not only scandalized the King's Government, but had oppressed their fellow subjects." The very charge seems to have been in opposition to the terms of several of the charters, that the customs and rights should continue, whether "rightly used or abused," or even "not used at all." However, either the City really believed they were in error, or were cowardly and time-serving,

or else they knew and recognized that their charters were purely dependent upon the will of the sovereign; for at no long time subsequent we find them on their knees before the king at Windsor, both confessing their faults and acknowledging the justice of their sentence. There was, however, no re-grant of their charters, and during the remainder of this reign the subjection of London, and other towns in similar case, was complete.

James the Second began his reign with a prosecution of Alderman Cornish for treason. This citizen was executed for an offence of which he was afterwards proven to be innocent: the victim of the king's pique against a supporter of the Exclusion Bill. James made no attempt to conciliate the citizens of his capital until news of the invitation sent to William of Orange impelled him to offer them a re-grant of the forfeited charters. But disaffection had gone too far, and negotiations were already entered into with William of Orange. A loan of £200,000 was guaranteed; one citizen contributing £60,000.

The first Parliament of William and Mary amply repaid the City for the trouble that they had undergone. The 2 William and Mary, Sess. 1, c. 8, declares that the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London should for ever remain a body corporate and politic: that they should enjoy all the rights, charters, liberties, franchises, customs, prescriptions, markets, tolls, &c., that they enjoyed before the "*Quo Warranto*" judgment, and pretended forfeiture: the proceedings on the said judgment were declared illegal and arbitrary: and all the acts of Charles and James, prejudicial to the interests of the City, null and void. The effect of this statute appears to be to relegate the City to the possession of the same rights as it enjoyed under the great Inspeximus Charter of Charles the Second, with the additional sanction of Parliament,—and so far as respects the rights and privileges

of the City, this is the statute upon which they now rest. Two minor charters in 4 William and Mary, and 15 George II., affecting the magistracy in the City, and extending the same to all Aldermen, are the only subsequent charters granted. They in no way modify the statute of 2 William and Mary. As that statute does not set out in terms the rights and privileges re-granted, or—to speak more strictly—declared never to have been taken away, we have to derive a conception of their present effect from a number of documents.

The Report of the Commissioners of 1854* well illustrates and defines the position:—"The City of London has no governing charter, in which respect it differs from many of the English Corporations. It is true that the great Inspeximus Charter of Charles the Second recites and includes almost all the former ones, but it gives no explanation of them. It collects them, but does nothing towards their interpretation. There is no authoritative exposition of the multifarious rights and privileges, many of which are said to be founded on the language of these charters. Hence arises much uncertainty as to the meaning of the charters themselves. A document of the simplest and shortest kind may be put forward as the legal basis of rights the most various and important: and the apparently simple and obvious meaning of a charter may be controlled by usages affecting its import. There are likewise difficulties inherent in the documents themselves, which render it desirable that the whole subject should be put upon a clearer and more satisfactory footing. The brevity of the ancient charters, the antiquity of the language in which they are couched, and the vagueness resulting from the use of concise and general expressions, make it often a hard matter accurately to define their meaning. They refer often to a state of things which

* "Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Corporation of London," p. 15.

has wholly passed away, and their language has to be explained often through the doubtful meaning of antiquarian research. It is also often uncertain what charters, and what portions of charters, are actually in force; how far a subsequent charter repeals or interferes with the provisions of a former charter: a question depending upon the intentions of those who gave and received the charter many centuries ago, and obviously full of doubt and obscurity. There is also the further question as to the alteration effected in the authority of customs and charters of the City, by general Acts of Parliament, in which the City is not specially named. The customs of the City having been solemnly confirmed by Act of Parliament, have themselves the force of an Act of Parliament, and we have been told in evidence, by witnesses peculiarly conversant with the subject, that the highest legal authorities are divided as to the effect of general Acts of Parliament within the City, when they conflict with the City customs and do not repeal them by express enactment."

Probably, this is as exact an exposition of the anomalous position in which the City stands, as to its privileges, as could well be given. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that whilst the City is constant in its assertion and enforcement of its privileges—upon which it puts its own construction—it is equally reticent of producing its title to them. A standing order of the Common Council provides that no officer of the Court may show the books or records of the Corporation without leave, to any one not a member of the Corporation; and when any of their claims are put in issue, they resist the discovery of their charters and authorities to the last.* Under the circumstances, perhaps, it is the wisest

* See evidence of Mr. Delafield quoted in "Report of Commissioners on Corporation," pp. 70-74. The case here alluded to, of "*The Corporation of London v. Combe & Co.*," raised the question of the right to the metage and portage of corn landed on the banks of the Thames, anywhere between Staines and Yantlet Creek in Kent. The answers

policy for the City to pursue, as it is quite possible that a clear examination of their charters might lessen their privileges seriously.

The difficulties which existed in 1854 exist still, there is the same doubt as to the construction of the charters, the same reluctance in producing them: the same enforcement of very doubtful rights, and the same difficulty for citizens in ascertaining how far the claims are justifiable. The proper method of dealing with these multifarious and complex charters would appear to be to repeal them all, and to grant to a new Municipality an Incorporating or Governing Charter, in which should be embodied such of the privileges and rights as it may be desirable to conserve. The "customs" of the City, if preserved at all, would also be embodied in the same instrument.

Lord Coke, nearly three hundred years ago, wrote: "to treat of the great and notable franchises, liberties, and customs of the City of London, would require a volume in itself," and their number has been largely added to since his day. The preceding summary contains nearly all of much importance, and certainly all that have any practical bearing upon the present government of the City.

of the City to a Bill of discovery of documents, were twice excepted to, and when an order was made for production, it was appealed to the Lord Chancellor, and then to the House of Lords. Fortunately, in this case, the defendants were men of capital and they were successful. When the Corporation found that the production of original muniments of title was needful, *they withdrew from the claim.* We may add that the compulsory metage of grain was commuted under the provisions of the Act 35 & 36 Vict., c. 100 (see chapter on City Receipts and Expenditure, *infra*). In like manner the difficulties as to the chartered rights of Package, Scavage, Baillage, and Porterage, were removed by the purchase of these rights by the Exchequer in 1835. The sum paid was £162,000, being more than thirty years' purchase.

Chapter II.

THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

The origin of the Corporation.—The present Constitution of the Corporation.—The Lord Mayor: history, duty, and powers of his office.—The Aldermen: their history and functions.—The Court of Aldermen: its work.—The Common Councillors: their origin, election, &c.—The Court of Common Council: its work.

The earliest period at which anything at all analogous to a Corporation can be said to have existed in London, was during the reign of Richard the First. We may take a Town Corporation to be a body of persons with perpetual succession; a mayoralty; a common seal; and an established and continuous body of officers: and tried by this test we cannot regard London as a Corporation till a date subsequent to this reign. Probably, the whole body of citizens united in some manner amongst themselves for the payment of general imposts including the large sums paid for the early charters. These charters were, with the exception of the charter of William the First, addressed to the "citizens of London," or the "men of London." The first mention of the word "Mayor," as applied to the Governor or Portreeve, was in the time of Richard the First. The City was divided into various bodies, for different purposes; but the "ward," as we understand the term, had not come into existence, and, probably, the City was not finally divided into wards before the reign of Edward the First. There is no record of a Common Seal before Henry the Third, and without a Common Seal no community could well exercise

and pursue the rights accruing to them as owners. The earliest time to which the possession of landed property in the Corporation can be traced, is 1235. In this year, Walter de Bruin, a farrier, bequeathed the land known as "the Forge," in St. Clement's Lane, to the City, to hold by the same service as he rendered to the Crown, from whom he had purchased it.* In 1377 there is another record of the City dealing in its corporate capacity with land, and, probably, it had exercised a jurisdiction over public lands, and waste, long before this. We have already noted the charter of Henry the Third confirming the sale of certain lands at Queenhithe to the Corporation.†

In the time of Henry the Third, the meeting of the citizens was still in the Folkmote at Paul's Cross, and the Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Magistrates regularly attended there. The form of City government, as we now know it, was not complete till the reign of Richard the Second, but in Edward the First's reign, the "aldermanries," "sokes," and other territorial divisions of the City seem to have disappeared, and thenceforward the divisions were known as "wards." The word was not unknown in City history before this reign, but probably this was the first division made of districts for purposes of City government.

In the reign of Edward the Second, a remarkable change was made in what may be called the "constituency" of the City. Up to this time, inhabitation in the City, and frankpledge, seem to have been the basis of all Municipal privileges. It was so, probably, under the Conqueror, and it was declared by the citizens to the Justices in Eyre, in 1229, "*Sciendum autem etiam quod*

* This service is six horseshoes and sixty-one nails, which was a very probable service for a farrier. The same are rendered every year by the City to the Queen's Remembrancer; formerly they were paid into the Exchequer.

† *Vide* chap. i., p. 8, *supra*.

major et cives dicunt quod nullus potest esse in civitate ut civis et ut maneat in civitate et legem civitatis habeat, ultra tres noctes nisi inveniat duos plegios et sic est in franco plegio." But by an ordinance agreed upon by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, and ratified by the king, a great change was effected. We have dealt with the provisions of this ordinance more at length in the chapter on City Charters. The provision affecting our present purpose is, that no person should be admitted to Municipal rights, or the freedom of the City, unless he were a member of some trade or mystery. Thus the residential basis of freedom was changed for the mercantile. An able writer on the City franchises, says:—"This revolution appears, in a political point of view, the greatest inroad upon the genuine principles of the English Constitution which has ever been made."* By the 49 Edw. III., all City officers were to be elected by the Livery Companies or their nominees; but in 1384 this provision, so far as it regarded the election of Common Councillors, was nullified, and each "ward" sent four members to the general legislative City Assembly. The election of the other City officers remained upon the footing established in 1376 until one century later,† when the election of corporate officers, and Members of Parliament, was extended to the body of liverymen of the various Companies associated with the Common Council. This was the first time that the freedom of a Company conferred the franchise. Some of the Companies had enjoyed it in a certain delegated way, with a power of selection amongst their nominees, vested in the Mayor; but in 1475 the electoral power of the members of the Companies was complete.

* *Vide* Norton's "Commentaries on the City of London," 3rd ed., Longmans, 1869, p. 103.

† 15 Edw. IV.

In 1725 an Act of Parliament was passed* whereby all freemen paying scot and lot, and £10 a year rent, should be the electors for Aldermen and Common Councillors. By an Act passed in 1849,† the right of voting was given to every sole occupier of the value of £10, and joint occupiers of the same relative amount, and by 30 Vict., c. 1., passed in 1867, it was enacted that it should no longer be essential that these electors should be free of the City. The electoral body being now assimilated to that for Members of Parliament, includes the Household and Lodger franchise. But these alterations apply only to the election of Aldermen and Common Councillors. The Livery Companies are still the only members of the governing body, known as the Common Hall, and they were confirmed in their privileges by the Act of 1725. The Common Hall has in its hands the election of various City officers, including the Mayor, the Chamberlain, the Bridge Masters, and the Auditors of the City accounts.

The Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867 regulate the electoral body voting for Members of Parliament. The former restricted the Liveryman suffrage by confining it to liverymen who were also free by birth or servitude, and who resided within twenty-five miles of the City, and conferred it on £10 householders generally. The latter Act added the Household and Lodger franchise.

The *Lord Mayor* of London is the head of the Corporation. He is the modern representative of the Port-gerefa or Portreeve, who under the Norman kings presided at the Folkmote and the great Hustings Court, and was the chief magistrate of the City. In the time of Richard the First the title of this chief officer was changed to Mayor, as would appear from cotemporary City records. In the fourth

* 11 Geo. I., c. 18. † 12 & 13 Vict., c. 94.

charter of John, allusion is made to the "Mayor and citizens," and in the fifth charter of the same king it is declared that the king "has granted and confirmed to the 'barons' of London the right of choosing a Mayor every year, and at the end of the year of amoving him and substituting another if they will, or electing the same again. He is to be presented to the king or his justice in his absence, and is to swear to be faithful to the king."* The word "barons" in this charter was probably co-extensive in its meaning with citizens paying scot and lot, and at this time, therefore, the constituency was a large one.

The election of Mayor gave rise to serious riots in the reign of Edward the First, by reason of which the king appointed a *custos* over the City. The broad constituency indicated by the charter of John had narrowed down till the election of chief magistrate rested in the hands of selected members of each ward. The selection was made by the Mayor himself, and in 1298 we find this officer elected by the Aldermen and certain Commoners summoned from each ward. The method of selecting electors produced serious evils in the reign of Edward the Second, the same man being selected year after year; and accordingly in 1347, by the ordinance convening members of each ward for deliberative purposes, it is provided that a certain number, according to its size, should be selected by each ward annually to meet and elect the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and other officers. It does not, however, seem that the whole of the persons so elected by the citizens formed the elective body, but a number selected from them by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. And this body, more-

* In 1253, by virtue of the seventh charter of Henry the Third, the custom arose of presenting the Mayor before the Barons of the Exchequer at Westminster, to be sworn in when the king was absent, and of being presented to the monarch on his return to the capital. The presentation is now made in the first instance to the Lord Chancellor, who signifies the royal assent, and the oath of office is afterwards taken before the barons at Westminster.

over, would seem to have differed from the men selected for the deliberative Common Council. Great objection was taken to the power of selection as exercised, and at an assembly of the citizens in 1376 it was enacted that in future the members elected should be the same both for electoral and deliberative purposes, and that instead of being elected by the wards, they should be nominated by the Trading Companies. At this time, therefore, the Lord Mayor became chosen by the nominees of the London Trading Guilds. It would appear that it was in this reign that he first assumed the title of "Lord."

In 1384 the arrangement as to elections was again changed by the citizens; and the body to whom was deputed the oversight of general corporate affairs was once more chosen by the wards; but the Lord Mayor continued to be elected by certain men summoned by him from the nominees of the Trading Companies for the purpose, down to 1467, when it was provided that the election of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs should be in the Common Council aided by the Master and Wardens of each Trading Company. In 1475 the whole of the liverymen of the Trading Companies were admitted to this franchise. They exercised it in Common Hall, and it was only subject to the limitation that they must be freemen of the City. And from this date, for 250 years, down to 1725,* the election of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and some of the other corporate officers, was conducted by the liverymen of the Companies, assisted by the Common Council. In this year a statute was passed to regulate the elections in the City, and it is therein declared that every person before he is admitted to poll for the Mayor and certain other officers shall take oath or affirmation that he is a freeman of London, and a liveryman of a Company. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain,

* 11 Geo. I., c. 18.

and some other officers of the Corporation, are still elected by those who are freemen of the City, and on the livery of a Company. It is not needful that these electors should live or have any interest of any kind within the City.

The Lord Mayor is elected from the Aldermen who have served as Sheriff. Of the twenty-six Aldermen now in office sixteen have passed the chair, and each of those who has not passed the chair, with one exception, has filled the office of Sheriff. The method of election consists in the nomination of two persons by liverymen who are free of the City, and, secondly, of the selection from the nominated two of one to fill the office. The day of election has been the 29th of September for some 300 years. Early in the month the Lord Mayor issues a precept to the Masters and Wardens of the Livery Companies, summoning the liverymen to attend the Guildhall for purposes of election. The Recorder explains to the assembly so brought together the object of the meeting. The Aldermen, Lord Mayor, and Recorder retire, or are supposed to do so, and the Sheriffs and Common Serjeant remain. This latter functionary is the spokesman of the Common Hall. The Common Crier reads over the names of all the Aldermen below the chair who have filled the office of Sheriff. Any Alderman above the chair may then be proposed by two of the electors. A show of hands is taken for each of those so proposed, and for the Aldermen who have not passed the chair. The Sheriff declares the names of the two Aldermen having a majority, and in case of dispute a poll is taken. The result is announced to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen by the Common Serjeant. The Aldermen and the Mayor, with the Recorder, are supposed to be then assembled, and after the Common Serjeant has made his announcement, the Aldermen beginning with the one last elected, and ending with the Mayor, vote for one or other of the two nominees of the Common Hall. The nominees may vote for themselves,

and the Lord Mayor has a casting vote. The quorum of Aldermen for this purpose is thirteen. The Recorder then declares upon whom the choice has fallen. The person elected then accepts or declines the office. The Recorder returns to the Common Hall, and announces to the liverymen the result. Almost invariably the two persons selected by the Common Hall are the two senior Aldermen who have not passed the chair, and so the senior one of the two is generally the elect of the Aldermen. Practically, the Common Hall can force any candidate upon the Aldermen. The person elected must, in default of good excuse, pay a fine of £1,000; but no person who has served once can be compelled to serve again.

The Lord Mayor elect is presented to the Lord Chancellor in lieu of the king, and on the 8th of November he is sworn in before the remaining Aldermen and the Lord Mayor. He is then presented to the Judges at Westminster. If he die during his year of office, another Mayor, frequently the senior Alderman, is elected and sworn in. The Lord Mayor may appoint a *locum tenens* from amongst the Aldermen who have passed the chair.

The Lord Mayor of London is Lord Lieutenant within the City. He is Chief Butler at the Coronation. He has certain duties which he is expected to perform towards the Government of the day, kings, princes, or other distinguished foreigners visiting the country, and more or less towards other corporations. He represents the City on great occasions, and is expected to exercise a dignified hospitality befitting his high position.

He is the chief depository of the privileges, and assertor of the rights of the City. Thus, in strict law, he was the Meter of coal, salt, and fruit; the Clerk of the Markets, and the Gauger of wine and oil. He was also formerly the Conservator of the Thames and Admiral of the Port, but

many of these offices are lessened in importance or abolished, and most of them can be performed by deputy.

He is a Justice of Oyer and Terminer, and a Justice of the Peace for the City. He is *ex-officio* chairman of the Court of Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, and the Court of Common Hall.

He is provided with officers suitable to his position; with a mansion house; with the user of some £40,000 worth of gold and silver plate; with a regal coach; and with £10,000 per annum as a contribution to the expense of his year of office.

The word "*Ealderman*" was applied by the Anglo-Saxons to people in command; sometimes to those in command of a province, appointed and removeable by the king, and subsequently to those exercising minor jurisdictions. After the Conquest, the territorial divisions known as "sokes," or "gilds," were presided over by Aldermen: distinct mention of this is made in the reign of Henry the Second. In the time of Edward the First the district, so ruled, began to be called a "ward," and seems to have included a court leet exercising certain criminal jurisdiction.* At first the Aldermen were elected by the inhabitants of the soke, but in *temp.* Hy. III. the office became hereditary. Subsequently, this was changed, and, under Edward the Second, they were amoveable yearly by the *Communitas;* but Edward the Third, by an order in Council, made

* The importance attached throughout all England to this office, may be surmised from the language of Stow– "This name of true dignity declareth the most eminent degree of magistracy, and it doth extend through all England in cities, towns, and corporations, in which, sometimes, the Alderman is sole and chief. Even so in the chief city of the land; in London, the Metropolis of Great Britain; the mother of authentic memory; the ancient and eke the modern seat of her royalty, yea, the very chamber royal of majesty; the open haven of merchandize; the storehouse of commerce; the safe asylum of peace and plenty."

them irremoveable without cause, and this was confirmed by the 17 Ric. II., c. 11, in 1394, and so remains to the present day. Aldermen, therefore, hold office for life.* The senior Alderman now living was elected in 1842.

After various changes, the present electoral body, by whom the Aldermen in each ward are elected, is the same as that by whom Common Councillors are chosen. It was regulated by the 11 Geo. I., c. 18, and extended by the 12 & 13 Vict., c. 94, and the 30 Vict., c. 1, the last of which Acts takes away the freeman qualification and confers the franchise upon all who are entitled to vote for Members of Parliament. The qualifications of electors for Aldermen are now three, viz.—(1) The sole occupation of a building of £10 annual value, or a joint occupation representing a proportionate value; (2) Household suffrage where rates are paid; (3) Lodger franchise where the lodging is of the value of £10 per annum or upwards. An eminent authority on City franchises,† schedules the qualifications as above, and an examination of the Acts seems to justify his conclusions; but the clauses of the 30 Vict., c. 1, are somewhat inconsistent, and we are informed that it is construed as extending the franchise to those only who are separately rated, and that much consequent dissatisfaction exists in the City. Such a construction of the statutes is, however, as we think, wrong.

The present method of election is as follows: ‡—Within fourteen days from the happening of a vacancy in the body of Aldermen, the Lord Mayor issues a precept to the Common Councillors summoning a wardmote, in the vacated ward, for the election of a successor. This summons is

* It would, however, appear that pledges to vacate the post in case of insolvency have been exacted from candidates.—*Vide Evidence of C. Pearson, Esq., before the Commissioners of* 1854. *Ans.* 8477.

† Norton's "Commentaries," 3rd. ed., 1869, p. 251.

‡ As to former method, *vide* "*Liber Albus*," by Riley, p. 34.

served on each elector. The candidate must be a freeman, and this is now the only limitation. Residence within the ward or within the City is not needful. Within seven days after the election, the Lord Mayor announces the result to the Court of Aldermen, and the new Alderman is sworn in. The fine upon non-acceptance of office, on election, is £500, but it would seem that no fine is imposed where the elected Alderman swears that he is not worth £30,000.*

Aldermen are permitted to appoint deputies—generally the senior member of the Court of Common Council in the ward. The old Aldermanic powers of governing the ward, and controlling the conduct of affairs within it, is now almost gone. Formerly, he was supposed to know every inhabitant in his ward; to-day he often knows very few, Formerly he controlled the police, the streets, the taverns, weights and measures, and so forth, but these are now all taken from him save his voice in licensing applications, and beyond certain ministerial functions at the wardmote, nothing is put in their place. Since 1829 every Alderman has been an *ex-officio* Justice of the Peace, and he attends at the Guildhall Justice Room according to arrangement. He is also liable to attend at the Central Criminal Court. Aldermen who have passed the chair are Justices in Southwark.

Aldermen are members of the Court of Common Council, and of the Court of Aldermen, and have certain privileges and exemptions. There are at present twenty-six Aldermen, being one for each ward; of these, sixteen have passed the chair. The wards are:—

Aldgate.	Aldersgate.
Cripplegate.	Candlewick.
Billingsgate.	Castle Baynard.
Tower.	Langbourn.

* This sum was increased in 1812, from £15,000, at which it had stood for a hundred years.

Bridge Without.	Cordwainer.
Bridge Within.	Bassishaw.
Cornhill.	Lime Street.
Queenhithe.	Bishopsgate Within.
Bread Street.	Portsoken.
Farringdon Without.	Dowgate.
Farringdon Within.	Coleman Street.
Vintry.	Broad Street.
Cheap.	Walbrook.

The first united legislative action of the Aldermen would appear to have taken place early in the reign of King Henry the Third,* and in the reign of Edward the Third certain powers seem to have been conferred upon the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen for the rule of the City.

The body thus constituted is still in existence: its full title is the *Court of the Mayor and Aldermen in the Inner Chamber.* The Mayor is *ex-officio* chairman; all the Aldermen are members; and the quorum appears to be twelve. The Recorder, Common Serjeant, and Chamberlain are also expected to be present at the sittings of the Court. These sittings occupy twenty to thirty days in every year. The Court is called together by the Lord Mayor upon certain days fixed at the beginning of each year, and upon additional days when summoned.

Its functions are elective, magisterial, judicial, and legislative. It elects the Recorder, the Steward of Southwark, the clerk to the Lord Mayor, and the assistant-clerk, the cashier and accountant, the clerk to the sitting Justices and the assistant-clerk, and the cashier and accountant. The aggregate salaries of these officials are somewhat over £5,000 a year.

The Court is the Bench of Magistrates for the City. It is the licensing body, and decides upon questions affecting the election of Aldermen, Common Councillors, and others.

* See Pulling's "Laws of London," 2nd ed., p. 32.

It admits brokers,* and is the body to whom all questions affecting the freedom of the City are referred.

The Court has a certain control over the City cash; may order the preparation of Bills for Parliament; has a superintendence over police and prisons; and other duties and powers, some of which are concurrent, if not conflicting, with those of the Common Council, and none of which are accurately ascertained or defined. The proceedings of the Court are, as a rule, only reported in the Journals of the Court, and in occasional authorized newspaper paragraphs.

The Court of Aldermen formerly exercised considerable control over the City Companies, but this is now almost entirely abandoned. It has, however, recently claimed to exercise the anomalous and extraordinary privilege of enlarging the constituency of the City, irrespective of residence, interest, or any of the local claims which go to make up the ordinary citizen. The power of the City Companies to admit new members to freedom is well known, and the constitutional right of every person practising the art, whose name they bear, to admission within them, is we believe clear; but in certain cases the number of the members of a Company is limited, and as many of the older Companies decline to admit any more freemen, the Court claims to exercise the privilege of extending the number when requested so to do.

In 1656, Oliver Cromwell granted a charter of incorporation to the needle-makers of the City of London. This charter was treated as invalid in the following reign, and a new charter granted in 1664, upon the petition of divers

* Application for admission to practise as a broker within the City is made by the broker in person. He may be questioned by the Court as to his antecedents, and he must produce a certificate signed by six respectable persons as to his character. If admitted, he enters into a bond with sureties for the due performance of his duties, payment of his rent, and good behaviour. The office is held during the pleasure of the Court, and the jurisdiction appears to be coeval with the practice of broking.

persons using the mystery of needle-makers, and because of the prevalence of improper practices in the trade.* But it was not until 1712 that the Municipal rights of the members were recognized. These rights were granted by an order of the Court of Aldermen, dated the 10th of March in that year, the reason alleged being that there were "divers eminent and worthy citizens free of the City, and free of that Company only," sufficient in number to make up a Livery. The number was limited to 50. The fine for admission to the Livery was increased at various times, and for more than fifty years, from 1779, stood at £6 19*s*. But in March 1874, the Court gave permission to increase the Livery to 100, the fine then standing at £19 19*s*. In the year of grace 1875, the fee is raised to £26 5*s*., and the number of the Livery increased to 200. Thus, 150 persons have been authorized by the Court to purchase the citizenship of London, by becoming members of a Company established for the protection of "British needle manufacture," but which has now no more connection with needle making than with any other honest trade.

This creation of "faggot" votes (as Alderman Lusk aptly termed them) was defended in the House of Commons by Mr. Cross, in answer to Mr. Rathbone, on the ground that it was an "ancient custom" which had never been perverted to political uses.†

There are Committees of the Court for the despatch of special business, and many of the payments out of the City's cash are made by its order.

Amongst their privileges it would seem that when the Court presents a petition to the Sovereign, they are entitled

* 9th February, 16 Car. ii.

† When the question was debated before the Court, Sir Francis Truscott answering Sir Benjamin Phillips, taunted the opponents of this extension with being "all Liberal in politics."—*Vide* Report in *Times*, June 1875.

to have it received by such Sovereign when seated upon the Throne; if it be to the House of Commons, then to have it presented by the Sheriffs at the bar of such House.

In the reign of Edward the First, a custom arose of electing "assistants" to the Aldermen, *probi homines*, from the several wards. These deputies began to take an active part in the government of the City, and in 1347 an ordinance was passed at the assembly of the citizens, whereby a number of citizens, proportionate to the population, should be annually chosen from each ward, for the purpose of "deliberating on the common interests of the City." The choice at this time rested with the citizens of each ward, but a certain selecting power was exercised by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, from amongst those who were elected, and only a portion of them were actually summoned to the deliberative Council. In 1376 the method of ward election and of selection by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen was abolished, and it was decreed by the assembly of the citizens that the Council should be nominated by the Trading Companies, each Company, according to its size, sending delegates to vote. Forty-eight "mysteries" appear to have sent delegates to the first of such elections, but in the following year the Mayor only summoned delegates from thirteen of the Companies. The citizens were soon dissatisfied with the new system, and, in 1384, the *immensa communitas* of the citizens gave the electoral power, so far as it related to members of the deliberative Council, to the wards once more. It was provided that four members in each ward should be annually elected, as a kind of Standing Committee. The meeting of this Standing Committee was the deliberative *Common Council*, and the parent of the present body.* The total number of members was, at that

* *Vide* "*Liber Albus*," by Riley, p. 897, *et seq.*

time, 96, and it was provided that not more than eight should be elected from any single mystery, so that there might be no undue preponderance. The ordinance was made perpetual in 1386. The number in various ways increased, probably, as a rule, by the direct grant of increased representation by the Common Council itself, until it reached 240; but by an act of the Common Council, in 1840, the number was lessened to 206, at which it now stands. Some of the wards, as Bassishaw, and Lime Street, send only four members each, whilst Farringdon Without sends no less than sixteen.

After the settlement of the form of election, in 9 Ric. II., the Common Council continued to be elected by the wards, the electors being probably all freemen householders paying scot and lot. By the 11 Geo. I., c. 18, the electors for Common Councillors are to be householders of the ward, and freemen of the City, paying taxes to the amount of thirty shillings, bearing lot in the ward and living in houses of the annual value of £10 and upwards, with a provision for joint occupiers voting where the proportion of each was £10 or over. This statute is extended by the 12 and 13 Vict., c. 94, and now by the 30 Vict., c. 1, it is no longer necessary for voters to be free of the City. The electors duly qualified are therefore, now :—(1) The separate, or—if joint—proportionate, occupation of premises of the value of £10; (2) Household suffrage where house rated to poor, and rate paid; (3) Lodger franchise where rent paid to extent of £10 for unfurnished room or rooms. The last two classes come in under the 30 Vict., c. 1, conferring the franchise upon all who may vote for Members of Parliament.

The Act 9 Geo. IV., c. 17, provided that this oath should be taken by Common Councillors, viz.—"Ye shall swear that ye shall be true to our Sovereign Lady the Queen that now is, and readily come when ye be summoned to the

Common Council of this City, unless ye be reasonably excused; and good and true council ye shall give in all things touching the common weal of this City, after your wit and cunning; and that for favour of any man ye shall maintain no singular profit against the common profit of this City; and after that ye be come to the Common Council ye shall not from thence depart till the Common Council be ended, without reasonable cause, or else by the Mayor's license; and also that all secret things that be spoken or said in the Common Council, they which ought to be kept secret ye shall in no wise disclose."

The full title of the Common Council is the "*Court of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commoners of the City of London in Common Council assembled.*" It is comprised, therefore, of the 26 Aldermen and the 206 Councillors, making a total of 232, the Alderman who is for the time being the Lord Mayor being the *ex-officio* chairman. The Chairman acts as the Speaker of the Assembly, and puts questions to the vote, and decides points of order. The needful quorum includes the Lord Mayor or his deputy, two Aldermen, and 37 Common Councillors.

The Court of Common Council is the great legislative body of the City. In the chapter on City Charters we have set out the provisions of the 15 Edw. III., whereby the Mayor and Aldermen should, with the consent of the *Communitas*, have full power to alter and remedy anything they should find defective in the customs and regulations of the City,* and the inclusion of this with the rest of the charters in the 2 William and Mary, Sess. 1, c. 8, has been supposed to give it the force of an Act of Parliament. It is a power, as will be seen, that is far in excess of that possessed by any other Corporation under the Municipal Corporations Act† (which limits their power in this

* *Vide* chap. i., p 11. † 5 & 6 William IV., c. 76.

respect to the ordinary enactment of bye-laws), and it is a power that has been repeatedly acted upon by the Common Council from the very earliest period of the existence of the body, *temp.* Ric. II., to recent days. The 11 Geo. I., c. 18, passed—as its preamble tells us—"because of the dissensions that have arisen between the Aldermen and Commons of the Common Council of London concerning the making or passing of acts, orders, or ordinances in Common Council, which, if not timely settled and determined, may occasion great obstruction of the public business and concerns of the said City, and create many expensive controversies and suits at law," would appear to be the only serious interference directly made by the Government in the internal constitution of the City, and, however necessary, seems to have been much resented. Nearly all the other alterations in the constitution of the Corporation have been effected under this "immemorial custom" of internal self regulation. And the power would appear to extend even to the creation of a Company or fellowship.* Several Companies are in existence, and exercising privileges within the City that owe their existence to this power.

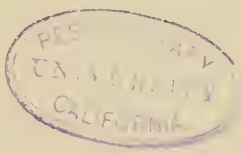
The Court of Common Council elects most of the officials of the Corporation, and it has unlimited control over the City cash. To it is also confided the management of the great estates of the Corporation, and the control of the Common Seal.

Most of the executive work is delegated to one or other of the Committees, the numbers of which are still as the Commissioners of 1854 then reported them† "inconveniently large." The number of these Committees is considerable, the principal being—The Bridge House Committee, the City Lands' Committee, the General Purposes' Committee, and the Finance Committee. The members receive certain

* Pulling's "Laws of London," p. 73. † Report, p. 19.

payments for attendance, and indulge in an excursion in the summer. The annual cost of these Committees, in this way, is considerable, and is defrayed out of the City purse by a warrant directed to the Chamberlain. We shall deal with this subject more fully in the chapter on City Expenditure.

The Court probably meets on an average some twenty times a year; but it may be summoned at any time by the Lord Mayor. The requisition of seven members is always sufficient to justify such special summons. The Town Clerk, Common Serjeant, and the Judge of the Sheriffs' Court are members of the Court, but have no vote, and only speak when requested. The Recorder is also present, and reads the motions put to the Council. The Lord Mayor may at any time dissolve the Court by an order to the Sword Bearer to remove the sword, and so it would appear he may also delay a motion for adjournment.



Chapter III.

THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

The Court of Common Hall: its constitution and powers.—The Livery Companies of the City: their rise, early character, and objects.—Membership and method of Government: their former and present control of trade.—The Rights of London Tradesmen in the Companies.—The property and income of the Companies: their source and extent.—The expenditure of the Companies.—Rights of control and interference by the City and by the Crown.—The present policy and character of the Companies.

The full title of the *Court of Common Hall* is, "An assembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the several Companies of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled." It is constituted of the Lord Mayor, a number of Aldermen, not less than four, and such of the Liverymen of the various City Companies as are of one year's standing, free of the City; and have duly paid their livery fines.

This assembly appears to be the modern representative of the old Folkmote, and of the assembly of the Commonalty under the Plantagenets. But, as we have seen, the constituency is very much narrowed, and no longer includes freemen and citizens generally, but only such members of the City Companies as have taken out their livery. Neither is it now called together for the conduct of the general business of the City, but only for the election of certain officers. In the time of Edward the Third we find a Common Hall

summoned to supply the king with seamen. In 13 Edw. III., we find the assembly was designated as "*congregatio majorum et aldermanorum et totius communitatis.*" In 21 Edw. III., and again in 31 Edw. III., we read of the "*immensa communitas*" being called together for the transaction of City affairs. In 13 Ric. II. one was summoned for the transaction of general business, and so during succeeding reigns. Under the Stuarts the Common Hall was often called together for the support of the army, the grant of aid to Ireland, and for the raising of money. And, although now only called together for election purposes, there appears but little doubt but that it might be convened for other business.*

The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Chamberlain, Bridge Masters, City Auditors, &c., are the officers elected by the Common Hall. Great abuses have attended these elections in former years;† but they are probably as pure now as can be expected in so anomalous a constituency.

Except as an electoral body, the Common Hall has lost all active control over corporate affairs; and, since the narrowing of the constituency by the 11 Geo. I., c. 18, has ceased to be, in any fair sense, representative of the citizens. There appears to be no reason, beyond that of its existence, for continuing to confide important Municipal functions to this body. Many of the free liverymen are, however, tenacious of what they regard as their inherited privileges and rights in Common Hall, and proportionately jealous of the encroachments and usurpations of the Common Council.‡

* This would seem to have been finally settled in the case of the "Trial of the Refractory Companies," in 1773, when the warden of the Goldsmiths' Company was successfully prosecuted in the Mayor's Court for inattention to a summons to Common Hall on other than election business.—*Vide* Report of this case, *Lawyer's Magazine*, July 1773.

† *Vide* evidence of Mr. Acland and others before Commissioners on the Corporation of London, 1854.—Report, p. 59, &c.

‡ This grievance is coeval with the concession of power to the

It now becomes necessary to inquire into the origin, nature and position of the *Livery Companies* of the City. They exercise, as we have seen, Municipal functions of an extensive and important kind, and their history is closely interwoven with that of the Corporation of which they form part.* Membership in these Companies has been an essential to citizenship, and is still a pre-requisite to the discharge of certain Municipal duties or the enjoyment of certain Municipal privileges.

The Companies keep their connection with the Corporation to a large extent in the background, and the tendency is still further in the same direction with respect to everything affecting their property and internal management. They have formed and still form, by far the most formidable opponents to corporate reform, and none the less formidable because their agency is seldom seen, and is exerted, as we shall hereafter point out, in many unsuspected ways. They are well aware that any serious alteration either in the way of extension or reform of the City is fraught with danger to themselves, as likely to expose their title and their proceedings to public examination. Whenever the problem of how to deal with the Livery Companies comes up for solution, it will be found to be a difficult one to meet; but as, in our opinion, no true reform can be carried out in which these bodies are ignored, it must sooner or later be grappled with.

Common Council, and seems to have existed ever since. See an elaborate and amusing work by William Stone (London, 1797) on the rights of the Common Hall, in which he claims to "have put the great question to eternal silence" (p. 17).

* In the City argument in the noted case of the "Trial of the Refractory Companies," quoted *supra*, we find the language:—"To suppose the Goldsmiths' or any other Company to be self-existent, independent, subject to no laws but those of its own will; to allow this is to suppose a part to bear no relation to but to be altogether independent of the whole,—a proposition which carries absurdity on the very face of it."

We shall first endeavour to ascertain from such imperfect data as are available, the exact position of these bodies before the law, and in a subsequent chapter suggest the method of dealing with them.

The Livery Companies of the City are the present representatives of the old mercantile guilds of Norman and Plantagenet London. The word "gild" under the Saxons was generally applied to a territorial division of the City somewhat analogous to a modern ward. Such division had its separate organization, and was composed of enrolled householders known to each other, and presided over probably by an ealderman. Membership of a territorial guild was based upon tenancy within it, and the relations of the citizens of the same guild to each other were not dissimilar to those that existed between the inhabitants of the same hundred. The assembled guilds formed the *communitas* or governing body of the City.

Every citizen was bound to be enrolled in the particular district in which he dwelt, and it is possible, as some writers suppose, that in a trading community the qualification for citizenship would be the practice of some trade. But as we know that the enrolment of London citizens took place in the Hustings Court, irrespective of mercantile qualification, down to the reign of Edward the Third, it is clear that there was no such restriction before that date. Be this as it may, mercantile guilds gradually rose into prominence in Norman and Plantagenet London. Traders carrying on the same business, and living in the same quarter of the City, united together for the common benefit of their craft. These guilds exercised considerable control over the trades whose names they bore, and within a comparatively short period from their establishment it became impossible to practise the trade in the City without being enrolled in a guild. "These Companies," says Norton, "derived their

constitution and monopolous privileges both in England and abroad, either from the express or implied sanction of those needy princes who endued with very little political foresight, were open to the temptation of large bribes for such concessions . . . . and during the reign of Henry the Second, these gilds had increased to such an extent in London, that their evil tendency became obvious to that wary prince, and many of them were abolished, though more, it may be presumed, remained."* This prince, however, granted a charter to the "Weavers," confirming their guild and its privileges, and the right to the exclusive practice of their art in London, Southwark, and places outside the City. This guild seems to have been petitioned against early in the reign of John, but an attempt made by him to abolish it at the suggestion of the "Mayor and Citizens," would seem to have been only partially successful.

The objects of the mercantile guilds were to preserve existing trade privileges, and to acquire new ones: to monopolise the trade by excluding rival traders, not members of their community: to regulate prices: to assist members who became decayed or infirm, and to promote social intercourse amongst themselves by frequent meetings and by feasting.

The ties that bound together the members of a territorial guild were purely Municipal, but the ties which bound together the members of mercantile guilds, although without any recognized public character, were necessarily much stronger, and as all the citizens were traders, it came to pass that London under the Plantagenets was not merely a collection of territorial guilds, but also a great aggregation of gildated trades. The influence of these mercantile associations increased, until we find that during the later Plantagenet kings, no one could exercise Municipal rights

* "Commentaries on City of London," p. 104.

as a freeman of the City unless he was also free of one of these Trading Companies. By an ordinance of the *Communitas* passed in the 49th year of Edward the Third, the nomination of representatives to consult on the general interests of the City was taken from the wards (to which such nomination had been delegated by an ordinance passed twenty-nine years before), and was given to the trading Companies. The election of the Mayor and the other corporate officers was also entrusted to them. As we have seen in our chapter on the Common Council, the election of this body was taken from them by an ordinance of the *immensa communitas* in the seventh year of King Richard the Second, but the other electoral powers of the nominees of the Livery Companies remained intact till the fifteenth year of King Edward the Fourth, when the electoral power was conferred upon the liverymen of the Companies generally, and there it has since remained.

In the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second a large number of the mercantile guilds received charters of incorporation. Some Companies date back to an earlier period than this, but, as a rule, their prior existence was dependent upon prescription, and not upon any royal grant. The origin of a guild was of the simplest possible sort. Twenty-two "pepperers," carrying on business in Soper's Lane, Cheapside, met at dinner at Abbot of Bury's, in St. Mary Axe, one morning in 1384, and agreed to form a guild. They elected Roger Osekyn and Lawrence de Halliwell their first governor and warden; every member subscribed twelve pence towards the expenses; a priest was engaged to sing and pray "for the brotherhood and for all Christian people," and each member agreed to subscribe one penny a week for his support. So, amid prayer and feasting, began the Grocers' Company. And as it had begun, so it prospered, till, in the zenith of its power, as many as sixteen

Aldermen of the City were inscribed on its roll of members at the same time.* The £6 16*s.* which constituted the sum of its first year's corporate disbursements (every member paying for his own dinner) is to-day represented by a rent-roll of many thousands a year.

And the origin of the Grocers' was typical of that of many other Companies. Every member of the Company was engaged in its trade, and had its interests at heart; he subscribed his quarterage regularly to the common fund; he was co-equal with all the other members of his Company; he helped to regulate and control its expenditure; he had relief in case of necessity; and if he died in poverty, he was followed to the grave and buried by the brotherhood, and the Company's private chaplain publicly prayed for the repose of his soul.

At a comparatively early period in their history the different Companies began to be distinguished by their similarity in dress. Matthew Paris tells us that large numbers of them attended the marriage of Henry the Third, wearing the same costume. There appears to have been a distinguishing dress, or part of the dress, for each Company, for Stow, in his account of the marriage of Edward the First and Queen Margaret, in 1270, tells us of six hundred of the members of these fraternities who rode "in one livery of red and white, with the conuzances of their mysteries embroidered on their sleeves."†

In the reign of Edward the Third the name "Livery Companies" was adopted, and the different "liveries" worn received royal sanction; indeed, the king himself donned the livery of the Linen Armourers. The Governing Body of each Company was careful to enforce the use of its livery; and over the dress of the members, both of the higher class,

* "Herbert, on London Livery Companies." Vol. I., p. 39.
† Strype's "Stow," p. 1247.

who were entitled to wear it, and of the freemen generally, these rulers exercised the completest possible control. The Merchant Taylors, in solemn conclave, enacted what the young men of the Company should wear, and the Master was instructed to punish those who had "taken upon them to weare costlie apparrell and garments of the newest fashion, having little substance or none, and not fit for their degree and callinge."*

The selection of the livery was a most momentous transaction for a Company, the colours were frequently changed, and the "cote and surcote" of ordinary habit were as carefully discussed as the "cloke and hood" worn at ceremonies. The custom of having two classes in a Company gradually superseded the old one of entire equality, and the livery was only worn by the higher of the two classes, by reason of which this class came to be known as the "livery" as distinguished from the workmen and others who were simply free of the Company. At a solemn feast held once a year, the cloth for the new yearly suits was cut up and distributed, and when the suits were duly sewn, and the day set apart in the calendar for their patron saint had arrived, the members marched in procession to hear mass. This occasion was made one of considerable show. Stowe describes a procession of the Skinners' Company on Corpus Christi Day, when more than 200 torches of wax were borne before them "costly garnished burning bright" and above 200 clerks and priests in surplices and copes, singing, and the Mayor and Aldermen in scarlet; and lastly the whole body of Skinners in their new liveries. The priests offered a mass for the deceased members, and prayed for the Company,

* This control of the dress of their members by the Governing Bodies of the Companies was continued for centuries. In 1574 we find record of one Robert Maltby being committed to prison for going to his hall "in cloke of pepadore, a pair of hose lined with taffity, and a shirt edged with silver."

and for each living member by name, and the members then offered alms. So with other Companies, the ceremonies always concluding with a feast, towards the cost of which every member subscribed.

By an Act passed in 1397, the use of liveries was restricted to trading Corporations, and so if possible the honour of wearing a livery was increased. Gorgeous in their robes of murrey and scarlet, the Companies welcomed King Edward the Fourth to the capital, and he confirmed the statute. The name of "Livery Company" has remained, but the public use of the liveries to which so much honour was attached has long since ceased. The control by Master or Wardens of the dress of members has ceased also and would be now as much resented and as little regarded as an act of the Common Council interfering with the dress of ordinary citizens.*

The ordinary freemen of a Company were frequently compelled to take up their livery and so pass into the higher class. Such compulsion was necessary sometimes, when the honour was not without its compensating duties and responsibilities, but no such compulsion is exercised now. Those who are in favour with the Court of Assistants, and who are possessed of the inclination and the money, are glad to get a step higher, and a firmer hold of the vested interests of the Company. The jurisdiction of the Court of Aldermen to compel a freeman to take up his livery appears to be undoubted. If he prove recalcitrant he may be fined and

* In 1611 the Common Council enacted that "mayde servauntes in London should not wear any fardingal great or little: nor any body or sleeves of wire whalebone, or other stiffing, saving canvas or buckram only." The king himself ordered the Wardens of the City Companies to call their members together and address them on the sins of dress in the City, and "the abuse growing by excess, and strange fashions of apparrell used by many apprentices, and by the inordinate pride of many mayde servauntes in their excess of apparrell and follye in varietie of new fashions."

sent to Newgate, but this power seems to have fallen into desuetude.

. The days of trade liveries are past. Time was when two "Ironmongers" and two "Grocers" were deputed to stand at Bishops Gate all day to see that no citizen passed through wearing any dress that his position did not entitle him to wear; but to-day they could have no power to molest him, even if he assumed the gorgeous garb of their own representative beadles. The part that these Livery Companies have played in the history of London has been one of much significance. In the days when every freeman of the City was bound also to be free of a Company, they represented both the glory of their separate trades, and united, the greatness of their City. As their long processions in "brown-blew gowns with broaderyed sleevys and red hoods" wound through the narrow lanes of old London, the citizens recognized the most powerful organizations of the capital. What a stirring sight was that which met the eyes of King Henry the Fifth as he rode towards his capital on his return from France, February 13th, 1422, and was met ere he arrived at its gates by the Mayor and Commonalty clad in white gowns and red capes. Elizabeth loved to evoke the showy loyalty of the Livery Companies, and to swell her pageants with the "hanssom men" and the "whiffellers" which she called upon them to provide. Fourteen hundred liverymen in polished armour and coats of mail once in Greenwich Park offered her homage, and the scarlet and puke habits of the Merchant Taylors were often to be found near her person. Later still, in 1639, Mary of Medicis passed along Cheapside through thousands of the assembled liverymen. From end to end of the thoroughfare under the shadows of fifty different trade banners sat these merchant traders in their citizen gowns trimmed with marten skin, giving an impressive idea of the wealth and commerce of the

capital. The Companies have now withdrawn from participating in public civic pomp. They have ceased to march from the City to Westminster on Lord Mayor's Day, and the rich pennants and flags are laid up in lavender, and the gorgeous beadle who attended the show on horseback now vegetates in the Company's hall lodge.

The method of admission to the membership of a Company has varied considerably; but in the days when it was compulsory upon every tradesman in London or the suburbs to be free of a Company, there was but little difficulty about it. The Companies have always exercised the power of presenting their freedom; but, with this sole exception, membership can only be acquired by servitude, by patrimony, or by redemption. Freedom by servitude was granted upon payment of small fees by those who had been apprenticed for a certain number of years—generally seven—to some member of the Company. They were supposed, during such apprenticeship to have been duly taught the mysteries of the craft, and, at its conclusion, to be duly qualified to practise it. The custom of seven years' apprenticeships is less frequent now than in former times; but freedom by servitude can now be obtained in many Companies by apprenticeship to a member, irrespective of whether the member practises the craft or not. Thus a West End solicitor might apprentice his office boy to himself, and thus give him the needful qualification for the freedom of a trading Company.

Freedom by patrimony is granted by right of birth to those whose fathers are members of a Company; and we are told that in those Companies where admission to the Governing Body is a matter of seniority, it is customary for members to enter their sons on the rolls of the Company before they are breeched, so that they may have substantial benefit from it in their early manhood. Certain fees are payable, which vary in amount in different Companies.

Freedom by redemption is granted upon payment of a certain sum of money. This sum varies in different Companies, from £3 or £4 up to something like £200 or more; but the legal right to exact any such sum as £200 is open to much doubt. No advantage is, as a rule, now offered to any member of the particular trade who may wish to become a member of the Company,—but he would be required to pay as much as any one else. Thus no Ironmonger could become a member of that Company without paying at least £100, unless he had the sagacity or pluck to apply for a *mandamus* to the Master and Wardens to admit him at a less rate. Such application would probably succeed.

In whatever way the freedom of a Livery Company was formerly acquired, it was mainly confined to those who were connected with the trade. This has long ceased to be the case. The members of many of the larger City Companies have no connection whatever with the trade, and often reside in the provinces. It is said that there is more than one Company, extensive both in number and resources, that does not possess either on its Governing Body or Livery a single person possessing any practical acquaintance with the trade which gives the Company its name. When it is remembered that many of these Companies' charities were left for the benefit of working craftsmen, and their property was amassed for the express advantage of the trade *as a trade*, the grievous anomaly of this is manifest.

In many cases the legality of the grants of freedom by purchase to candidates who are not members of the trade, is open to considerable doubt.* Upon this most important

* In 11 Hy. II., by an Act of the Common Council, provision was made that none should be admitted but in the Companies whose art they intend to practise. But now as the Commissioners of 1837 report (p. 64), "the mere fact that apprenticeship may be in any Company,

question—important as affecting the *status* of many hundreds of members—Mr. Serjeant Pulling writes: "It has been repeatedly decided that a bye-law that any person *not otherwise entitled* to the freedom should be admitted a member of a public corporation upon payment of a certain sum, is void as an essential alteration of the constitution of the corporation. Much more it is conceived would the system adopted by many of these corporations, which are expressly established for so important a purpose as the protection of trade, be held bad, by which the freedom is sold to persons wholly unconnected with the trade or mystery they profess to represent."*

A London Livery Company is in theory governed pretty nearly in the same way to-day as it was at its foundation,† but practically there is far less power or freedom in the Livery and Commonalty; and as the objects of the Company have ceased to be such as concern the advantage of the trade, there is far less independence. As a rule every Company is governed by a Master, Wardens, and a Court of Assistants. The election of Master and Wardens generally takes place once a year, but a seat on the Court of Assistants, the number of which is strictly limited, is a life tenancy. The Governing Body of a Company had formerly ample duties to perform in the oversight and regulation of trade, but their duties are now as a rule confined to the management of the Company's property. They claim to be the owners of the property, the depositories of the bye-laws, the stewards of the Company's charities and

seems to be conclusive against the supposition that the preliminary proceedings in the Company tend to secure the acquisition of knowledge in the trade."

* "Laws of London," p. 80.

† As to this compare Maitland's "History of London," ed. 1739; and "Report Municipal Commissioners," 1837.

funds, and they frequently decline to allow to liverymen of the same Company any participation in the stewardship or even in a knowledge of what the Company's property consists of. Prior to the reign of James the First the election of the Company's officers was by the commonalty, but many of the charters granted by that king (for a *consideration*) make them self-elective, and from this vice they still suffer. In the larger Companies especially it is found true that the greater the accumulation of property the more dense is the darkness in which all its management is enveloped. In some Companies the Governing Body claim to be self-elective, without any charters enabling them, and here the Livery could recover their rights if they chose to do so.* But the interest of the Livery to stand well with the Governors, who may elect them on to the Court, or may vote them good pensions in case of "decaic," keeps them prudentially quiet.

The anxiety on the part of liverymen to be elected on the Court of Assistants of a Company is readily understood when its advantages are known. Men are willing to pay down more than £100 to become members of the larger Companies, and common sense tells us they do not do this without hope of due reward. That reward takes many forms, and reaches its highest point when a man is elected on the Court. Before he is elected on the Court, he may, if judicious and discreet, have some good pickings. He will probably have dinner tickets representing an outlay of £50 to £100 per annum, and he may get one of the many sinecure appointments at large salaries, which are in the gift of the Company. He may be its clerk at a salary some ten times the amount of the market value of his work; he may be solicitor or deputy, or assistant to these officers, or he may be auditor, remembrancer, librarian, chaplain,

* The "*Cooks'*" *Company* did so in 1824.

standing counsel, and so on through many highly paid offices, the tenants of which enjoy the maximum of income with the minimum of work; in fact, sometimes, not a shadow of it.

But the good things culminate when a man is elected to the Court of Assistants. It is a matter of common repute that the estates of Companies are often leased to members at absurd rentals, enabling the lucky lessees to make an excellent profit in re-letting them. In the estimates we have given of the aggregate income of the Companies, we have considered these estates at their true value, not at the value put upon them by the Companies. It is clear that we are justified in regarding that as income of the Company, which is allowed to various members, in the way of beneficial leases. Every now and then as feast days come round, the members of the Livery will receive a few pounds a head for some old custom, or in memory of some ancient benefactor. The responsibility of a seat on the Court carries with it a salary; the meetings of the committees are duly paid for; some Companies have dinners of some kind, as often as once a week, and lucky are the committeemen of such Companies, for in addition to their salaries, they sometimes find a bank-note delicately secreted under their plates, and sometimes find huge boxes of bon-bons upon them. It is indeed a good thing to be on the Court of a City Company. Relations may be educated in the Company's schools, and then accommodated with exhibitions to the University free of expense; when they grow up they can be presented with livings, of which the Company is patron. For your poorer friends there are almshouses and pensions.

The system speaks for itself; it requires no language of ours to enhance its gravity. The Commissioners of 1837 —those mildest of men—say "the system is liable to very great objections, attaching a pecuniary interest to a seat on

the Court which never ought to be attached to the character of a *trustee.*"*

The charters of the Livery Companies provide for the Governing Bodies of the Companies being composed of men skilled in the mystery of the Company. In how few cases does this exist now. It would be interesting to know how many skilled tailors there are on the Court of the Merchant Tailors, and how many of the Court of the Skinners' Company are skilled in peltry. And yet no language can be clearer than that of the charters on this head. Take the great charter of the Skinners, granted 4 Jac. I. This charter provides that, thenceforth, yearly, and for ever, the Master and Wardens of the said guild should be chosen from such of the freemen "as had used and professed the mystery and art of a skinner, and not of any others;" but this was only compulsory in each alternate year as far as the Master was concerned, but it is provided that in any year when the Master is not a professed skinner three of the Wardens shall be such. And one-half of the Court of Assistants must be professed skinners. This charter may be taken as a type of many others. The Companies hold their property under these charters, but only use so much of them as is convenient. The control and benefit of the trade is the very *raison d'être* of the Corporations; it was solely upon their undertakings in that regard that their original charters were granted and permission given to hold land in mortmain, and yet, whilst abandoning the trade, they claim to enjoy the property.

There are not more than half-a-dozen Livery Companies that exercise any control whatever over trade to-day. But the control exercised by the Livery Companies, or "mysteries"†

* "Report of Municipal Commissioners of 1837." Part II., p. 19.

† Dr. Johnson tells us that a "mystery" is something "above human intelligence, something awfully obscure, or something artfully made more difficult." This definition was less applicable to the mysteries of mediæval

as they were called, of the Middle Ages was most extensive. Every Company of importance could furnish from its early records many examples of this. In 1456, the Grocers, or, as they were called, the "Pepperers," were an useful organization, and had oversight of the whole trade. We find that, in this year, the "wardeyns and feliship" of this Company ruled that one "John Ayshfelde shall make a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* for offens don in makynge of untrewe powder gingere and cynamon;" but in the year of grace 1875, a grocer might sand his sugar, or mix his powdered ginger with powdered bones, without any interference by the wealthy City Company.* The stewardship of a few charities and of many dinners is responsibility sufficient for them.

In those days no one was permitted to trade unless he were a member of a Company; care was taken that every member was duly qualified, no member being allowed to employ in his shop a journeyman who had not served his time to the craft, or any apprentice not duly bound. Members of the guild made "rounds" of investigation and inquiry, weighing, measuring, and testing all the goods on sale of their mystery. The Merchant Taylors, for example, attended West Smithfield and Bartholomew Cloth Fairs, for years, with their yard measure weighing thirty-six ounces of solid silver.

London than to the Livery Companies of to-day. "The Master and Wardens, Brethren and Sisters, of the Guild or Fraternity of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, of the Mystery of Drapers, of the City of London," is the full title of the Company that in those days ruled over the woollen cloth trade. The mystery—such as it was—was the mystery of manufacturing and making up cloth; but to-day the mystery is no longer connected with an abandoned trade, but where it exists, is as to the management by aliens of funds given and amassed for the benefit of that trade. This is indeed "awfully obscure," and it is also "artfully made more difficult."

* See another trade ordinance of the Pepperers, 9 Edw. II., 1316, set out in "*Memorials of London*," by T. W. Riley,—Longmans 1868, where are also other trade regulations illustrating control of trades by Skinners, Girdlers, Cutlers, &c.

The Goldsmiths' Company have a charter of 2 Edward the Fourth, giving to them for ever thereafter the trial, inspection, search, and regulation of all sorts of gold and silver, wrought or to be wrought and exposed of sale within the City of London and the suburbs thereof, and in all fairs, marts or markets, cities, towns and boroughs, and all other places throughout England. Powers are given to destroy deceitful wares, and by an Inspeximus charter of Henry the Seventh (20 Hy. VII.) they are empowered to commit offenders to gaol, and make search for and destroy deceitful wares in London or within three miles. So far as we know these primitive powers still technically exist, but probably their exercise to-day might raise unpleasant questions, and so the Company wisely confine their public services to the assaying of gold brought to them for the purpose.*

The Skinners' Company had by a charter of Edward the Third (1 March, 1 Edw. III.) a similar power to punish the defective manufacture of furs, and formerly maintained entire control over the manufacture. By the 3 Jac. I., c. 9, no person was allowed to employ a servant or journeyman to work as a skinner who had not served the usual seven years' apprenticeship.

The Merchant Taylors' charter of 18 Hy. VII. grants that no one shall hold a counter or shop of the "misteries of the Taylors and Linen Armourers," unless he be free of the City; nor shall any one be admitted to the freedom of the City, unless the men of the mystery testify to his honesty and fitness for the same.

So the Clothworkers' charter of Charles the First (24 April, 9 Car. I.) is most clear in its terms, and declares that all persons, "*tam indigenæ quam alienigenæ*," who then used or should thereafter use the mystery of Fullers, Sheermen, or

* For the history of the "assay" or "touch," see an interesting note in Herbert's "London Livery Companies." Vol. II., p. 173.

Clothworkers, within the City or suburbs, should be one body politic.

The Dyers' Company have full control over the trade in London, and within ten miles; and by one of the last of their charters, every person practising the mystery in that district must be a member of the Company.

The Pewterers' Company, under their charter of Edward the Fourth, have the search and regulation of all merchandize of that mystery, and, for a lengthened period, were in the habit of assaying merchandize exposed for sale, of destroying it if defective, and of taking proceedings against the manufacturer. The Company, down to a comparatively recent period, settled the assay of the true pewter, and regulated the methods of working it.

The Bakers' Company have power to prove and weigh all bread sold in the City, and within a considerable area round it, and, if defective, to seize it and give it to the poor. They have power to impose fines, and levy the same by distress.

These illustrations sufficiently show the nature of the trade control exercised by the Companies, and that such control was not confined merely to the articles manufactured, but extended to the power of dealing with every one carrying on the trade. The right of membership in a guild, possessed by every trading citizen, had its correlative liability in the power given to the Company to compel tradesmen in the given districts to take up their freedom. If they were obdurate and declined the honour, or if an apprentice on the conclusion of his term objected to enter the Company, an application to the Mayor and Aldermen soon reduced them to obedience.*

* See, in illustration of this, the proceedings of the Wax Chandlers' Company against Robert Lancashire, set out at length in "Report of Municipal Commissioners," 1837, p. 106, *et seq.* See, also, case of William Fordham (*ibid.*, p. 108) who was committed to Newgate by the Mayor and Aldermen, until he came to terms and agreed to take up his livery.

Illustrations of this power of compulsion on the part of the Companies, and liability on the part of London tradesmen, are common in the various charters. Other illustrations of its nature may be found in the right given to the Tallow Chandlers by the charter of Charles the Second (29 July 28, Car. II.) to fine all tallow chandlers practising the art within three miles of London, if they refused to take up their freedom, and in the charters of the Armourers and Braziers, the Plumbers, Saddlers, Inn-holders, Founders, Farriers, and others.

The control of trade exercised by the Stationers was somewhat peculiar. In 1556* the advisers of Queen Mary apprehending much ill to "the State and to Holy Mother Church," from the printing and circulation of seditious and heretical books, granted a charter to ninety-seven stationers of the City of London, giving them sole power to print and publish books, and enabling them to seize and destroy all prohibited and unlicensed works. Many thousands of books were committed to the flames under the auspices of this Company. Meantime, these "monopolists of books and destroyers of literature," as Godson calls them, flourished exceedingly, and obtained from James the First the sole right to publish almanacs. Astrology was then in commoner acceptance than now, and so, for more than 150 years, whilst this monopoly continued, we find prophets prophesying, and soothsayers soothsaying in the Company's almanacs. The stars revolving under such auspices, foretold success to Charles the First, to Cromwell, and to Charles the Second when in power, and finally the Company returned thanks under William the Third, for the "deliverance of the country from Popery and arbitrary Government."

We believe, although they have lost their monopoly,

* By the charter 4 May, 3 & 4 Ph. and M.

that the Company still publish something like twenty almanacs. Old Moore's almanac has an enormous circulation, and this is mainly due to the prognostications as to the weather, for which this publication is famous. Thus, a worthy City Company, supposed to be the patron of learning and literature, is responsible for the dissemination of a greater amount of superstitious rubbish than all the publishers in the kingdom put together.

The Stationers' Company keep a register of new books —a register without index or arrangement—and which if it has any influence at all, is about as near as may be the exact opposite of that which was anticipated in the statute of George the Third, confirmed in 1842, by which it was established "for the greater encouragement to the production of literary works of lasting benefit to the world."

The Apothecaries' Company still exercise some control over the trade, and examine candidates as to their skill in pharmacy. They have a power of destroying adulterated drugs.

The Gunmakers' Company have statutory powers enabling them to prove gun barrels.

The Fishmongers' Company do not exercise the trade control formerly enforced, but perform a public service in the condemnation of unsaleable fish.

The care taken with the technical education of the young is altogether gone from the London Companies. The seven long years of apprenticeship are rarely served, and it is no longer needful for a man to know his business before attempting to practise it. It was formerly provided that the mysteries of London should be "lawfully regulated and governed, each according to its nature in due manner, that so no *knavery, false workmanship, or deceit,* should be found in any manner in the said mysteries,"* and that they should

* "*Liber Albus*," translated by T. W. Riley, p. 424.

be ruled for the "common profit of the people," but these are now old-world notions and quite out of date.

In those days great care was taken in the preservation of the "trade secrets," which were the especial property of the Company. Very often these secrets were of the smallest possible value,* but they were none the less jealously guarded and any infringement of them resented. For example, the Painter Stainers petitioned Queen Elizabeth, from whom they received their charter, to insert a clause therein, to the effect that persons should be restrained from painting pictures of the queen, noblemen, and others, unless such persons had served seven years' apprenticeship to some member of the Company, and the reason urged for this proposal was that such works showed fair to the sight, but were not "substantially wrought!"

But the preservation of the monopoly of trading was the privilege guarded with the most jealous care. Not merely were all members of a trade compelled to take up their freedom in a Company, but foreigners setting up business in the City were fined and imprisoned. Early in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, an enactment was passed enabling building artificers to pursue their calling without the necessity of belonging to any Company, or being free of the City; but the Corporation strongly opposed it, and so just a provision was repealed. So, also, in cases even where the Crown granted special licenses, the City stood upon their privileges. The Grocers' Company successfully appealed to the Mayor and Aldermen against one Acerbo

* Probably they were well illustrated in a letter *said* to have been written by an old City Vintner to a young Vintner commencing business in the outlying district of Covent Garden :—"The trade of a Vintner is a perfect mystery, for that is the term which the law bestows upon it. Now, as all the world are supported by hard and unintelligible terms, you must take care in this spirit of mystery to christen your wines by some hard names, the farther fetched the better." Probably some of this old-world wisdom is not without its application to-day.

Devitelto, to whom Queen Elizabeth had granted a license to import "sallet oil," and sell it at "his own heame," being allowed the benefit of the royal grants.*

Within recent years, some galvanized interest in their several trades has been manifested by the Goldsmiths, Turners, and others, who have offered certain prizes for works of art and for technical instruction, and a great deal of credit has been taken for this; but, considering the infinitesimal proportion which the money thus spent bears to the income which is really due to the trade by the trustees, but which is spent in frivolity, the thing is too ridiculous to merit more than a passing notice.

The trusts as to trade and the control of it were not confined within the boundaries of the City, but extended beyond it; and this consideration is important, when we come to consider the right of Londoners generally in these Companies.

Whilst under the Tudors and their predecessors, by stringent enactments or otherwise, London was confined within the walls, the possibilities of expansion were provided for in the charters of these Companies, so that the interests of the different trades should be preserved; and when the City had burst its bounds, under James the First and his successors, we find in the various succeeding charters the area of the Companies' power is still equally wide. Thus by the charter (7th July, 2 William and Mary) granted to the Grocers, it was provided that all persons carrying on the "mysteries of confectioners, druggists, tobacconists, tobacco cutters, and sugar bakers or refiners, within the City and liberties, *or within three miles thereof*, should be of the Commonalty of Grocers."

* See, also, account of patent granted by Queen Elizabeth to one "not a member" of a Company to sell leather, and the opposition of the Livery.—*Strype's* "*Stow*," ii., 293.

By the Drapers' charter, 38 Edw. III., no one may use the mystery of drapery in the City of London, *or the suburbs thereof*, unless duly apprenticed or admitted.

The Goldsmiths' charter from Henry the Seventh (subsequently exemplified and confirmed) authorizes search for, and destruction of deceitful wares in London *and within three miles of the same.*

The "honest and faithful men of the City," who, as members of the Skinners' Company, were empowered by the charter, 1 Edw. III., to search for defective furs, were entitled to pursue their searches in the City *and the suburbs thereof.*

The Merchant Taylors' charter, 18 Hy. VII., provides that the Masters and Wardens of the Company shall have entire search and correction of all the natives and strangers engaged in the working of men's apparel within the City of London and the liberties *and suburbs thereof.*

A charter of the Clothworkers (24th April, 9 Car. I.) grants that all who use, or shall thereafter use the mystery, in the City *or suburbs*, shall be and thereafter remain one commonalty and members of the guild.

The first charter of the Dyers' Company (16th Feb., 49 Hy. VI.), incorporating the Company, and granting it perpetual succession, gives the Wardens authority to govern *all persons* carrying on the mystery in the City or *suburbs thereof.* These charters were subsequently exemplified and confirmed, and finally, by a charter of Queen Anne (26th April, 3 Anne), all persons exercising the mystery of dyers within the City of London and the suburbs thereof, *and in all other places whatsoever within ten miles of the same*, are re-incorporated into the Dyers' Company.

The Master and Wardens of the Brewers' Company have a chartered power of controlling all who exercise that mystery in London and the suburbs, for *four miles* in extent.

The Leathersellers, under their charter from James the First (24th July, 2 James I.), have control over all persons carrying on the trade of leathersellers in the City of London or the liberties *and precincts thereof.*

The ancient mystery of the Pewterers, established as a guild, in honour of the Virgin Mary, by King Edward the Fourth (26th January, 13 Edw. IV.), may consist of all pewterers dwelling or thereafter to dwell in London or the *suburbs* thereof, and of others who of their own pleasure were willing to be of the same fraternity or guild.

The governing charter of the Cutlers' Company (granted by James the First) empowers the Governing Body to make rules as to the management of the Company and as to the manner in which all cutlers in the City of London, *and the suburbs within three miles of the City*, shall demean and behave themselves; and to rules so made the consent of the Lord High Treasurer and the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas appears to have been requisite, and was duly given.

The limit of the Wax Chandlers, by their governing charter (Nov. 15th, 23 Car. II.), was somewhat more extensive, including the City and *ten* miles round it.

Those who make vessels or wares of brass or copper, wrought with the hammer, in the City of London, or without the City for "*five miles next adjunct the same,*" are incorporated with the Armourers and Braziers' Company.

The Butchers' Company control the City and *two miles* round it.

The Saddlers may make searches and destroy defective wares in London and *suburbs*, in the Borough of Southwark, the City of Westminster, and all places within two miles of the City or suburbs.

The Carpenters' Company have a limit of *two miles* from the City; the Cordwainers *three miles;* the Curriers *three*

miles; the Masons *seven miles;* the Inn-holders *three miles;* the Bakers *twelve miles;* the Founders *three miles;* the Coopers *two miles;* Weavers *ten miles;* the Scriveners *three miles;* Fruiterers *three miles;* Farriers *seven miles;* Horners *twenty-four miles;* Apothecaries *seven miles* (now regulated by statute); Comb-makers *ten miles;* Felt-makers *four miles;* Silk Throwers *twenty miles;* Needle-makers *ten miles;* Gardeners *six miles;* Wheelwrights *five miles;* Coach-makers *twenty miles;* Gun-makers *four miles;* and so on with the other Companies.

It is thus sufficiently proven that the scope of the Companies' powers was not territorial, so far as to be confined within the present City boundaries, but that it was extended to include all who practised the respective trades, either in London or the suburbs, and this area over which the governing charters granted control is most important, as showing that these Companies are not in any sense merely City institutions, but that tradesmen living considerable distances outside were controlled; and, if these are still the governing charters, tradesmen within such distances have, as we contend, still the right of admission if they choose to claim it. As to the rights of all tradesmen to participate in the management and the profits of these Companies, so long as they exist, we cannot do better than quote Mr. Serjeant Pulling's admirable work on London, where he observes:*—"It may nevertheless, however, admit of considerable doubt whether every tradesman within London has not still an inchoate right to be admitted a member of that particular Company having a superintendence over his trade. These Companies are not voluntary societies consisting of persons chosen by voluntary consent; nor can the admission of members, as in the Corporation at large, be considered to be settled by prescription, and confined to

* "Laws of London," p. 79.

persons possessed of particular qualifications, as apprenticeship or patrimony; on the contrary, the charters of all the incorporated Companies expressly state them to be composed of the *working members* of the different trades or mysteries which they represent; and further, in many instances, requiring all persons in such trades within certain limits to become members thereof. In Wannel's case it was expressly laid down that when an act of Common Council required all joiners in London to take up their freedom in the Joiners' Company, under a certain penalty, a *mandamus* would lie to compel the Company to admit them."

To sum up the matter, these various charters under which the Livery Companies profess to act and to be governed, and under which they hold their property, provide, therefore, that workmen practising a given craft in or near London must become members of the Company bearing the name of their craft. They may be imprisoned if they decline to do so, and imprisonments have taken place for that reason. They provide that no one shall practise the craft unless he be a member of the Company; but the Companies are much too wise to draw attention upon themselves now by interfering with the trade when they are not interested in it. They also provide that the Companies shall, subject to the control of the Corporation and of the Crown (of which more hereafter), rule and control the trade for "the greater good and common profit of the people:" shall teach it to all who come to learn: shall provide for those who are infirm or decayed, out of the proceeds of lands which they are allowed to hold free of succession duty, and contrary to the Mortmain Acts; the permission to hold such lands being given on the undertaking that the trade shall be so ruled, the poor so provided for, and the interests of City commerce advanced by

provision being made against the production of any inferior manufactures. The money amassed by the trustees of these objects is now diverted from them. A vast majority of the Companies, including the Mercers, Drapers, Grocers, Ironmongers, Pewterers, Wax Chandlers, Cutlers, Poulterers, Fruiterers, Loriners, and others, do not in any way interfere with the trades they represent; some, as the Butchers, Bakers, Coopers, Weavers, and Felt-makers, have only recently ceased to exercise such control. Others, as the Bowyers, Fletchers, Framework Knitters, Needle-makers, and Patten-makers, have no trade to control, even if they wished to be useful; and other Companies have died out altogether, probably from want of funds. Of such are the Silkmen, the Pin-makers, Long Bowstring-makers, Soapmakers, Woodmongers, Starch-makers, Hatband-makers, Fishermen, and others.

The right of trading in the City, without taking out freedom, has been recently conferred by the Common Council; but as a matter of law the charters of the different Livery Companies of the City, still unrepealed and claimed to be in force, give the completest possible control to the different Companies over the trades whose names they bear; a control which, as we have seen, extends in many cases to the suburbs as well as to the City. And not merely is there the power, but there is the machinery. The old forms of Company Government, of Masters, Wardens, and Court of Assistants, remain, and are perpetuated by yearly elections, but there is little or nothing to govern. As the advancing spirit of free trade broke in upon the City, the Companies retired one after another from any active control over or interference with trade. They had been in many cases incorporated, and had special privileges granted to them upon their own earnest supplication, as to the bad manufactures with which the City was threatened,

unless they were empowered to prevent it.* The work seemed good to the monarchs of those days, and the power of correction was given, and special privileges granted upon condition of their carrying it out. But that which was given might always be taken away, and the possession of the property without the correlative of active work for the benefit of the trade and so of the City was never dreamed of. But time has wrought a marvellous change, and we see now a state of things which could not have existed for a single year under any Tudor sovereign. The charters, so far as regards many of their provisions, are treated as so much waste paper, and there are very few of the Companies who exercise any influence whatever, good, bad, or indifferent, over trade. The Spectacle-makers and the Tallow Chandlers are fine gentlemen, who have no idea of the trades whose mystery they profess, and who indeed do not care to meet with the very men whom the Company was established to control and to benefit, and for more than 150 years the "Clothworkers" have ceased to have any connection with the control of the trade.

The charters remain unrepealed, and whilst they are the very titles under which the Companies claim to hold their exceptional rights, yet where they provide that all the members then using or thereafter to use the mystery in

* Thus a charter of the Drapers' Company (38 Edw. III.) recites, "that it had been shewn to the King and Council that great numbers of persons belonging to divers mysteries, who had never been apprentices, or were sufficiently informed in the trade of drapery according to the lawful custom of London, meddled and interfered therewith, so that there was hardly a shop of any trade in the City in which drapery was not more or less exposed for sale, and that by their ignorance of the trade the price of drapery was greatly enhanced, and the quality thereof deteriorated;"* and, setting forth other evils complained of, the charter goes on to declare that no one shall use the mystery of drapery in London or the suburbs thereof unless duly apprenticed or admitted to the same.

* See this charter quoted. "Report of Commissioners on Municipal Corporations, 1837. London Companies," p. 5.

London or the suburbs shall be members, there the Governing Body quietly ignore them altogether, and deny to a City or suburban tradesman the rights which are as plainly given to him by the charter as are the rights of holding land and of perpetual succession. And so well is it known that these charters, whilst useful as titles to property are altogether disregarded so far as their correlative responsibilities are concerned, that the policy is generally pursued of declining to produce them at all. They are alleged to be the private property of the Governing Body, and to relate to private property with which no one else has any more right than he has with a man's title deeds. We conceive, however, that if those title deeds disclosed, as the Companies' charters *do* disclose, vested rights in a third person, that the Court of Chancery would soon decree a discovery. The long immunity from interference enjoyed by the City Companies has resulted from negligence of their interests by London tradesmen; a negligence no doubt mainly due to absolute ignorance of their right, an ignorance carefully fostered by the Companies who keep all their financial and proprietary arrangements impenetrably shrouded in the breasts of a few in each Company, so that neither the ordinary members nor the Livery are suffered to know them, and those who do know them are probably bound by their oaths not to reveal what they know.

When every practiser of a mystery was compelled to join the Corporation, when every apprentice was compelled, under pain of being sent to Newgate, to take up his freedom, a compact body of reputable tradesmen was found, who were responsible for the credit of their craft, and who, as the Wax Chaundelers say in one of their petitions, bore their charges towards "the grandeur of this honourable City." On condition of their excellent government of the craft and benefit to the City, they were allowed, in many cases by charter, to

purchase land for the "sustentation of the poor, old, weak, and decayed" persons of the mystery. If ever a Royal or other Commission should investigate the finances of these Companies, it will be found that the state of "decaie" in some of them is a happy one, attended with a comfortable pension, and that the people who enjoy it have not in the large majority of cases any connection whatever with the craft whose poor the lands were permitted to be held for the support of. Soon after the passing of the Statutes of Mortmain it was customary for the kings to grant to Companies power to purchase lands of a certain yearly value, and to hold them for ever, for the benefit of the poor of the craft. Richard the Second and Edward the Fourth made many such grants. The present condition of these grants may be estimated from a hypothetical illustration, but one which, unless we are mistaken, has many counterparts in actual fact. Richard the Second grants a charter, say, to the Guild of Chiffonniers, empowering them and their successors to purchase lands to the yearly value of £20, for the sustentation of poor, old, weak, and decayed chiffonniers. The lands are forthwith purchased, and the income devoted to the purpose set out in the charter. "Exemplified," "confirmed," added to, but never repealed, the lands are held to-day under that charter. But what is their condition? Probably they were within the City, and instead of bringing in £20 a year they bring in £2,000 a year. And the Worshipful Company of Chiffonniers does not contain a single chiffonnier either on its Court or its Livery. Probably the Court consider themselves only bound to expend £20 a year, notwithstanding the increased income, upon poor, but not upon poor or decayed chiffonniers for whom it was given, but upon decayed gentlemen whose fathers had the wit to make them when young free of so useful a social organization.

Instances of these grants in mortmain occur constantly

in the charters of the various Companies.* Thus by a charter of 17 Henry the Sixth, the Drapers were incorporated into a community with perpetual succession and a common seal, and a license was given by a subsequent confirmatory charter (6 Edw. IV.) to purchase lands to the amount of £20 per annum for the maintenance of a chaplain and of the brothers of the guild. Now every draper in London and its suburbs was bound to be a member of the guild; the guild was permitted to exist on condition of admitting and controlling them, and in return they had these and similar rights of acquiring property and holding it as trustees. Landed property, purchased under these and similar licenses, brings in large revenues, and the perpetual succession has prevented their being in any way depleted by the claims of the Imperial Exchequer. The Crown consented to forego its claims, in view of certain duties being performed which were deemed to be of public advantage. Those duties are no longer performed, but the privileged possession still continues.

The Goldsmiths obtained a license from Edward the Third, subsequently confirmed by Richard the Second (16 Ric. II.), to purchase lands in mortmain to the extent of £20 per annum for the maintenance of weak and blind and infirm goldsmiths. This license was originally granted upon a representation made to the king of the effect of the smoke of quicksilver in making members blind, and the working in other metals making them crazed and infirm. The improved methods of working have removed these dangers in modern times, but the lands in mortmain remain, and the lands purchased under the various charters produce so goodly an income, that it is commonly reported—with what

* See the Mercers' charter, for this purpose quoted; Stow's "Survey of London," ed. 1633, p. 599; also Maitland's "History of London," ed. 1739, p. 598.

truth we know not—that the pension of a "decayed" goldsmith is in some cases as much as £300 a year. If this be so we cannot wonder that the Corporation is a close one. "Decay" means failure in business, or loss of income from any cause; something very far removed from the infirmities which first stirred the generosity of King Edward the Third.

Some of the charters expressly exclude the Statutes of Mortmain, as for example the charter of the Merchant Taylors (18 Hy. VII.). In all of them, the lands held under the grants have largely increased in value.

It is a matter of great public concern that the true bearing of these holdings in mortmain by the City Companies should be apprehended.

The same charters that grant to the Companies the right to hold lands in mortmain specify the method in which the guild should be ruled and in which the trade should be controlled. The bargain made with the Crown was not in those days an unfair one. Monopolous privileges in trading and extremely beneficial tenure of land were granted, in return for an undertaking that the particular trade should be taught, that the money should be held for its advantage, and that all who practise it in London or the suburbs should be admitted. These City lands have descended to the present generation charged with these trusts; but, as we have shown, the trusts are no longer executed except in an infinitesimal degree. The quantity of land held by the City Companies in London is very large. It is estimated that *one-half* of the best land in the City is in the hands of these and other Corporations, who pay no succession duties and who never sell.

The disadvantage of having the freehold of large areas in a commercial centre held in mortmain is patent to every one; and this evil is increased by the custom of buying up other land when it comes into the market, irrespective of its

present value. Price is a matter of small importance to a corporate body bursting with funds. The land is then let on lease; but, as lease after lease falls in, the value of the freeholders' interest goes on increasing.* It would be a good thing for some member of Parliament to move for a return of all lands held in mortmain in the country; and not the least part of the value of such a return would be the flood of light we should get upon the condition of land in the very heart of this great commercial City. It would then be found that the soil upon which it stands is the least commercial part of it.

The universities and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge hold more than three hundred thousand acres of land in mortmain; and the City Companies, if we include their Irish estates, probably hold still more. These lands do not contribute their fair share to the revenue, even if the income from them were rightly employed. Thus, upon land in the hands of private owners succession duty is paid once every twenty or thirty years, but upon these lands never. If it were proposed that the tenure should continue, the remedy might, no doubt, be found in revaluing the estates every thirty years or so, and then charging a certain per-centage by way of duty.† It is estimated that if all land in mortmain were made to pay its fair share of succession duty upon the above principle, that this source of public revenue would be increased by something like two and a-half millions per annum.‡

In addition to this ownership of mortmain lands, the City Companies have other sources of large income, and they are also the patrons of a considerable number of livings.

* As such lands are not sold, there is no exchange or distribution of the ownership. The hand of the Church is a "dead hand," but not more so than that of a City Company.

† See this theory discussed, *The Examiner*, 1874, p. 1288.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1296.

We have no evidence before us as to the manner in which this patronage is exercised; but in the present day—whatever may be said of patronage upon the merits—it is quite certain that no Corporation aggregate ought to exercise it; that no Corporation aggregate could be *less* fitted to do so than the mixture of men of all possible professions, occupations, and grades of belief or unbelief which constitutes an ordinary City Company.

In some Companies—as, for example, the Merchant Taylors—it is altogether denied that the fraternity, as such, possesses any property; but it is asserted that it is all owned by the Master and Wardens. Probably, no such contention could survive investigation, and may be taken merely as a useful theory which may prevent recalcitrant liverymen from advancing claims to participation in the funds, or, at any rate, in the audit.

As a rule, however, the freemen, and frequently also the liverymen of a Company, have no knowledge as to what the total income of their Company amounts to, such information being locked in the breasts of the Governing Body. Probably, the disclosure by any of these of the financial condition of the Company would be regarded as an act of high treason to the City and to the Company. But, occasionally, facts are forthcoming which are more or less useful as indicia. It can of course scarcely be anticipated that when those who are immediately interested are ignorant, people in the outside world should know; but from various data before us we may safely hazard the opinion that the money annually received and dispensed or invested by the self-elected and irresponsible Governing Bodies of the City Companies is between *three hundred thousand* and *five hundred thousand pounds* a year. We believe it approaches the latter sum, and should be in nowise astonished to learn that it exceeded it. In this estimate we charge the leased estates of the Companies at their full

value. And the estates in Ireland are, necessarily, also included, the aggregate value of which must be considerably over a million sterling.

The income of the Drapers' Company was represented to the Commissioners of 1837, at about £24,000 a year. This amount, there is reason to believe, has more than doubled since that date, and amongst other methods of disposing of the surplus, a great shrine of gluttony has been erected in Throgmorton Street, at a cost of more than £70,000. In 1837, they spent on entertainments and dinners £5,000 a year, on salaries £4,000 a year, and on pensions and gratuities more than £5,000 a year. It would be edifying to have a public audit of their accounts now. Five hundred years ago all the members of a Company knew what the funds were, and how they were spent. This very Company obtained its anomalous privileges in 1365, on the ground that meddlers in drapery by their ignorance of the trade, greatly enhanced the price, and the quality was deteriorated. To-day a London draper would have small chance of getting much information from the Company, if indeed he could get admitted at all.

And small Companies pursue the same policy as larger ones, only at a respectful distance. The "Carpenters," for example, supplied the Commissioners with their accounts, from which it appeared that the major part of their income of £2,000 a year (now largely increased, as much of their property is in the City) was expended in dinners; the next item was for the poor of the Companies; and the next, salaries and fees for the attendance of the "Gentlemen of the Court."

We believe there are few Companies, and probably not one of the larger Companies, that ever present to their members a statement of their income and expenditure. Attempts have been made more than once in several of the Companies

to obtain such accounts, but unsuccessfully.* We thus find a state of things unique in a corporate body, dispensing vast sums of money, namely, that the people who own the money know neither its extent nor its appropriation. When by seniority or otherwise they come within the arcana of the Governing Body they are bound to secrecy by the double bond of their personal undertaking and strong personal interest. If our contention is correct, every draper in the Metropolis has a vested interest in the funds of the Drapers' Company; but not merely is he denied all benefit from them, but even those who are admitted within the charmed circle of membership are denied the knowledge of the nature or extent of their own property.

Although nothing can well be more clear than that a large part of the property of these Companies is in the fullest sense of the word trust property, yet this view of the case is sedulously kept in the background, and the Governors of the richer Companies go so far as to maintain that they owe no account even to their own members, far less to the public. The Corporation itself has made the same mistake more than once in meeting the assaults made upon it. In a somewhat arrogant "Statement" of the Court of Aldermen, submitted to Members of both Houses after the introduction of the Bill of 1856, the Aldermen say that they exposed their title deeds and the accounts of their revenue to the Royal Commissioners with feelings of honest pride and generous confidence, but that "they little expected to see from the pen of British statesmen a report applying laws of *meum* and *tuum* to a Corporation upon different principles to those which at least at present prevail in regard to private individuals."† It is clear that the view held in the City of the position and respon-

* See hereon ineffectual attempt by a liveryman of the Dyers' Company. "Report of Municipal Commissioners," p. 65.

† "Statement of the Court of Aldermen," p. 18.

sibilities of public Corporations is not so correct as it ought to be.

The nature and extent of the property of the Companies being thus known as a rule only to the Governing Bodies, we cannot be astonished to find that the immediate *cestuis que trusts* are in many cases denied the inspection, not merely of books and accounts, but of important charters and of the muniments of the Companies' titles.

The Royal Commissioners of 1833 were permitted by some of the Companies to inspect some of their charters, but notwithstanding the power they possessed to examine upon oath, their authority was often denied; their circular of queries unanswered, and some of the Companies declined to appear and give any account of their stewardship. Surely no Royal Commission was ever treated so scurvily or bore its snubbing with equal composure. The independence and opposition of the Companies was especially noticeable in the case of those that had large funds, and whose control was irresponsible, whilst small Companies, who had very little to lose, were frequently willing to tell the Commissioners anything they wished to know. The Grocers, for example, declined to give any account of themselves to the Commissioners, and probably they were wise in their generation. It is not, however, without a certain aptitude that one recognizes the motto of the Company—"God grant grace." It would have been interesting to know how the graceless grocers *do* dispense their vast trust property. For example, in 1636 one William Pennefather, by his will, gave £233 6*s.* 8*d.* to buy land of the yearly value of £11 13*s.* 4*d.*, such sum to be divided amongst seven poor almspeople. How much does the land bring in, and how much is paid over? So a house is given to the same Company to provide £4 a year for an iron and glass lantern to be fixed in Billingsgate, and £6 10*s.* to the poor. If the

house brings in (as it probably does), £300 a year, how much is given to the poor?

Whilst the ordinary funds at the command of the Companies are mainly spent in salaries, pensions, and dinners, those that are expressly left for purposes of charity are so bestowed with a more or less literal adhesion to the terms of the bequest. When a testator three hundred years ago left a house or land to the intent that the income should be employed to pay a certain sum yearly to a schoolmaster who should teach all the poor children of the craft, he was of the opinion that the value of money which for two hundred years had remained stationary would so continue, and had not in contemplation that his land would increase in value twenty-fold. A large amount of land has been left or given to the City Companies upon these and similar educational trusts. Sometimes the whole improved income is devoted to educational uses, which are however, as a rule, widely different from what the donor intended; sometimes only the literal terms of the gift are attended to, and the balance of income is appropriated by the Companies for their own private purposes. There is no doubt that where the land or property is given with the intention that the Company should be merely trustees and not beneficiaries, there the balance is misappropriated. We cannot estimate the amount of such misappropriated balance; but the *Examiner* (a paper which has given considerable consideration to the question) estimates it at not less than *one hundred thousand pounds per annum.*

The returns made by the City Companies of charities vested in them, contain these bequests entered as a fixed charge upon the property, and the value of the property itself is not set out. Yet upon the tables made out on this system the Companies admit themselves to be the distri-

butors of more than *ninety-nine thousand pounds per annum** in the form of charity. Of this sum £19,008 is available for education; £5,646 for apprenticing and advancement; £903 for endowment of lecturers, preachers, &c.; £53,912 for the support of almshouses and pensioners; £1,368 for the distribution of clothing, bread, &c.; £112 for distribution in money; £181 for general uses of the poor; and £17,983 for payments to parishes, schools, &c.

It is therefore exceedingly probable that the land or money left or given to the City Companies for educational purposes, is far outweighed in amount by the property available for charitable purposes generally; "almshouses," "poor men and women," "decaied" members of the trade, and so forth. The almshouses were intended for working members of the craft who had become unfortunate; they are not, however, appropriated to this class as a rule. The "decaie" that is benefited is that of members of the Company, frequently irrespective of the business which they have followed, and the other specific charitable bequests are often carried out *literally*, and the balance of income, contrary to the donor's apparent wish, is appropriated by the Company.

Some years ago, Stuart Mill wrote that we had "well nigh seen the last of the superstition which allowed a man who owned a piece of land or a sum of money 500 years ago to make a binding disposition of it so long as the British nation should last." A large proportion of the property of

* See copy of "Digest of Endowed Charities," mentioned in the 14th Report of the Charity Commissioners, presented to the House of Commons on motion of Lord Robert Montagu, 1868. The total income returned to the Commissioners appointed in 1818 and 1819 (under the provisions of the 58 Geo. III., c. 91, and 59 Geo. III., c. 81) was £85,685. See "Digest of Report of Commissioners," p. 723. The difference is supposed to represent fifty years' improved value!!

the City Companies is held upon these trusts some hundreds of years old. But whilst the presumable wish of the ancient donors was that the whole of the property left should be devoted to the purpose indicated, the Companies frequently effectuate merely the literal terms of his bequest, even although they are aware that they are bound in equity to appropriate the whole.

When £20,000 is left to the Clothworkers' Company for the produce to be applied in "making themselves comfortable,"* no one doubts that, however much the fund has increased, the produce will be faithfully applied. But it is in bequests for the benefit of the poor that the malversation chiefly exists. The legal bearings of these bequests have been clearly ascertained in a recent decision;† and as it seems probable that not less than *one hundred thousand pounds per annum* is, upon the ruling in that case, taken from the pockets of the London poor and misappropriated, its importance cannot well be over-estimated.

The facts were these. In 1570, one Robert Donkyn, formerly a member of the Merchant Taylors', devised certain house property in Bishopsgate‡ to the Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Merchant Taylors' Company, to the intent and upon the condition that they should every year out of the rents provide for twelve poor men twelve gowns of Welsh frieze of the price of sixteen-pence the yard, twelve shirts of the value of two shillings each shirt, twelve pairs of shoes of the value of twelve-pence the pair; and he then provided in a similar manner for twelve poor women.

* *Vide* note of this well-known bequest. "Pearson, on Corporation Reform," p. 88.

† *The Merchant Taylors' Company* v. *The Attorney-General*, decided by Hatherley, L.C., and Mellish and James, L.J.J., on appeal from Romilly, M.R. *Vide* 11 L.R., Ch. 39; 40 L.J., Ch. 545; decided in 1871.

‡ This charity is entered in the return above quoted as a "fixed charge" of £38 1*s*., thus illustrating what we stated as to the fallaciousness of the return. *Vide* "Digest of Endowed Charities, &c.," pp. 44-5.

The produce of the house property at the death of the testator was somewhat more than was requisite for the purpose; but since that time it has enormously increased, and until the Charity Commissioners heard of the case the Company pocketed the balance, taking, of course, due care to clothe the twelve poor men and the twelve poor women.

It was held both by the Master of the Rolls and the Court of Appeal that *the Company were not entitled to appropriate the surplus to their own purposes.* Of course the intention of the testator is the basis upon which the decision rests. If he had given estates to a Company with their undertaking and upon condition that they should make certain payments as in the case of the *Attorney-General* v. *The Wax Chandelers' Company,** the decision would have been different, but there was in this case as is the case in hundreds of others, no manifest intention to give the property to other than charitable uses.

Robert Donkyn apparently never supposed that the value of money and the price of frieze would change, still less did he suppose that the twelve or fifteen cottages and gardens bringing in their thirty shillings a year each, and requiring constant repair, would in the course of years be replaced by magnificent warehouses yielding a princely income. What would have been his bequest if such a prospect had been unrolled before him it is impossible to say, and the case is a striking illustration of the absurdity of allowing a testator to control the direction of land for hundreds of years.† The Merchant Taylors are now bound to

* 8 L.R., Ch. 452.

† In the Report made to the Charity Commissioners of 1819, we find that the Merchant Taylors quote the prices fixed by Robert Donkyn for the articles to be supplied (shoes 12*d.* and so forth), and add these prices fixed when money was only a tithe of its present value up to £22 10*s.*, and then go on to say that they expend about double the amount "*so as to carry into full effect the intentions of the testator.*" "Report of Commissioners on Charities." Vol. XVII., p. 432, printed 1827.

expend the revenue in charitable purposes, under the *cy pres* doctrine of the Court of Chancery.*

In addition to trusts of this kind there are also many others where valuable landed estate has been left for purposes which have altogether failed. The payment of preachers in churches which have been pulled down; at Paul's Cross, and at other places, are of this class. A sum left for the marriage portioning of maidens brought in to the Drapers' Company more than £2,000 a year forty years ago, but most of it was applied to "corporate purposes."

And when the objects *are* carried out, they are sometimes carried out at extravagant expense. Thus, in 1812, the Goldsmiths' Company built almshouses for twenty people at a cost of £12,000, or £600 for each inmate, and recently the payment of an apprentice premium of £10 was in one Company made the excuse for a dinner that cost £100.

The salaries paid by the City Companies are on the most liberal scale, as may well be expected from masters who have more funds than they know how to appropriate. The onerous duty of governing the Company and of managing its funds is also frequently well remunerated.

A venerable member of one of the City Companies, being asked to account for their tenacity of life, answered, "The dinners have done it," and probably he was, in no small degree, right. The feasts of the olden time, for which every member paid out of his own pocket, have in the course of events come to be represented by the most extravagant and expensive entertainments, costing many thousands a year, and which are defrayed out of the funds of the Com-

* The charitable purpose for which the money has been used is the erection of a Convalescent Home at Bognor, in pursuance of a "scheme" prepared in 1869. The funds had been accumulating six years, and amounted to over £40,000. The Company are the "Governors" of the Home. A pleasant institution for sick friends. See full details of scheme in "Memorials of Merchant Taylors' Company," by C. M. Clode, pp. 389, *et seq.* Harrisons, London, 1875.

pany, this being one of the great, if not *the* great "corporate purpose."*

Sometimes dinners are given to the whole of the members of the Company, and those who are on the Livery are entitled to a certain number every year where the funds are adequate. The Court and the officers of some Companies dine very frequently, and have the advantage of being paid for doing so.

Some Companies have funds specially left for the physical recreation of the guild; and in one Company a fund exists for the purpose of providing each member with a glass of a drink known as "Lady Cowper," said to have the effect of taking away the unpleasant sensations caused by over-dining. So grateful was the donor of this fund for a glass of the magic liquor after a heavy City dinner, that he determined to confer a similar benefit on his successors. But, probably, those who left even these funds intended them for tradesmen like themselves, and not for the *omnium gatherum* which constitutes a modern City Company.

The Livery Companies, although they are at present free from active oversight and control at the hands of any alien body, are nevertheless subject to it at the hands both of the City Corporation and of the Crown. It is desirable to establish this proposition, as it may help us to the best basis on which to deal with them. Notwithstanding the influence which the united trading Companies obtained in City government and in the election of corporate officers, it does not appear that the supremacy of the City Corporation over the Companies and over their internal management, which was so prominent in the early part of their history, has ever been lost.

* It is said that the Goldsmiths expend more than £30,000 per annum in dining, and the Fishmongers, Ironmongers, Clothworkers, Skinners, and Grocers are not far in the background. Many of the City dinners cost from three to five guineas per head.

Appointments of the rulers of the Companies, and confirmation of those who were selected by the Companies, were of constant occurrence during the reigns of the later Plantagenet kings.* The rulers of the Companies were always sworn in before the Court of Aldermen, and fines were imposed upon refractory members. The rules of the Companies were approved by the Court, and the Masters were sworn to defend them as so approved and allowed.†

And so, when the various Companies applied for incorporating charters, the Court of Aldermen gave their adhesion to their terms before the Company was definitely recognized as a corporate body within the City; and these charters were duly enrolled on the books of the Court of Aldermen. In some cases they had power to abrogate the charter itself, when they thought right, and the Corporation seems to have claimed and exercised the power of creating a new Company whenever they thought fit. And as with the constituting charter so with the bye-laws and internal regulations, the Mayor and Aldermen seem to have claimed power to deal with them. It would appear, therefore, that a right of appeal will lie from the decision of a Livery Company, as to a matter within its internal regulation, to the Mayor and Aldermen.‡

The statute 15 Hy. VI., c. 5, enacts that the Master and Wardens of all guilds, fraternities, &c., shall bring in their charters to be enrolled before the governors of the cities in which they exist, and that no such Master or Wardens should make any ordinance to the disinheritance or diminution of the king's franchise, or of others; *nor against the*

* "Report of Municipal Commissioners." Vol. II., p. 13.

† On the other hand, we find that the Mayor must be chosen from the members of one of the Twelve great Companies, as those of "inferiour rancke are not capable of such dignitie."—Stow's "Survey," ed. 1633, p. 599.

‡ See *Stationers' Company* v. *Salisbury*, Raymond 222. See also appeal by members of Merchant Taylors' Company.—Clode's "*Memorials of the Merchant Taylors*," p. 249.

common profit of the people, nor other ordinance of charge, unless approved by such chief governors, and entered of record.

This comprehensive statute is recited by the 19 Hy. VII., c. 7, and that numerous ordinances had been made by private corporate bodies in contravention of it, and it is re-enacted, and the ordinances against the common profit of the people are declared unlawful, except with the assent of the Chancellor, Treasurer, or Chief Justice of the King's Bench or Common Pleas, or any three of them, &c.

More than one of the charters of the City of London grants that the customs of the City shall remain intact, whether used or not, and this jurisdiction over the Companies, and the power in the City, and in the Crown, to deal with and abrogate all laws made by their Governing Bodies which have not been entered on the City Records, or assented to by the Crown as above provided, seems to be quite unimpaired.

The 38 Edw. III., in granting exclusive rights over drapery to the Drapers' Company, provides for the elected Wardens being sworn in before the Mayor, and being assisted in their government by the Mayor and Sheriffs. It is doubtful whether this internal control was not lessened by the subsequent charters, but it sufficiently shows that in its origin the government of the Company was provided for as being a public matter, and on the same level as the government of the City.

A charter of Henry the Sixth (22 Feb., 16 Hy. VI.) provides that the officers of the Skinners' Company annually elected shall be presented to the Lord Mayor, and be sworn before him; and this, though subsequently confirmed, would appear to have gradually fallen into desuetude. It is apprehended, however, that it might be enforced; and, if so, there must be some reciprocal power inherent in the Mayor

to ascertain the duties of the officers, so that he may judge how far the oath is kept.

In 1752, five liverymen of the Merchant Taylors' Company, being refused a copy of the Company's bye-laws by the Master and Wardens, applied for redress to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The officers of the Company do not appear to have denied the jurisdiction, but they were apprehensive of it, and produced the book to the liverymen. This is material, and the more so as the Court of Mayor and Aldermen passed a resolution that the several Companies of the City "are under the government of the Court of Mayor and Aldermen."

The Court of Aldermen, sitting on the 5th of September, 1533, appears to have had before its consideration the book of ordinances of the Clothworkers' Company, and to have approved of the same with the exception of three articles, which they specify. The exception taken to these three articles would seem to indicate an active control by the Mayor and Aldermen of the internal arrangements of the Company.

So the Common Council of the City, in March 1551, declined to confirm, and finally rejected, an article presented by the Clothworkers' Company as to the binding of apprentices, it being declared to be contrary to the customs, liberties, and franchises of the City.

In 1657, the Common Council passed an Act giving to the Wardens of the Dyers' Company control over the trade.

In 1488, the Wax Chandlers presented to the Mayor and Aldermen a prayer for their assent to the new bye-laws, and after reading and approving the said bye-laws they duly allowed them. In a former petition, under date 45 Edw. III., the "Waxchaundelers" make complaint as to their craft being "gretely slaundered" in the "Citie," and that they have not "Maisters chosen of the saide crafte and

sworn afore you Maire and Aldremen as other crafts have, to ovrse the defaultes which ben in their said craftes," clearly indicating the custom of the Companies at this time; and it was provided that all defective manufactures should be proved before the Mayor and Aldermen, and all fines levied in consequence should go into the Chamber of the City.

Some of the bye-laws allowed upon the petition of "the Maister, Wardeyns, and hole Felaushippe" are remarkable, and illustrate the jealousy of foreign intervention in trade, and also the vigorous measures which were thought justifiable by our ancestors in order to rule the citizens.*

By an Act of the *Common Council*, in 1754, persons exercising the trade of Butchers within a certain district are compelled to become free of the Butchers' Company.

In the same year, another Act was passed, enacting that any one carrying on the trade of a plumber in London or the liberties thereof must take upon himself the freedom of the Plumbers' Company. In default he may be sued for a penalty. So by Acts of the Council, under date 26th October, 1763, and 22nd September, 1820, it was provided that a penalty of £5 should be recoverable for every sale of poultry made by any one not a member of the Poulters.

* "It is, therefore, ordeigned and establesshed that no man, psone, nor psones occupying the said craft within the Cite and fraunchise aforesaide take any foreyn or aliant into his svice, to work in the said crafte, nor eny poynt thereof, uppon peyn of forfeiture of xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}. for evy foreyn or aliant so taken and sett aworke, as often as he or they be found gilty in the same. * * * * *

"Also where as divse and many young men of the said craft gevyng theym selfe to idlenesse and unlawfulle games, wandryng as vagabunds within the said Cite and the fraunchise thereof, and will not applye theym selfe to worke in the saide craft for reasonable wages, that if eny suche psone or psones so wandryng be desired and required to worke within his crafte for reasonable hire or wages, and hit refuse and wille not wyrke, that then the Maister and Wardeyns of the same crafte for the tyme beyng take and bryng theym afore the Maire of the said Cite or th' Aldremen, to be punnyshed as a vagabunde tille he be reconsiled and offre hym selfe to worke." See this quoted in "Rep. of M. C., 1837," div. 2. p. 108.

And the control exercised by the Mayor and Aldermen over the Companies was not confined to the acceptance of the Master and allowance of bye-laws, but extended to the enforcement of the bye-laws. Thus, in 1630, a citizen was committed to Newgate for not obeying a bye-law of the Poulterers' Company.

In the reign of William and Mary, the Mayor and Aldermen, upon the petition of the members of the Farriers' Company, granted and established them as a Livery Company of the City, it appearing that the books of the Company had been lost in the Great Fire.

By an Act of the Common Council, dated July 1st, 1658, "all persons using the trade of a spectacle-maker within this City or liberties thereof, are required to become free of this Company."

The Court of Aldermen did not grant a Livery to the Clockmakers' Company till July 1766, and seem to have at that time and several times subsequently regulated the number of the Livery and the fines payable on admission.

Previously to this grant the Common Council, by an Act (15th Oct. 1765), decreed that all persons carrying on the business of clock or watchmaker, and mathematical instrument maker must be free of the Company. A dispute appears to have arisen as to an optical instrument maker whom the Clockmakers summoned to take up his freedom with them, but the Spectacle-makers opposed and the Court of Aldermen decided that he must take up his freedom as a spectacle-maker.

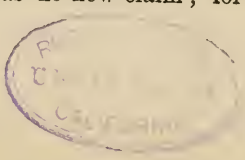
People using mysteries within the limits are in several other cases required by the Acts of the Common Council to take up their freedom in the Company whose trade they practise. In 1759, such an Act was passed as to Felt-makers.

It is even open to question whether the City control does not extend to the extinction of a Company in some

cases, for example, the governing charter of the Gardeners (18 Sep. 3, Jac. I.), contains a proviso whereby the Lord Mayor and Aldermen may certify into Chancery their voidance of the charter if it be found convenient.

But the Corporation of the City has long ceased actively to interfere with the management of the Companies. As every Alderman is a member of a Company he is not likely to take any action on the one side that might imperil or lessen his privileges on the other, and so things remain, and will remain, as long as they can be kept *in statu quo*. The fierce opposition which has been again and again offered by the Corporation to reform, is grounded in the fear that a Corporation elected from a wider area, and whose members were not personally interested in these guilds, might lay rude hands upon them or perchance call them to account. To allow any parvenu Corporation to find out their power, or to begin to exercise control over the Companies, would, as they well know, be the beginning of the end.

The *control of the Crown* over the Companies has been manifested in several ways. This control, although now vigorously contested, was not in former days a matter of any dispute whatever. It extended to the whole existence of the Company, which was admitted to rest upon the pleasure of the sovereign, and it descended into minor details connected with the method of governing the Companies. The rules and bye-laws suggested by the Companies generally required the consent of the Crown or its representatives. Thus the rules of the Cutlers' Company received the consent of the Lord High Treasurer, and the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas (20 March, 1703). The governing charter of the Bakers' Company (2 James II.) contains a power enabling the king, by order of the Privy Council, to amove the Master, Wardens, Assistants, or Clerk of the Company. And this was no new claim; for



we find, in 1507 (13 July, 22 Hy. VII.), that the bye-laws of the Company were rectified by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in 1622 (22 Feb., 19 Jac. I.) the bye-laws of the mystery of Brown Bread Bakers (who are united with the White Bread Bakers in the governing charter of Jac. II.) were settled under the hands of the Lord Keeper and the Chief Justices of the Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas.

In 1664 (28 June) the bye-laws of the Wax Chandlers' Company were allowed by the Lord Chancellor and Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, upon the prayer of the Governing Body.

In 1710 the bye-laws of the Armourers and Braziers were allowed by the Lord Keeper and the Lord Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas.

And so with many others of the Companies. The bye-laws would appear to have been generally approved of by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, and the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, or by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen. They were brought before them by petition of the Company. The latest example of this, so far as we know, was the approval given by Lord Hardwicke as Lord Chancellor, and by the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, to the rules and constitutions of the Mystery of Butchers, such rules having been compiled in accordance with the terms of the charter of 23 Geo. II.

In 1684 the Stationers petitioned the king for a new charter, which was duly granted, and therein they pray for a Governing Body to be confirmed to them, to be composed of such persons as the king should deem good and faithful subjects of the king and his successors, and that upon just complaint the person so elected should be liable to be *amoved*

by Order in Council. And, in the charter itself, it is declared that the election of Clerk to the Company is to be approved under the Privy Signet (22 May, 36 Car. II.) and that in case of an election of Master or Wardens contrary to the statute, that the king may expel them.

But the interference of the Crown has gone very far beyond the mere provisions for oversight of rules and control of management. There is abundance of precedent for the most complete investigation or alteration; not precedent confined to one or two acts of tyrannous kings, but to acts of successive kings continued through centuries, and the constitutional justice of which the Companies themselves acknowledged.

In the twelfth year of Richard the Second, the Livery Companies of the City were commanded, under penalty of *forfeiture*, to deliver to the King and Council a full account of their origin, foundations, rules, oaths, liberties, privileges, statutes, ordinances, and usages of all kinds, together with a complete statement of their property, its investment, and the income derived from it. There does not appear to have been any question in this case as to the power and right of the Crown, nor any Companies who asserted that it was no business of the king's, and who declined to answer his requisitions. The position of these Companies and of their property was better understood in 1389 than in 1837. Unfortunately the return does not appear to be now in existence. The control thus asserted by Richard the Second and his predecessors *was continued by every monarch down to William the Third.* Possessed of monopolous rights, the members of the Companies were well aware how entirely these rights, and the corporate property amassed through their possession, rested upon the pleasure of the Crown. When a new sovereign ascends the throne now, the City Companies make no endeavour to conciliate the royal favour or the continuance

of their possessions. They have divorced the trade from the property, and, keeping the latter, care little for the former. But their conduct was very different three hundred years ago, and their privileges and property suffered constant revision, and were only confirmed by succeeding sovereigns for good consideration. Henry the Eighth made them pay large sums of money. In 1545 they paid him more than £20,000 towards the expenses of the Scotch war. In 1521 he ordered the Drapers' Company to supply a vessel for foreign enterprise, and they forthwith did so. In 1546 took place a visitation on the suppression of chantries, and a Commission was empowered to make a full disclosure of all the property, &c., of the Livery Companies. King Edward the Sixth received £18,700 under this Commission.

Queen Mary obtained £65,000 from the Livery Companies towards the expenses of the French war. Queen Elizabeth is said to have extracted £140,000 from them, and then compelled them to borrow it back upon the security of their own gold plate, and to pay the Crown seven per cent. for the loan! James the First, who incorporated no less than fifteen new monopolous Companies, took care to be well paid for all the charters he granted. Nine of the twelve great Companies had new charters from this monarch, making their powers over their trades more absolute than ever.

Charles the First exacted large payments for his favour from the Companies. At one assembly of the Common Hall no less a sum than £100,000 was voted, and precepts issued to the Companies for its collection. They were still further impoverished under the Commonwealth; but so great was their recuperative power that they welcomed Charles the Second at the Restoration with the most magnificent presents.

And the submission which they were in the habit of

offering to different sovereigns was not wanting to Charles the Second. The Companies well knew in those days that the very continuance of their monopolies depended upon royal favour: that the property they had amassed was held by them as trustees, and that if the king chose to take away the opportunity of performing the trust he would also in all probability take away the funds also.

This it was that led them to consider their position, when in 1684 the City charters were declared forfeited to the king. They at once saw that the same hand might be laid upon their own charters, and they therefore hastened to make new submission to the king. They offered their humble submission "to the sacred majesty" of the king, and asked him in "his princely wisdom" to regulate their government. He did so, by the grant of new charters re-incorporating the Companies under such restrictions as he thought proper; continuing their right of perpetual succession, but making the officers of any Company removeable by the king, and the whole body of the Company to be subject to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

Very different was the conduct of the Companies when the Commissioners of 1835 received the royal command to inquire into the Corporation of London. Upon this occasion the Merchant Taylors distinguished themselves amongst the Companies by their opposition. They told the Commissioners that they would meet them with "unqualified resistance." King William the Fourth had commanded his loving subjects to give their best assistance to his trusty and well-beloved Commission, but the Merchant Taylors administering a vast income, amassed under public auspices, and held by them as trustees for public purposes, that is to say, for the training and supervision of tailors and breeches makers, arrogantly set both King and Commission at defiance. It would be amusing, if it were not so lamentable, to contrast

this with their conduct in 1684. They were foremost then in craven submission. They begged the king in their most servile language, to take back their charter; and when he granted them a new one, which he did in the same year, they voted that all the Company should wait upon the king to thank him. Judge Jefferies, however, informed them that the king "accepted their thanks, but would excuse their attendance;" whereupon the Company voted a present in plate for the "great and extraordinary honour he had conferred on them." It is exactly what might be anticipated, that the abject cowardice of 1684 would develop into the confident assumption of 1837, and that the title deeds which the men of 1684 offered to the king, their descendants 150 years later should claim as their "private property." James the Second endeavoured to corrupt the electoral body of the Companies so as to use them for his own purposes, and still the Merchant Taylors were to the fore and proposed to set up his statue in the Royal Exchange.*

* We are anxious to do every justice to this Company in judging of its conduct in 1837, and therefore we append a copy of the resolutions passed at a Court of Assistants of the Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of John the Baptist, held on the 24th of October and the 14th of November, 1833; and we do this the more readily, as these resolutions illustrate the grounds of defence on which the Companies will probably again rest their case. It is also fair to add that these resolutions are founded more or less upon the answers given by Sir James Scarlett, Mr. W. W. Follett, and Mr. W. R. Rennall to the two following queries:—1. "Whether Municipal Corporations are legally bound and compellable to furnish the information sought for by the Municipal Corporation Commission and by the first list of queries propounded by the Commissioners; and if so, to what extent." 2. "Whether or not (assuming the preceding question to be answered in the affirmative) the Merchant Taylors' Company is a Municipal Corporation, or a Corporation of that character, nature, and description as to be legally within the scope and power of such Commission."

Resolved unanimously—

"That this Court are ready and willing to disclose everything relating to the affairs of this Company before a competent tribunal.

"That, deeply impressed with sentiments of the most profound respect and loyalty to their sovereign, they are prompted no less by inclination

The Companies had by this time pretty much cast aside the "common profit of the people," which was the groundwork of the old grants and charters; and when William of Orange was invited over, they concluded that an excellent

than by a sense of duty to yield implicit obedience to all authority constituted according to law.

"That, entertaining doubts how far the Commission for inquiring into Municipal Corporations is in accordance with law, and whether, if it be so, it extends to Corporations of the nature of the Merchant Tailors' Company, they have thought it right to submit those doubts to the consideration of counsel learned in the law.

"That, upon mature deliberation, aided by the legal advice they have received, they entertain a strong conviction—

"That the Crown cannot, by virtue of the prerogative alone, compel any subject to make communications or disclosures, upon oath or otherwise, except in a due course of the administration of justice.

"That a roving Commission, to inquire for grievances and to compel answers, is clearly contrary to law.

"That the members of the Corporations can in no respect be compelled to make any answer to the Commissioners appointed by the Crown touching any of the matters propounded in their queries, or within the scope of the Commission.

"That the method prescribed for executing the Commission in question by summoning the officers of the different bodies whom the investigation affects; forcing disclosures of title or of defects of title by an extra-judicial oath; looking for abuses, without a specific accusation in legal form; and by causing the production on oath, without any cause depending, at the suit of a party interested, of the muniments and other writings of Corporations, is not only a wide departure from the ordinary course of law, but a grievous violation of the liberty of the subject, and of highly dangerous example to the security of property.

"That the address or concurrence of one House of the Legislature only, as the law now stands, can add nothing to the validity of the Commission in question.

"That although the House of Commons claims a power to enforce, by means of its own privilege, the attendance of witnesses and the production of papers and records before its own Committee of Inquiry, yet it cannot communicate such a power to the Crown; and the privilege of the House of Commons is not, like the prerogative of the king, reducible to any controul of a court of justice, nor perhaps to any strict definition; so that it must ever depend entirely on the discretion and moderation of that assembly whether that privilege shall be exercised for the real benefit of the people, or in a manner wholly inconsistent with justice or liberty, as it certainly must be whenever the House of Commons shall assume a jurisdiction which properly belongs to the legal tribunals.

"That the known and lawful manner of inquiry into the misconduct

opportunity offered for advancing their interests. And they were right. It was essential to the stability of William's throne that he should conciliate his subjects, and when he found that by simply repealing the new charters

of a Corporation, or into the improper exercise of its franchises, is by information in the Court of King's Bench, which can only be granted upon some specific charge, or to redress some specific grievance.

"That a Commission from the Crown (and the same may be said of a Committee of either House of Parliament), for the purpose of finding out matters of complaint against every Corporation in the kingdom, if it were armed with compulsory powers, would be liable to all the objections which were justly urged against the *Quo Warrantos* of Charles the Second, without even regarding, as they did, the forms of justice.

"That even assuming the Commission in question to be legal and effectual as regards Municipal Corporations, the Merchant Tailors' Company is not a Municipal Corporation, and does not, therefore, come within the scope of its inquiries.

"That the term Municipal Corporations seems to refer to those Corporations only which embrace cities or towns, as contra-distinguished from such as possess no local jurisdiction whatever, but merely relate to persons, professions, trades, mysteries, or commercial adventures having no concern with the administration of justice, or the maintenance and regulation of the police, or the preservation of the peace.

"That if this be not the sense of the words 'Municipal Corporations,' it is difficult to conceive why they should not comprehend the colleges in the two Universities, the Universities themselves, which do by their charters invest the Vice-Chancellor with the office of Conservator of the Peace, the Dean and Chapter in every cathedral town, the Bank of England, the East India Company, the College of Physicians, and many others of the like kind, as well as the trading corporations and fraternities of particular mysteries.

"That this Court, moreover, being for these reasons satisfied that any information given by their authority to the Municipal Corporation Commissioners would be purely voluntary, feel that they cannot consistently with the ancient and lawful oath taken by each individual on his admission to the Court of Assistants, disclose any matter which in their knowledge or judgment was not intended to be published.

"That this Court in declining to give any information to the Commissioners appointed under and by virtue of the Commission aforesaid, are desirous of assuring the Commissioners most respectfully that there is nothing in the history, constitution, or administration of the Merchant Tailors' Company that the members of this Court have collectively or individually, any wish or interest to withhold from inquiry.

"That, on the contrary, it would be a source of gratification to them to have the opportunity of demonstrating the increased and increasing extent and utility of the charities, which, as well by a due economy of

granted in 1684, he could gain the goodwill of so influential a body as the City Companies, he did not hesitate to take the step. *The voluntary cession of their old charters was now supposed to have been in reality a tyrannous act of the late*

their revenues, as by the munificence of several of their predecessors, members of this Court, they have been able to establish and enlarge; but they are actuated exclusively by two considerations—first, the oath of office, which they think precludes them from voluntary disclosures; and secondly, the persuasion that the universal though reluctant submission of all the Corporations in the kingdom to a Commission so manifestly unlawful, and in their judgment so inconsistent with the security of the property and rights of the subject, could not fail to be treated as a sanction to such an exercise of the prerogative, and to become a precedent full of danger to future times. Wherefore they conceive it to be the more especial duty of such of these bodies as have no favour to expect and no danger to fear to meet this unlawful encroachment of power with unqualified resistance.

"Resolved that a copy of these resolutions and of the opinions of counsel be transmitted to Sir Fras. Palgrave.

"By order,

(Signed) "JOHN DE MOLE,

"*Clerk and Solicitor to the Company.*"

This extraordinary document, as every lawyer would surmise, goes considerably beyond what the opinions of the counsel justify, strong as that opinion undoubtedly is. The Tailors have added a good deal of their own. There is no evidence as to how far the learned counsel were instructed in the past history of the Companies, and certainly their opinions show no knowledge of certain portions of it. As a rule, however, they are general in their expressions of opinion, and wisely refrain from padding it with reasons. No one of the counsel, for example, alludes to the Commission under the Great Seal, which was issued in 1392, to "inquire into the errors, defects, and misprisions committed in the City of London, through the bad conduct of the magistrates," nor the indictment of aldermen and others before it, with their punishment by heavy fines and the seizure of the liberties of the City to the king's use. It would seem to have been wise to prove the illegality of this Commission and the others already set out, before laying down in such dogmatic terms the law of the question; the only authority for which is given in the opinion of Mr. Rennall, and refers to a statute passed in 1345. Altogether, the document—considering the facts in their own archives—is about as audacious as it could be.

As to their point that they are not Municipal Corporations, we have sufficiently shown that they are an actual essential part of the Corporation of London. They are incorporated by their charters as of the City of London: every freeman of London was compelled to be first free of a Company; every corporate official was compelled to be free of a Com-

king, and the old charters were forthwith re-established in their former validity and force.

No subsequent investigation into the affairs of the Companies, or serious interference with them, took place until 1833, when a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations of England and Wales. They inquired into the state of the Corporation of London, and presented a lengthy report upon it and upon the City Companies, as being part of the electoral body and depositories of funds and estates which had been originally given for the purposes of the various London trades. The privileges of the freemen and the management of corporate funds were specially set forth amongst the objects to be attained, and the Commissioners were empowered to call before them such officers of corporations and such others as they judged necessary, and if the same should be requisite, to administer an oath to the persons so called.

The powers given appeared ample enough, but when the Commissioners came to inquire into the Livery Companies, they met, especially in the cases of some of the larger Companies, with the most resolute opposition. Their authority was called in question and denied: their circular of questions was unanswered, and but a very small proportion of the Companies gave any satisfactory account of their income and expenditure. The Commissioners did not administer the oath to any of the officers of the Companies, and when large Companies as the Ironmongers, the Vint-

pany; every voter before the Reform Act was bound to be a liveryman; and the Corporation had the oversight and control of the Companies. If they are not Municipal Corporations words must have ceased to have a meaning. Compare, hereon, "Speech of Mr. Hume in House of Commons, Feb. 21st, 1833." They are no more trading Corporations now than they are guilds in the mediæval understanding of that term. [Guild is a brotherhood or company of men incorporate in one combination, supporting their common charge by mutual composition.—Shepherd: "Epitome of Laws of this Nation, 1656," p. 1124.]

ners, or the Grocers, declined to assist them in any way whatever, they simply registered the discourtesy and passed on.

Under these circumstances no one can wonder that no information was forthcoming, which it was thought undesirable that the Commissioners should possess, and the inquiry was in large measure nugatory. From that day to this the Companies have slumbered on—not in peace, but practically unmolested. London was excepted from the Municipal Corporations Act, on the understanding that a Municipal scheme should be framed at once. It has been taken in hand again and again, sometimes by private members, and sometimes by the Government, but always without practical result. The reason of this has puzzled many people, but it is a very clear one. *Behind* the City Corporation are the Livery Companies. These latter are fearful that in case of reformation of the former, there may come inquiry into, and reformation of themselves, and so they use every possible means of blocking the wheels of City reform. And—considering their position—they are wise in their day and generation. The methods they adopt in blocking legislation which may lead to any overhauling of their misused funds, are the best that could possibly be devised, and this is evidenced by their signal success.

Firstly. The members and governors of the Companies are powerful in the Corporation, and, practically, guide its destinies. It is, as they know, against the Corporation that the assault will come, if at all, and so they use every effort to make it, within its cramped limits, an enlightened and creditable government. Being practical and able men, they succeed in this; and so within its own area, and regarding its administration, the government of the City of London is, in many respects, wise, humane, and public-spirited. We will go further, and say that we believe if those who rule the

City could have a guarantee of non-intervention in the case of their vested interests in the Companies, that they would willingly open their arms and let in surrounding areas, so as to diffuse the benefits of good government as widely as possible. But they are restrained in this by the fear that when outsiders came to participate in City government, they would get to know too much about their rights in the Companies, and so their own privileges be lost.

Secondly. Having made the Corporation government so good, they extol it far beyond its merits; and whenever a dangerous measure is advanced against it they denounce it, ridicule it, and by the agency of all the members in the House, who are either in the "swim" or under their control,* they meet it with the fiercest opposition.† The City

* We are informed that more than 160 members of the present House of Commons are also members of City Companies.

† The Government Bill of 1856 for the reform of the Corporation of London was a very mild milk-and-water measure, in fact scarcely a reform at all. ("A Bill of the mildest possible character," the *Times* styles it; April 2nd, 1856.) But it signally illustrates this. We shall discuss the Bill and its perfunctory provisions elsewhere, but its interference with the property and control of the Companies was simply *nil*. It did interfere with the election of Corporate Officers. The Companies at once rose to resist the first attempt to touch their sacred privileges. They were collected by advertisements, in which they were told, "if the present atrocious Bill is carried, you are done for ever;" and a mass-meeting of the Liverymen whose electoral rights were threatened, was held in the Guildhall, April 15th, 1856. The meeting well illustrated the character of the opposition of the Companies to all City reform. James Clark Lawrence, the nominee of the Livery Committee, thus expressed the view of the Companies on the measure. It is useful to quote, not as edifying in itself, but as what any government projecting London reform may anticipate from the Livery Companies. "This is an April fools' Bill. Its moderation is the moderation of the border plunderer, who took away as much as he could in one foray, leaving the remainder for a future occasion; it is the moderation of the pickpocket who stole a man's purse, and then thought him well off that he left him his hat and coat; it is the moderation of the housebreaker, who after taking away plate and money, thought the owner of it had no reason to complain so long as his life was spared. * * * * It is a Bill of the vilest character."—*Times*, April 16th, 1856. This meeting was a fit sequel to the meeting of the Master and Wardens

is at once aroused, and the smallest invasion of what the liverymen call their "rights" is anathematized as robbery and confiscation. Their demeanour has marvellously changed since the Tudors and Stuarts ruled them.

Thirdly. They are careful to be on the best possible terms with the powers that be. Officers of the Government and dignitaries of the law are regularly invited to partake of their "noble hospitality." No one who has partaken of those gorgeous banquets could find in his heart to treat his hosts harshly. The source of the funds and their misappropriation seem matters of small moment after a dinner representing the perfected skill of four hundred years of continuous dining. No one who has quaffed rich wines from the chased goblets of the Skinners' Company is inclined to be over inquisitive as to their charters; and no one who has sat at table with the Merchant Taylors troubles himself to ask how many tailors there are on the Livery. So, by the most delicate and graceful suasion in time of quiet, the Companies prepare for themselves friends in time of need. One of Our Lord's parables thus receives excellent exemplification.

In recent days, however, the Companies have been full of alarms. There are portents in the air that they do not like, but they will show a warlike front to the last. In 1870 a return was moved for of the various particulars relating to the present state and constitution of the Livery Companies, and the method in which their funds are administered. To this request the reply was given that a full return had been made to the Royal Commission in 1837, and that no essential changes have since occurred. As we

of the different Companies at the Mansion House a few days before (*vide Times*, April 11th, 1856) where it was unanimously resolved that the "Bill was unconstitutional and unjust and ought to be opposed, and that measures be accordingly taken at once by the Companies to oppose it."

have shown, no statement could be further from the truth. It was made apparently to throw dust in the eyes of people who did not know anything about it.

The notice given by Mr. Morrison was also given too late in the session. Its terms, however, were so comprehensive that they are worth transcription, and might with slight alteration be transformed into a precedent. "For a return from the 89 Companies in the City of London, named in the second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, 1837, of the style of each Company, summary of charters and bye-laws, whether a Livery Company, number of Livery, total cost of admission, rules as to admission by patrimony, apprenticeship, gift and redemption, or otherwise, whether females are admitted, number of Livery admitted during last ten years, present total number, description of the ruling body of each, mode of election, list of officers, and of all salaries and emoluments, fines, statement of the property of each, of the income derived therefrom, of all charities vested in the Company, and of the income and expenditure thereof, of all funded property, and of the income derived from all sources, and statement of expenditure during the last financial year, and of all contributions and dues paid to the Corporation of the City (if any)."

In a succeeding chapter we shall endeavour to indicate the best method of dealing with the Livery Companies, regard being had to the vested interests of the Companies, the vested but unavailable interests of London tradesmen, the undoubted rights of the Crown and of the Corporation, and the doctrines of the Court of Chancery as applied to cases where trusts have failed, or can no longer be carried into effect.

Chapter IV.

THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.

Method of Government.—The Court of Aldermen and its Committees, and herein of The City Prisons.—The Court of Common Council.—Division of Representation.—Occupation and Status of Members.—Committees and Commissions of the Common Council, and herein of The Irish Society.—Of certain City Officers, Courts, Markets, and Schools.—Of Government by Committees generally.

The Court of Common Council is the great Legislative body of the Corporation of London; but there are still, as we have noted in a previous chapter, certain elective, magisterial, judicial, and legislative functions possessed by the Court of Aldermen. These functions are frequently delegated to Committees of the Court. There are six of such Committees, each of which is a Committee of the whole Court, with a quorum of three. The most important of these is the Gaol Committee, to which is entrusted the management of the two City prisons, and the appointment of all the inferior prison officers.

The Corporation are the owners of two prisons, the management of which is in the hands of the Court of Aldermen, viz., Newgate, and the City prison, Holloway. Newgate was rebuilt after the riots in 1780, at a time when prison architecture was in its infancy. It is, consequently, devoid of what are now regarded as the essential requirements of a good prison—plenty of fresh air, ready oversight and inspection, and efficient direct control. It has, however, the useful character of being safe inside and repellent

outside, and is, moreover, kept remarkably clean. The amount paid in salaries in respect of this prison is considerably less than was formerly the case, being somewhat over £1,000 a year, whilst £2,279 was paid in 1874 for wages. It is probable that but for its useful proximity to the Central Criminal Court the prison would have been pulled down long ago. Prisoners awaiting trial at the Central Criminal Court are confined in this prison, and prisoners sentenced to death return to Newgate, and are executed within its walls.

The City prison at Holloway was constructed in the year 1851, at a cost of nearly £100,000. It is in all respects an excellent institution. It is well fitted for its purpose, and acts as the House of Correction for City prisoners. The charge in 1874 upon the City Estate for this prison was £10,972, a fairp roportion of which was reimbursed by the sale of the prisoners' work.

The control of both the City prisons is vested in the Court of Aldermen.* All the payments out of the City's cash with respect to them are ordered by this Court; and in addition to the current expenses of maintenance, the Court of Aldermen are in the habit of voting pensions to retired prison officials; the amount expended in this manner in 1874 exceeded £1,000.

The Aldermen are the visiting magistrates of the prisons. Two are deputed to this service each month, the rota being settled by the Court of Aldermen. By the 42nd standing order of that Court the visiting magistrates are requested to report in writing to the Court upon the condition of the prisons. The Committee of the Court prepares an annual report upon the condition of these prisons and other matters connected with their control and management. The action

* This jurisdiction is now supposed to be regulated by the statute 4 Geo. IV., c. 64, s. 13.

of the Gaols' Committee is necessarily much more largely individual than collective.

The Finance Committee of the Court of Aldermen examines and passes all bills with respect to work done by its order, or in connection with the magistracy or with the maintenance of the prisons.

The Committee on Privileges have confided to their care all matters connected with privilege, ceremonial, or public display.

To the General Purposes' Committee is confided the consideration of all cases of charity, and all special matters not delegated to any other Committee.

The Brokers' Committee has the management of everything relative to the jurisdiction exercised by the Court over brokers.

The Livery-Cloth Committee attends to the due provision and supply of "livery-cloth" to the various dignitaries of state and others, according to ancient custom. The preservation and perpetuation of old customs is very well in its place, but the expenditure of £120 a year in bribing Ministers of State, &c., with presents of cloth, is a relic of the worst days of civic history; its continuance is absolutely without excuse, and it is most astonishing that neither the self-respect of the City nor that of the Ministers of State has long ere now put an end to the system.

The Court of Aldermen voted in pensions in 1874 the sum of £1,731, of which sum £700 was paid as a year's retiring allowance to the late Clerk to the Lord Mayor, and the first instalment was paid of the salary of £450 a year upon which the Governor of Newgate has retired. The Court also authorized the payment of £487 to the Sheriffs' Yeomen for attending the Courts, and of large sums for printing. They further authorized the payment of more

than £1,300, with respect to special police services, the expenses of the Police Committee; newspapers; and yeomen and doorkeepers at the Sessions.

This Court of Aldermen is also responsible for an expenditure of £8,925 in connection with the magistracy, about three-fourths of which was paid on account of the Justice Room at the Mansion House and the Justice Room at the Guildhall;—two most expensive institutions. The Aldermen preside as magistrates at the Guildhall according to an arrangement made amongst themselves, whilst the Lord Mayor presides at the Mansion House. Practically, however, the Chief Clerks at each of these Courts both decide the law and advise on the conduct of cases. As the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are also technically judges at the Central Criminal Court, it would seem that they have the power of sitting to try their own commitments. The perpetuation of the *ex-officio* magistracy of Aldermen in a great commercial city like London is impossible, and whatever be the fate of the Corporation, its removal is merely a question of time.

Each of the wards within the City is represented in the Corporation by an Alderman and a certain number of Common Councillors. The Ward of Bridge Without is represented by an Alderman alone. The population of the various wards in 1631 and 1871 respectively, the number of inhabited houses in 1871, and the present division of the Common Councillors amongst the wards, is set out in the following table. The total 1631 population does not, however, include the Wards of St. Bartholomew the Great, and St. Bartholomew the Less, with populations of 1,388 and 506 respectively, but which are now extinguished. Neither does it include the Ward of Bridge Without, not now reckoned in the City, but which in 1631 had a citizen population of 18,666. The total population was thus 130,274.

	Councillors.	Inhabited Houses, 1871.	Census Population, 1871.*	Population in 1631.†
Aldersgate	8	454	4,163	3,594
Aldgate	8	440	3,000	4,763
Bassishaw	4	71	402	1,006
Billingsgate	8	167	1,053	2,597
Bishopsgate	14	916	7,286	7,788
Bread Street	8	61	517	2,568
Bridge	8	130	824	2,392
Broad Street	8	290	1,507	3,503
Candlewick	6	93	449	1,696
Castle-Baynard	8	213	1,761	4,793
Cheap	8	136	780	2,500
Coleman Street	8	432	2,819	2,634
Cordwainer	6	62	382	2,238
Cornhill	6	69	309	1,439
Cripplegate Within and Without	16	1,150	9,818	10,676
Dowgate	6	83	488	3,516
Farringdon Within	14	464	4,932	8,770
Farringdon Without	16	2,006	19,828	20,846
Langbourn	8	266	1,295	3,168
Lime Street	4	100	562	1,107
Portsoken	8	1,073	8,566	5,703
Queenhithe	6	107	1,003	3,358
Tower	8	314	1,942	4,248
Vintry	6	87	607	2,742
Walbrook	6	121	604	2,069
	206	9,305	74,897	109,714

* These figures cannot be taken as representing the whole constituency, but merely the sleeping population. The number of males in some wards was very small: thus Cornhill had 130; Bassishaw, 187; Cordwainer, 201; Candlewick, 208; Dowgate, 233; Walbrook, 240; Lime Street, 247; Vintry, 272; &c., &c.

† This remarkable return is useful as showing that London has now actually a less resident population than it had 240 years ago. The return was made by Sir Robert Ducie, the Lord Mayor, in 1631, at the request of the Privy Council, who were in fear of approaching famine, and wished to know the number of mouths. It is taken from "Observations on the Bills of Mortality," by John Graunt, 1676, and is quoted by the 1871 Census Commissioners, Vol. II., p. 45.

The twenty-six Aldermen and two hundred and six Common Councillors are all free of the City, and nearly the whole of them are liverymen of Companies. Their division in respect of these qualifications is as follows (those members who are in two Companies being only reckoned in the most important of the two) :—Spectacle-makers, 37 ; Loriners, 23 ; Stationers, 10 ; Butchers and Bakers, each 7 ; Innholders and Haberdashers, each 6 ; Leather-sellers, Coopers, Cooks, and Saddlers, each 5 ; Plasterers, Barbers, Wheelwrights, Merchant Taylors, Goldsmiths, Pewterers, and Clock-makers, each 4 ; Painter Stainers, Drapers, Glaziers, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Salters, Vintners, Curriers, and Fishmongers, each 3 ; Founders, Felt-makers, Broderers, Fruiterers, Needle-makers, Farriers, Grocers, and Fan-makers, each 2. The Companies represented by one member only were the Skinners, Girdlers, Woolmen, Braziers, Cutlers, Masons, Tallow Chandlers, Clothworkers, Plumbers, Joiners, Glass-sellers, Cordwainers, Paviors, Wax Chandlers, Musicians, and Bowyers. Twenty-four members of the Common Council were free of the City without being members of any Company.

The above list represents an amazingly different state of things so far as respects the share borne by liverymen in corporate government, to that which existed 400 years ago. At that time the twelve great Companies controlled the whole of the government of the City. It would seem as if in 1875 they were divorcing themselves as much as possible from it. Two of the wealthiest of these, the Mercers and the Ironmongers, have not a single member in the Corporation. The Clothworkers and the Skinners have only one, the Grocers only two, and amongst the whole twelve there are only thirty or about one-eighth part of the whole ; and less than the representatives of the Spectacle-makers, a Company which has largely increased its numbers by

redemption, during the past few years. It would appear that the members of the twelve great Companies do not now care to mix in corporate matters, and that they regard themselves as perfectly safe from all exercise of the power of control possessed by the Aldermen and Common Council.

It would be a somewhat difficult matter to form any reliable opinion as to whether the component members of the Corporation are of a different class from that which was formerly the case. The best method perhaps of ascertaining this, would be to set out the occupations followed by Aldermen and Councillors in the reign of James the First, and those which are followed to-day. There is no extant record, so far as we know, separating and classifying the members of the Corporation at the former period; but it is a matter of common knowledge that from the framing of the City Constitution under the later Plantagenet Kings, down to the days when under the Stuarts the capital City burst through the restrictions of the Building Acts and spread over the fields outside the walls, the members of the Corporation were chosen from people of the very first rank amongst the inhabitants of the City.

It would be an arduous and a scarcely practicable task, to frame, without assistance from the members themselves, any reliable list of the occupations pursued by the rulers of the City in 1875. Fortunately, however, for the purpose of this inquiry, Mr. Ayrton, who though sitting in the House of Commons as member for the Tower Hamlets, might also have been regarded as the member for the Board of Works, moved the House in 1865 for a return of the number of electors in each ward of the City, and of the number and occupations of the Aldermen and Councillors respectively. A seat in the Common Council is regarded in the City as a permanent possession, and, except in rare cases, contested elections are discouraged; we may, therefore, take it as pro-

bable that this return very fairly represents the constitution of the Common Council to-day, and that where vacancies have arisen in the course of the last ten years, they have been filled up from the same class of persons.

According to that return, the number of electors within the City was 7,163, ranging from 103 in Lime Street Ward to 1,020 in Farringdon Without, the average being somewhat under 300. The residences of the twenty-six Aldermen varied from Stoke-upon-Trent in the north, to Tunbridge Wells and Brighton in the south, *but not one of them had a private address within the City.* The return made by the Aldermen to the question of occupation was most peculiar. Alderman Challis and the two Aldermen Lawrence declined to answer the question; Alderman Salomons returned his occupation as "Alderman;" Alderman Sidney as a "Magistrate;" and Alderman Wilson as a "Colonel of Militia." Three Aldermen described themselves as "of no occupation;" six others took refuge under the ambiguous definition of "Manufacturers" or "Merchants;" of the rest, one was a Solicitor, one a Tea Dealer, one a Druggist, one a Hop Merchant, one a Publisher, one a Chronometer-maker, one a Stockbroker, one a Printer, one a Cutler, one a Provision Merchant and Shipowner, and one a Timber Merchant.

Of the 206 members of the Common Council, only *twenty-eight* returned residential addresses within the City, and it is doubtful whether even this number ought not to have been lessened.

As for the occupations, they were well nigh as varied as they possibly could be. Out of the whole 206, there were eight that returned themselves as "gentleman," ten as "of no occupation," and three as having "retired from business." Twenty-three gave a general return as "Mer-

chants." Of the professional classes, there were Barristers, 2; Solicitors and Accountants, 21; Medical men, 3; Surveyors, 3; Actuaries, 1. Of Auctioneers there were 9; of Booksellers, and Oilmen, each 8; Ironmongers, 7; Wine Merchants, Builders, Warehousemen, and Tailors and Woollen Merchants, each 6; of Grocers and Tea Dealers, and of Chemists and Druggists, there were each 5; of Bakers, Brokers, Butchers, and Watch-makers, each 4. Wharfingers, Opticians, and Saddlers, each 3. The trades of Printers, Fishmongers, Contractors, Decorators, Drapers, Corn Factors, Timber Merchants, Salesmen, and Confectioners, each furnished 2. The occupations represented by a single member were those of Publican, Provision Merchant, Tobacconist, Trunk-maker, Brass Founder, Undertaker, Pawnbroker, Sugar Merchant, Artist, Hatter, Cement-maker, Joiner, Coal Merchant, Engineer, Pin-maker, Importer, Livery Stable Keeper (now an Alderman), Cork Merchant, Fruit Merchant, Factor, Silkman, Scale-maker, Paper-maker, and Looking-glass-maker.

From this list it will be seen that the highest rank of City men was scarcely represented at all. There is not one banker, and Sir Robert Carden is the only sharebroker. If we couple this fact with the absence of representatives of the wealthy and select Livery Companies who are especially connected with the City, we shall, without any wish to be uncharitable, be scarcely wrong in the conclusion that the Corporation of London is not a body fairly representing all classes of citizens. It is, indeed, surpassed as regards the social *status* of its members by some of the Vestries. Kensington Vestry, for example, contains one baronet, two Queen's counsel, one county court judge, two clergymen, twelve barristers (including a former Attorney-General in one of the colonies), eleven solicitors, and five officers in the

army (including a major-general, two lieutenant-colonels, and a major), and medical men, leading tradesmen, owners of property, and other men of position in the district.

It is quite true that social position does not of necessity involve high capacity; but a Corporation dealing with hundreds of thousands of pounds, and imposing heavy taxation, ought to be a body representing the various classes affected by its action, and it is here that, as we think, the Corporation of London is far from occupying its true position. That representative and able men can be induced to serve on public bodies in London, the example of the Vestry we have quoted sufficiently proves.

As in the case of the Court of Aldermen, so also in the Common Council, nearly the whole detail of corporate work is delegated to Committees. These are chosen from the representatives of the several wards, and are appointed annually at the first Court after the election on St. Thomas's Day. The various arrangements with respect to them are controlled by the Standing Orders of the Court of Common Council, 29—37. There are about twenty Standing Committees of the Common Council, and there are some five or six Special Committees or Commissions appointed for certain purposes. The total number of Committees and Commissions in the year 1873-4 was twenty-five,—in addition to which a Special Committee appears to have been appointed with respect to Epping Forest, the disbursements of which are charged against the City Estate to the amount of £255 19*s*. The composition of the twenty-five Standing and Special Committees and Commissions was as follows:—

1. *Irish Society:* Aldermen, 6; Liverymen, 16; Freemen of the City, 3; Recorder, 1 . . . 26
2. *City Lands' Committee:* Aldermen, 6; Councillors, 29 35

3. *Bridge House:* Aldermen, 7 ; Councillors, 29 36

4. *Gresham:* Lord Mayor ; Aldermen, 2 ; Councillors, 8 11

5. *Coal and Corn and Finance:* Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 31 37

6. *General Purposes:* Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 29 35

7. *Markets:* Lord Mayor ; Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 31 ; with Chairmen of City Lands, Markets' Improvement, and Cattle Markets' Committees . . 41

8. *Library:* Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 30 . . 36

9. *City of London School:* Lord Mayor ; Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 29 36

10. *Officers and Clerks:* Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 30 36

11. *Improvement:* Lord Mayor; Aldermen, 7 ; Councillors, 30 ; and Chairmen of City Lands, Bridge House, Markets' Improvement, and Sewers . . 42

12. *Markets' Improvement:* Lord Mayor ; Aldermen, 5 ; Councillors, 29 ; with Chairmen of City Lands, Bridge House, and Markets' Improvement . . . 38

13. *Freemen's School:* Lord Mayor ; Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 30 37

14. *Law and Parliamentary and City Courts:* Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 29 ; and Members of Metropolitan Board, and Chairmen of Committees . . 56

15. *Gas and Water:* Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 32 ; and Members at Metropolitan Board of Works ; Chairmen of City Lands and Law 43

16. *Local Government and Taxation:* Aldermen, 12 ; Councillors, 33 ; and Members at Metropolitan Board of Works 48

17. *Commissioners of Sewers:* Lord Mayor ; Aldermen, 6 ; Councillors, 83 ; and Recorder, Common Serjeant, and Members at Metropolitan Board of Works 95

18. *Police:* Aldermen, 26; Councillors, 58 . 84
19. *Special Tithes:* Aldermen, 4; Councillors, 10; and Chairmen of City Lands and Bridge House . 16
20. *New Library and Museum:* Aldermen, 2; Councillors, 11 13
21. *Metage on Grain:* Councillors, 12 . . 12
22. *Cattle Markets:* Aldermen, 6; Councillors, 29; and Chairmen of Markets and Markets' Improvement 37
23. *Royal Reception:* Aldermen, 8; Councillors, 29 37
24. *Sanitary:* Lord Mayor; Aldermen, 5; Councillors, 29 35
25. *Bridges' Joint Committee:* Alderman, 1; Councillors, 4; and Lord Mayor; in conjunction with 6 Members of Metropolitan Board of Works, under the Bridges Act of 1869 6

The quorum of all the larger Committees is seven, and the days of Committee meeting are once a month, except in the Commission of Sewers, which meets twice a month. Nearly all these Committees are again sub-divided into Sub-Committees and special and select Committees, so that the total number of various Committee meetings within the year will be nearly one thousand. The Commission of Sewers, for example, has three Sub-Committees, viz., the Finance and Improvement Committee, the Streets' Committee, and the Sanitary Committee. Each of these meets twice in the month, and, as the General Commission meets twice also, we have an aggregate yearly meeting of this Commission of ninety-six.

The members are, as a rule, elected for four years, if they shall so long continue members of the Common Council; but, under the 34th standing order of the Court no members of the Court, except Aldermen, shall be on more than one of the following Committees, viz.:—(1) City

Lands; (2) Bridge House Estate; (3) Coal and Corn and Finance; (4) General Purposes (except in the smallest wards). There are other arrangements as to time of serving, whereby those who have served a certain time are ineligible for four years, apparently so that the other members may taste of the Committee dinners, rather than that the Corporation should be advantaged by the continued service of men of experience.

The origin of the *Irish Society* dates back to the reign of James the First. This monarch conceived the design of colonizing the north of Ireland with English and Scottish Protestants. More than 500,000 acres of land had been confiscated to the Crown, and the king thought that the best way to remove the disaffection and weakness of this part of his empire was to introduce a new and sturdy Protestant colony. In pursuance of this design he entered into certain negotiations with the Corporation of London, under which the Corporation undertook the colonization and settlement of a large tract of country. The Irish Society, to whom the work was entrusted, was incorporated by the king in 1613. The charter recites the kingly desire to improve the land, to spread true religion, and to cultivate industry in the province of Ulster, which had "grossly erred from Divine Grace," and also recites that the Mayor, Commonalty, and citizens of London, "burning with a flagrant zeal to promote such intention," had undertaken the plantation of a considerable part of it.

Considerable sums of money, amounting in the year 1613 to £60,000, were raised by the Corporation for the purpose of carrying out this scheme. These moneys were assessed upon the citizens of London through the agency of fifty-five of the Livery Companies. It would appear that the plantation was shortly subsequent to this, sub-divided, so far as practicable, into twelve equal parts, and apportioned

by lot amongst the Companies, in proportion to the money raised by them. Each lot included one of the twelve great Companies. The results of this sub-division still remain in the vast Irish estates possessed and managed by some of the Livery Companies. The grant was made, as will be seen, to the *Corporation*, and the subsequent sub-division of the property amongst the members of that Corporation was a measure which, in the days when the Companies and the Corporation were composed of the same persons with the same interests, met with no opposition, but the legality of which is matter of grave question.

The division, however, was not complete, otherwise the Irish Society, which was incorporated to manage the whole estate, would have necessarily dissolved. There remained, under the control of this Governing Committee, and undivided, certain lands, fisheries, and so forth, and these have since formed the area of the Irish Society's jurisdiction. The Society's charter was taken away by Charles the First, but restored by Charles the Second. Their property is now held under this re-grant.

When the Irish Society was first constituted, its object was clearly the plantation and settlement of a wild district in the north of Ireland. This original object has long since been performed. The Irish Society at its commencement was composed of members chosen solely from the twelve great Companies: the members are now elected by the Common Council from amongst the freemen of the City. The Society appears, however, to regard itself as perfectly independent of the control or regulation of the Corporation. Its income is about £12,000 a year, and the surplus, after paying the costs of management, including the visit of the Committee to Ireland, is devoted to the benefit of the district in various ways.

If it be true that the nominees of the Corporation are

simply the trustees of an endowment, there does not appear any good reason for the longer existence of the Society; and the best method of dealing with it would probably be that proposed by the Commissioners of 1854,* viz.: "We recommend that the Irish Society be dissolved, and its charter repealed by Act of Parliament, and that its property be vested in a new set of trustees, whose number and character should be defined in the Act: we recommend further that the trustees be appointed by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and that he have power to fill up vacancies as they occur from time to time. A general scheme for the guidance of the trustees in the management of the property ought, as we have already stated, to be laid down in the Act. But as it may be difficult to define once for all every portion of a scheme of this kind, and as it may be desirable, as circumstances alter, to alter the provisions of the scheme to meet them, power should be given to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to modify or vary the provisions of the scheme within certain limits."

The rest of the estates granted by King James to the Corporation have been dealt with by the Livery Companies. Some of them have been sold, and some are still in the possession of the Companies. Whether we regard the Livery Companies at the time of the sub-division as flourishing trade organizations, or as inseparable parts of the Corporation, in either point of view these lands and the moneys they have produced are impressed in the hands of the present holders with the character of trust property. Formerly, it was the custom to divide the surplus income of the Society amongst the twelve great Companies, and upon the discontinuance of this practice, the Skinners' Company brought an action with respect to their share of the undi-

* "Report of Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Corporation of London, 1854," p. 24.

vided estate; but after much litigation, the House of Lords decided, confirming the decision of Lord Langdale, that the Irish Society were simply trustees for public purposes. The legal position occupied by the Companies is in many respects the same, but the question as to what their rights and duties are in respect to their Irish property, has never been litigated, and they have used the produce of their shares as their own private property.

The Governing Body in 1874 consisted of 6 Aldermen, 19 other persons, and the Recorder of London—total 26.

Of the 25 members besides the Recorder, there were Freemen of London, not free of any Company, 3. Of members of the Companies there were, Spectacle-makers, 5; Coopers and Bakers, each 3; and one member from the Leather-sellers, Stationers, Felt-makers, Joiners, Saddlers, Barbers, Blacksmiths, Loriners, Plasterers, Butchers, and Founders.

The election of Governors takes place in February in every year, and the Society meets monthly, except in February, August, and September. The visit paid by the members of the Society to the estates in the north of Ireland is perhaps the pleasantest of the excursions, which the good fortune of the Corporation enables it to offer to its members. The members who go are well cared for by the Corporation that sends them; every expense is defrayed, and when they arrive in Ireland they are in the position of wealthy landlords, dispensing good things right and left; endowing churches, laying foundation stones, improving the bed of rivers, and so forth. The next best thing to appropriating money oneself is to be able to choose the method of dispensing it amongst others. The London office of the Society costs, we believe, something under £1,000 a year, and the balance of the income is spent on the estate as the "Governors" think best.

The most important of the Standing Committees of the Common Council is the "*City Lands' Committee.*" To this Committee is entrusted the superintendence and management of the City Estates, including the direction of repairs and of minor lettings, whilst upon larger questions affecting the City property, it deliberates and reports to the Common Council. The action of this Committee, as well as of all the other Committees of the Corporation, is limited by the 22nd standing order of the Common Council, which provides that no expenditure exceeding £100 shall be incurred without the consent of the Court, and no bill to a larger amount paid without its express direction. The City Lands' Committee has in its gift nine of the salaried offices of the City, including those of Keeper of the Guildhall, the Keeper of the Monument, the Collector of Rents, &c.

The "*Bridge House Estates' Committee*" performs the same duties with respect to the Bridge House Estates, superintending also the management and repairs of the bridges. The accounts of both the City Lands' Committee and the Bridge House Estates' Committee are audited by the City auditors appointed by the Common Hall. Upon both these estates, as well as elsewhere in the City, large public works are constantly undertaken. The execution of these is, however, controlled by the 23rd standing order of the Common Council, which provides that no street improvement or other public work shall be undertaken, or any grant for any public or charitable purpose made, whereby the funds of the Corporation may be charged or affected to a larger amount than £100, until such expenditure or an estimate of it shall have been first submitted to the Coal and Corn and Finance Committee for consideration and report, as to the means of carrying out the same, and subsequent sanction by the Court itself. The number of members

on these two Estate Committees is 71, and the selection appears to be made rather with the object of giving every member in turn an opportunity of sharing in the good things of the Committee, than of performing the work in the most efficient and least expensive manner. Something like £1,000 is expended in dinners by these two Committees in the course of the year. There can be no question that the work is efficiently done; but it might be done equally well by one-sixth of the number, with the addition of professional assistance, at the cost of less than one-half of the sum now expended in dinners alone.

The "*Gresham Committee*" controls the management of the City's half of the Gresham Estate. The facts with respect to this estate are fully detailed in the chapter on City Expenditure, *infra*. The Lord Mayor is the *ex-officio* chairman of the Committee, and of the seven professors of Gresham College, four—namely, those of divinity, astronomy, geometry, and music,—are in the appointment of the City. The professor of astronomy has held the appointment for more than forty years. The Committee appears to have no fixed time for meeting.

The "*Coal, Corn, and Finance Committee*" superintend the working of the Coal and Wine Duty Acts. They also have under their control the London Almshouses. They examine and report to the Common Council upon the collection and payment of moneys, upon the income, expenditure, and liabilities of the Corporation, and it is within their duty to consider and report upon all schemes whereby expense is incurred to the City's Estate, and to consider references made to them by the Common Council in cases of applications for pecuniary assistance. They have ten of the salaried offices of the City in their gift, including the inspectorships of the coal traffic and collectorships of the

dues. Twelve men would be an ample number for the work of this Committee.

The "*General Purposes' Committee*" superintends such works as may be required at the Mansion House, and also undertakes the direction of such special matters as may be referred to it by the Corporation. With respect to the works at the Mansion House, it may be observed that by the 24th standing order of the Common Council, the architect and surveyor must present to the Court an estimate of the repairs required for the public buildings of the City within the current half-year. There seems no reason to doubt that the work of the General Purposes' Committee could be equally well performed by twelve members as by thirty-six. The only appointment within the gift of this Committee is that of the City Tinman and Brazier.

The "*Metage on Grain Committee*" consists of twelve members. The work of the Committee is, however, very slight, and might easily be undertaken by the Coal, Corn, and Finance Committee.

A Sub-Committee of the General Purposes' Committee might well undertake the services performed by the "*Epping Forest Committee*" and by the thirty-seven members of the "*Royal Reception Committee.*" So, also, the "*Special Tithes' Committee*" seems to have had referred to it a subject that might very well have been undertaken by the General Purposes' Committee.

The work of the "*Officers and Clerks' Committee,*" now supposed to employ the time of thirty-six men, might also be added to this. The duties of this Committee are in connection with the filling up of vacant offices, and the consideration of the salaries and duties attached to such offices, when referred to them by the Common Council for report.

In addition to the ordinary officers and servants of the

Corporation, there are some whose office merits more than a passing notice. These may be most conveniently considered here in connection with this Committee.

Formerly nearly the whole of these offices, together with many others of an inferior order, were purchaseable, and were either put up to auction, and sold to the highest bidder, or were kept as the especial perquisites of members of the Corporation, thus leading to endless jobbery. In no way has the power of internal regulation possessed by the Corporation been productive of better results than in the abolition of this system.

In our chapter upon the charters of the City we have detailed the history of the grant and re-grant of the Sheriffwick of Middlesex, and of that of London. Of the two *Sheriffs* annually elected by the freemen of the City in the Common Hall assembled, it is usual for one to undertake the duties of Sheriff of London, and the other of Sheriff of Middlesex. There is a fine for non-acceptance of the office upon election; but the pernicious custom of electing numbers of men for the simple purpose of obtaining the fine seems now to have come to an end. The allowance made to the Sheriffs out of the City's cash, in the year 1874, amounted to between £1,100 and £1,200. This customary allowance, however, by no means defrays the expense of the office. The further expenses, however, are mainly in connection with duties purely ceremonial. The Sheriffs appoint their own Under-Sheriffs. This office is one of considerable profit. The Under-Sheriffs also perform much of the material work attaching to the office of Sheriff; such as attending the poll, on the occasion of contested elections, at the Common Hall; attending the Central Criminal Court; preparing lists of voters; the execution of writs; summoning of jurors, &c. There are certain duties, however, which the Sheriff is expected to perform in person. Amongst these

are included the attendance on the Lord Mayor on State occasions; the presentment of petitions at the bar of the House of Commons; the return of Members of Parliament for the City and for the county of Middlesex; attendance at executions, &c., &c.

The *Recorder* is elected by the Court of Aldermen. The post is tenable for life. The Recorder is a Judge of Oyer and Terminer and a Justice of the Peace in the City. He is one of the Commissioners of the Central Criminal Court, and generally sits as Judge to try civil causes in the Mayor's Court. He attends the Lord Mayor on State occasions, and is present at the sittings of the Court of Aldermen and the Court of Common Council. The office is one of considerable antiquity; and by a charter of Edward the Fourth (Nov. 9th, 1462), the "ancient custom" of certifying and recording the customs of the City by the mouth of the Recorder is confirmed to the citizens. Geoffrey de Hartillpoll is the first Recorder of whom we have any clear knowledge, and he seems to have filled the office in 1304. In the *Liber Albus*, written in 1419, the Recorder is described as one of the most "expert and able apprentices of the law in the whole City, whose business it is to sit on the right hand of the Mayor, and by whose mouth all pleas and judgments given before the Mayor and Aldermen are to be recorded or certified before the justices in error. A man imbued with knowledge, and distinguished for his learning, shown and declared in all matters touching the City, as well before the king and his council, as in all other the king's Courts."

An unsuccessful attempt was made by Queen Elizabeth in 1595 to control the election of this officer. He still remains the chief adviser of the Corporation and its most distinguished legal officer. The men selected for this office have almost invariably reflected great honour on the judgment and discretion of the Court of Aldermen. The present

holder of the office was one of the City Pleaders from 1830 to 1845, and in 1850 was elected Judge of the Sheriffs' Court. He was, subsequently, Common Serjeant.

The *Common Serjeant* is elected by the Common Council and sworn in before the Court of Aldermen. He is one of the legal advisers of the Corporation, and attends at the various meetings of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council, and at the meetings of Common Hall. He may be called upon to act as the advocate of the Corporation, or to assist the City as such advocate. He had formerly extensive duties in the Court of Orphans. He acts as Deputy Recorder on occasion, sitting in the Mayor's Court as Judge, and presenting the newly-elected Mayor to the Judges at Westminster. He attends the Lord Mayor on ceremonial occasions, and he sits to try prisoners at the Central Criminal Court.

The *Chamberlain* is elected by the Livery in Common Hall; and, by an act of the Common Council in 1404, such election must be annual. As a rule, however, the occupant of the office is re-elected, and the present holder has been Chamberlain for several years. The election takes place on Midsummer Day. The Chamberlain was formerly the king's treasurer in the City, and the moneys received by him on account of forfeitures, tolls, &c., were duly paid into the royal treasury. He has, however, for more than four centuries been exclusively the servant of the Corporation. He is practically the Treasurer of the Corporation, receiving and accounting for the rents and revenues of the City. He pays the moneys out upon the warrants of the different City bodies that have power to issue them.

Another department of the duties of Chamberlain consists in the admission of freemen and in the exercise of control over masters and apprentices within the City. He gives security in the sum of £40,000. This appears to be

necessary not only because of the large sums constantly passing through his hands, but also because of the extraordinary method in which he is permitted to deal with the floating balances in the Chamber; generally over £100,000. Instead of these being paid into a bank, he invests them as he thinks fit, and his own salary is dependent upon the profit so made.

The Comptroller is practically the Deputy Chamberlain. He controls and examines the accounts of the Chamber, and is the custodian of the leases and title deeds of the landed property of the Corporation. He has also the management of the City property; advises the City Lands' Committee; prepares and examines leases, and acts generally as City Steward. He examines the condition of the City property, and sees that all the rights incident to its possession are duly regarded. He is *ex-officio* Clerk of the City Lands' Committee.

In addition to these officers, it may be remarked that the *Town Clerk*—or, as he was formerly called, the "Common Clerk"—has always been elected by the Common Council. He is practically the Secretary and Registrar of the Corporation; the Clerk of the Court of Common Council, the Court of Aldermen, and the Court of Common Hall. He has the duty of advising the City as to its laws and rights generally. He is also the keeper of its charters, deeds, and journals. He issues precepts for the election of Ward Officers, and for the meeting of the Companies in Common Hall. He has a considerable staff of assistants.

The City Solicitor represents the City in all litigant matters. Formerly, the conduct of legal proceedings on behalf of the City was in the hands of the Town Clerk, but now a special functionary is detailed for this service, and the Commissioners of Sewers appoint an additional Solicitor of their own.

The "*Library Committee*" is appointed to superintend the Corporation Library. It might be supposed that thirty-six members would have been sufficient for this work, but a Select Committee of thirteen more was appointed for the purpose of superintending the erection of the new Library and Museum. That work is now complete, and probably the direction of the institution could be adequately performed by six members, assisted of course by the professional aid of the librarian and his assistant. The appointment of these two officials rests with the Committee.

There are no less than three Committees in connection with the Markets, with an aggregate membership of 117. Under the 34th standing order, no member may sit upon more than two of these Committees. There can be no doubt that the superintendence of the eight City Markets is a matter requiring considerable technical knowledge, and involving considerable responsibility; but when we remember that the Corporation has in its service a number of trained and highly-paid servants in connection with each of them, it certainly does seem that a Committee of fifteen ought to be adequate for every purpose. The question of the City Markets is one of much interest and some complexity,—we shall consider it more at length in the chapter on City Expenditure,—but there ought to be ground for expectation that with the completion of the new Poultry and Vegetable Market, and with the extension of Billingsgate, the erection of new markets within the confined City area will come to an end. If the Markets' Improvement Committee be still in existence when these works are completed, they will no doubt succeed in projecting some new ones. Such work, however, finds no approval outside the Corporation, and it is difficult to understand how a body of intelligent men, acting independently for the public good, could arrive at the conclusion that it was desirable to perpetuate

on a still larger scale the gigantic nuisance of the Billingsgate Fish Market. It certainly does seem as if the action of these Markets' Committees was most perverse. If, instead of spending between £100,000 and £200,000 in making the streets near the Thames still more impassable, the Common Council had made a *bonâ-fide* effort to put Columbia Market to its best use, or had for once so far subdued their constant jealousy of Londoners without the walls, as to allow of the establishment of a fish market in some place of public convenience, they would have deserved far better of the metropolitan public than they do now. In this, as in most other matters, the great ambition of the Common Council of London has been to tax Londoners without the walls as much as possible without giving them any control whatever over the money so raised.

The concentration of so many markets within the confined City area is not merely productive of very great public disadvantages, but it causes manifest injustice in compelling suburban London to travel many miles in order to obtain the necessaries of life, and to pay upon them such *octroi* duties as an alien Corporation is enabled to impose. The suburban Londoner must either pay this tax or starve, because the Corporation, relying upon a charter granted five hundred years ago, and confirmed three hundred years later by a needy king for a money consideration, is permitted to deny to him his common law right of establishing a market within a reasonable distance. And when, as in the case of Covent Garden, a market of acknowledged utility exists, the Corporation proposes to expend a lavish amount of public money in erecting a new one of the same class, in its own borders, so as if possible to divert the custom of the other, and this notwithstanding the fact that the experience of Farringdon Market has proved to demonstration that there is no such public requirement in that district.

The three "*Market Committees*" of the City have in their gift thirteen of the salaried offices of the Corporation; viz., the Market Clerks, Collectors, Superintendents, and so forth. The appointment of the highest of these officials is, however, in the Common Council itself.

The Corporation of the City of London are the proprietors of two educational establishments, the City of London School, and the Freemen's Orphan School.

The *City of London School* was constituted by a private Act of Parliament (4 & 5 Wm. IV., c. 35.) This Act recites that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London are desirous of establishing a school in the City of London for the instruction of boys in the higher branches of literature. It further recites that under the will of one John Carpenter, formerly Town Clerk of the City, the Corporation were possessed of certain estates, charged with the yearly payment of £19 10*s.*, towards the education and clothing of four sons of freemen. This money appears to have been regularly paid, but the will itself was lost. The lands and houses left by John Carpenter were treated as part of the ordinary City Estate; but in the view of establishing this school, the Corporation agreed to charge them with £900 a year towards its support. This amount is accordingly charged upon them by the Act, and is regularly transferred every year from the City's cash to the credit of the City of London School Account. The school was built by the Corporation upon the site of Honey Lane Market, which was dismarketed for the purpose. The Corporation are bound to maintain this school in perpetuity, and to make provision for the instruction therein of children in "religious and virtuous education, in the higher branches of literature, and in other useful learning." The Common Council of the City are empowered (sec. 5) to make needful regulations for the management of the school, and for the

instruction of the children in the authorized version of the Holy Scriptures. It is also enacted that prayers shall be publicly read in the school morning and evening. The receipts and expenditure of the school are considered in the chapter on City Expenditure: they reach to nearly £10,000 per annum, and the institution appears to be in a highly prosperous condition. The income derived from the Carpenter estates is not shown as a separate item in the City accounts, but the *corpus* of the estate consisted, in 1850, of 2 houses in Lower Thames Street; 2 in Houndsditch; 1 in Cheapside; 39 in Tottenham Court Road; 28 in North Crescent and South Crescent, Alfred Place; 41 in Alfred Place itself, and 4 in Store Street, making a total of 117 houses, of which 5 were in the City, and 112 in the neighbourhood of Tottenham Court Road. There are sixteen scholarships attached to the school.

This school is managed by a Committee of thirty-six, in whose hands rests the appointment of twenty-five out of the twenty-seven masters. The Head Master and the Second Master are appointed by the Common Council.

The *Freemen's Orphan School* was founded under the provisions of the 13 & 14 Vict., c. 10. By the Act 13 and 14 Car. II., c. 12, the President and Governors of the Poor for the City of London were incorporated, with power to purchase, or to receive by gift or devise, lands to the yearly value of £3,000. Under the provisions of 10 Geo. IV., c. 43, the powers of the former Act are extended, and the Governors are authorized to sell lands and to pay the purchase-money into the Bank of England to the credit of the "Charity Estates of the London Workhouse." Power is also given to purchase other lands. The interest accruing from these estates was available for the purpose of apprenticing freemen's children, and of maintaining a school for the support and education of poor and destitute children in

accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The Governors of the Corporation of the London Workhouse consisted in 1850 of the Aldermen of the City, sixty citizens, and twenty-five benefactors of £20 each. The sum of £6,450 was standing to the credit of the account in the Bank of England. In that year a petition was presented to the Lord Chancellor by the Corporation, as to the appropriation of these funds, and it was referred to a Master in Chancery to ascertain whether it was desirable to apply to Parliament for power to establish a school for the orphan children of freemen with the moneys and land at that time standing to the credit of the Workhouse Corporation. The Master's report was favourable; an application to Parliament was forthwith made, and by a private Act (13 & 14 Vict., c. 10) the Freemen's Orphan School was constituted. Power was given to the Corporation of London to purchase a freehold site for the school in Brixton or elsewhere, and by section 2 the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens should for ever thereafter maintain a school for the maintenance and religious and virtuous education of orphans of freemen of the City of London. The regulation and management of the school is placed under the control of the Common Council, with the stipulation that due provision should be made for the teaching of the authorized version of the Bible, and for morning and evening prayer. The income of the school is augmented by the receipts from fines paid on freedoms and some other sources; but the yearly charge upon the City Estates is a somewhat serious one. It amounted, in 1874, to £4,783. This expenditure was mainly incurred for the maintenance of the school and the children, whilst the salaries of the teachers, including drawing and French masters, only amounted to £885 15*s*. It would appear that admission

into this school is exclusively confined to the children of those who were freemen of the City of London, irrespective of where they lived. On the other hand, the children of inhabitants of the City who have lived and paid rates within it during their whole lives, but have not passed through the form of taking out their freedom, are denied admission.

This school is also managed by a Committee of the Corporation consisting of thirty-seven members, and which has in its appointment eight of the school officials. There is no apparent reason why both the City of London School and the Freemen's School should not be under the control of one Committee; and, probably, ten practical men would be found sufficient for the purpose.

The funds of the Freemen's School were formerly considerably augmented by fines paid by those elected Sheriffs who declined to serve, and by fines on taking out freedoms. The amount derived from the latter source only amounted to £261 in 1874, and is likely to get smaller every year, now that the Common Council have removed the iniquitous tax they formerly levied upon citizens commencing business in London, by compelling them to take up their freedom. No money was received from the former source, and it may be hoped that the system of making appointments simply to exact the fine is now at an end. Like some other City customs, it reflected great discredit on the Corporation that permitted it.

The "*Law, Parliamentary, and City Courts' Committee*" is composed of fifty-six members, including the three representatives of the City at the Metropolitan Board of Works. One duty of this Committee is to consider the various Bills brought into Parliament which may interfere with the interests of the City. Such Bills are referred to them by the Common Council and the Committees whose interests

they affect. That part of their jurisdiction which consists in the supervision and examination of the management and expenses of the City's legal accounts ought to be under the control of the Coal, Corn, and Finance Committee.

The jurisdiction over the City Courts possessed by this Committee may well continue to be exercised by it, so long as the control of any such Courts and the appointment of their officials remain in the hands of the Corporation. Whatever be the fate of the Corporation of London, whether it be extended, abolished, or remain, as regards its constitution, *in statu quo* to the end of time, there can be no doubt but that sooner or later the whole of the Courts peculiar to the City, and specially under its control, will be swept away.

The Report of the Municipal Commissioners in 1837 enumerated no less than fourteen different Courts peculiar to the City of London and the Borough of Southwark, viz., The Court of Hustings; The Mayor's Court; The Sheriffs' Court; The Court of the Borough of Southwark; The Court of Requests in London; The Court of Requests in Southwark; Courts of Conservancy; London Sessions; Southwark Sessions; Court of St. Martin's-le-Grand; Finsbury Court Leet and Court Baron; Court of the Manor of Duke's Place; Court of Pie Poudre; and the Old Bailey Sessions.

The Court of St. Martin's-le-Grand, which was formerly a Court of Appeal from the Court of Hustings and the Lord Mayor's Court (and the Judges of which were specially appointed by a Commission under the Great Seal), seems to be now entirely obsolete. So, also, are the Finsbury Court Leet and Court Baron, and the Court of the Manor of Duke's Place, the special functions of these Courts being now apparently delegated to the Commissioners of Sewers. The Court of Pie Poudre was held in connection with Bar-

tholomew Fair, and passed away with the institution for which it existed. The two Courts of Requests occupied, until a recent period, a prominent place in the legal system of the City and its dependent suburb. The facilities afforded in these Courts for the recovery of small debts, appear to have been remarkable. They are now practically superseded in the City by the City of London Court, and in Southwark by the Southwark County Court.

The Courts of Southwark Sessions are still regularly advertised to be held four times during the year, but it is little more than an empty form. The Court of the Borough of Southwark is an ancient prescriptive Court of Record, and it has a system of procedure peculiar to itself. The City's Estate was charged in 1874 with £57 7*s.*, as the salary of the High Steward of Southwark, who is the sole Judge, and with £50 for the Prothonotary, whose duties are connected with the procedure in civil cases before they come on for hearing, and with £105 as the salary of the High Bailiff. This Court also appears to be dying of inanition, and to serve no useful purpose in the district where it is situate.

The Courts of Conservancy have necessarily come to an end since the passing of the Thames Conservancy Act,* by which the jurisdiction over the river formerly exercised by the City, was transferred to a mixed body of Conservators. The Sessions of the Peace for the City of London are still advertised to be held eight times in the year. The Recorder is the acting Judge, although both the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen are *ex-officio* Judges of the Court.

The *"Court of Hustings"* is technically the supreme Court of Record in the City. If it can be regarded as still in existence, it is without doubt the most venerable Court in the British Empire. It has existed in unbroken continuance

* 21 & 22 Vict., c. 147.

for more than eight hundred years, and is the modern representative of the Court, which in Saxon London was presided over by the Bishop and the Head Magistrates. Technically, it consists of two divisions, the Hustings of Pleas of Land, with cognizance of real actions within the City, and the Hustings of Common Pleas, which, as well as its cognizance of mixed actions, had formerly a certain appellate jurisdiction over the Sheriffs' Court. This latter jurisdiction has now, however, passed away, and the whole procedure of the Court has become so antiquated and obsolete that the utility of perpetuating even its technical existence has been open to serious question. The long and illustrious history of the Court and the prominent position which it has occupied in London annals, constitute its sole claim to public regard. In 1870 the Corporation published a notice of their intention to apply for Parliamentary powers to abolish the Court, and to transfer its jurisdiction to the Lord Mayor's Court. They would appear, however, to have repented themselves of so revolutionary a measure, and no such powers appear to have been granted. The Court of Hustings remains an empty and a useless form, but still as a connecting link with a noble and historic past. If the City rashly cuts itself loose from its anchorage in the past, the Court of Hustings is by no means the only civic institution which will have to undergo extensive change. In the almanacs of the City, the Court in both its divisions is advertised to meet several times in the course of each month. As a matter of fact, when it was called together in 1874 for the purpose of registering a scholarship, founded by Sir David Sassoon, in connection with the City of London School, it was the first time during six years that the Court had met.

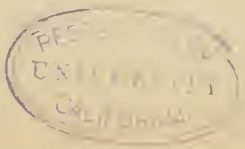
The "*Lord Mayor's Court*" is the only historic Court peculiar to the City that retains at the present day much of

its old form, together with plenitude of work. Like the Court of Hustings, it is an ancient Court of Record. It has an original civil jurisdiction, and is nominally the Court of the Mayor and Aldermen of the Outer Chamber. In theory the Mayor and Aldermen preside, but, as a matter of practice, the Recorder acts as Judge of the Court, the Common Serjeant sitting as his deputy. The sum of £2,050 is charged against the City Estate for the salaries of these two officials, in respect of work done in this Court. The Court claims jurisdiction in civil cases up to any amount, but the exercise of this jurisdiction is now closely confined to cases where the whole cause of action arises within the City. The sittings of the Court occur once a month, and the number of causes entered is exceedingly large. In consequence of its exercise of the custom of foreign attachment, and from other causes, this Court has always been highly favoured by the citizens.*

The only appeal from the decisions in the Mayor's Court would be to the Court of St. Martin's-le-Grand. A special Commission of Error would have to be issued under the Great Seal, for the purpose of constituting this Court; and no instance of its power as a Court of Appeal having been invoked in modern times has come under our notice.

The "*City of London Court*" is the modern representative of the two Courts of the Sheriffs' Compter, which formerly exercised a jurisdiction closely analogous to the Mayor's Court. Each of the Sheriffs' Courts had a separate judge, but the two were united by the simple process of not filling up the appointment to one of the vacancies. Subsequently to the passing of the County Court Act in 1846 the Corporation obtained a private Act, known as the City's

* The procedure of the Court is now regulated by the Mayor's Court Act, 21 & 22 Vict., c. 57. See, also, the origin and former privileges of this Court fully discussed in the case of *Reg. v. the Mayor and Aldermen of London*, 16 L.J., Q.B., 185.



Small Debts' Act,* whereby a Small Debts' Court was constituted, of which the Judge of the Sheriffs' Court was the judge.† The proceedings in the Sheriffs' Court, upon which the City's Small Debts' Court was engrafted, were subsequently regulated by the provisions of the 15 & 16 Vict., c. 77. The special jurisdiction of the old Sheriffs' Court seems practically to have been merged in that of the Small Debts' Court, and by the 28 & 29 Vict., c. 99, s. 4, it was provided that the judges and officers of the Court, held under the provisions of "The City's Small Debts' Extension Act, 1852," should have and exercise the like jurisdiction, powers, and authorities in all respects, except the power of appointing officers, as should be at the time being possessed and exercised by the judges and officers of a Metropolitan County Court. Provision is made for the payment of fees of the same amount as in ordinary Metropolitan County Courts, and for the payment to the judges and officers of the said Court of such additional fees as the Mayor and Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, from time to time shall think fit to direct. By this Act, the salaries of ordinary County Court Judges are increased by £300, in consequence of its conferring also a certain Equitable Jurisdiction. Under this Act, therefore, the Court became assimilated to an ordinary Metropolitan County Court, and obtained an Equitable Jurisdiction. The assimilation is made more complete by the 30 & 31 Vict., c. 142, s. 35.

By the 31 & 32 Vict., c. 71, a jurisdiction in Admiralty was conferred on the County Courts, in which, of course, this Court was included. This was extended by the 32 and 33 Vict., c. 51; and a later private Act, the 34 & 35 Vict., c. 3, was passed for the purpose of making better pro-

* 10 & 11 Vict., c. 71.

† Altered and amended by the 11 & 12 Vict., c. 153.

vision as to the taking of fees, &c., in this Court. These are the statutes by which its jurisdiction is at present regulated, and the City of London Court is to all intents and purposes a County Court.

The *Central Criminal Court* was established by the 4 & 5 Wm. IV., c. 36, for the trial of offences committed in London, Middlesex, and certain parts of Essex, Kent, and Surrey,* and also of offences committed on the high seas within the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty of England. The whole of the metropolitan district is for the purpose of such trials regarded as one county. This Court took the place of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, which was held at the Old Bailey eight times a year prior to 1834. The Lord Mayor was always named in the former Commission, and so in the present Court the Judges are to consist† of the Lord Mayor for the time being, and of the Lord Chancellor, the Judges of the Court at Westminster, the Admiralty Judge, the Recorder, the Common Serjeant, the Judge of the City of London Court, and such others as the Crown shall appoint. The sessions are held twelve times in the year, and the Judges in general attendance are the Recorder, Common Serjeant, Judge of the Sheriffs' Court, and two of the Superior Judges. The Lord Mayor attends in his official capacity, and in his absence is represented by the sword suspended over his chair.

We have stated above, our conviction that before long the peculiar jurisdiction exercised by the City as respects the control of City Courts and the appointment of judicial officers will cease. The first Revision Bill brought in affecting the question must include the technical abolition of Courts which have long ceased to exist except in form. It will also include the abolition of all jurisdiction of every kind exercised by City officials within the Borough of South-

* Sec. 22. † Sec. 1.

wark. The assimilation of the City of London Court to a County Court will be completed by no longer allowing its officials to be amenable to, and appointed by, an elected body. The knell of the Mayor's Court was tolled when the Judicature Bill received royal assent. The magistracy of Aldermen will be superseded by the appointment of properly paid and properly qualified officials; and the technical but shadowy powers exercised by high Corporation officers at the Central Criminal Court will come to an end, when it is recognized that it rests on civic pride alone, and is productive of neither private nor public good.

In addition to the Courts enumerated above, the Chamberlain exercises a somewhat remarkable jurisdiction over the masters free of the City, and over their apprentices. In some respects this jurisdiction is co-equal with that of a Justice of the Peace; in some respects it is superior to it. The *Chamberlain's Court* is the place to which the City master resorts when he has to complain of his apprentice, and the City apprentice when he has to complain of his master. The Court is useful mainly as a Court of conciliation where words in season fitly spoken, and sound advice judiciously given, has frequently the effect of softening the amenities of City apprentice life. Probably no man in the service of the Corporation of London is better qualified for this delicate and pacific duty than the present Chamberlain. Whilst, however, the Chamberlain's jurisdiction is mainly distinguished by the *suaviter in modo*, there is not wanting the *fortiter in re*, if and when harsh measures should be required. He has the power of committing refractory apprentices to Newgate, and also the power, with the consent of both parties, of cancelling indentures. The power of imprisonment is rarely, if ever, exercised.

The existence and the action of the Law, Parliamentary, and City Courts' Committee, have been productive of great evil

and mischief, both to the City and to the Metropolis. The Common Council takes action upon the report of this Committee with respect to the Bills submitted to it. The recognized agent of the Common Council, for the purpose of carrying out its decisions upon these reports, is known as the "*Remembrancer.*" The salary and expenses of this official in 1874 amounted to £2,969, and his "expenses" in connection with various Bills in Parliament (the details of which are kept carefully hidden from the public eye) have averaged, as we shall show in the subsequent chapter, between three and four thousand a year. He is deputed by the Common Council to attend daily at Westminster during the sittings of the House of Commons; and, except so far as he is concerned in certain ceremonial arrangements with respect to the presentation of the Mayor elect to the Lord Chancellor and to the Judges at Westminster, and to some other matters, his duties are confined to watching the interests of the City in Parliament. Whenever a Bill affecting the government of the Metropolis is introduced, it is the duty of the Remembrancer to apprise the representatives of the City; and it is only by the insertion of clauses reserving the City rights that the promoters of the measure can buy off the relentless opposition of the Corporation, acting through its members and through such of its officials and Aldermen as may have seats in the House of Commons.*

* Nor does the evil by any means end here. When clauses reserving City rights are inserted in Acts of Parliament, they may at any time be quoted, and are quoted, as new confirmations of these rights! See the answers of the City Remembrancer before Select Committee on Local Government, 1866, First Report, p. 56, qq. 1106-35. These answers typify several peculiarities of the City Corporation, and, notwithstanding the fact of the Remembrancer being a high legal officer, they are characterized by the same broad assertion and curious inexactitude common to City witnesses, saving, perhaps, the Recorder and the Chamberlain. Fortunately, the Committee were persistent in obtaining answers to their questions, and so succeeded in demonstrating the naked weakness and absurdity of the City's claim to the fourpenny coal duty as their private

Whenever a measure is introduced providing for the better management of the Metropolis, even in matters which affect the capital as a whole, the City of London succeeds, by its persistent action, carried on openly and in secret, by public request and by private influence, in getting itself appointed as the "local authority." And the 56th standing order of the Common Council provides "that the Remembrancer or other proper officer be instructed in future, where the local authority of the City of London is cited in any Act of Parliament or otherwise, such local authority should in all cases be the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled."

Considerations of the public good or the public convenience have no weight whatever with the Corporation when dealing with measures of this class. The Common Council have not to this day recovered their chagrin at their inability to execute their own main drainage, and would willingly have drained the whole Metropolis rather than have lost the authority in this matter, if Parliament had only been willing to entrust them with the duty. They built Deptford Cattle Market at great expense, and they carry it on at a loss of more than £10,000 a year to the City's Estate, rather than allow their cherished market jurisdiction to pass in a single instance into the hands of another body.* Probably, no Act upon the Statute-book was more clearly necessary, and has been more productive of manifest advantage to the community, than the County Courts' Act of 1846. Yet the Corporation of London were not willing that even this

property, when even the control of the very port in which it was to be collected had been taken from them.

* So, also, with respect to the Metropolitan Cattle Market at Copenhagen Fields. The City were under no compulsion whatever to erect it; but they had the opportunity, and eagerly seized it, as an alternative "considered advantageous to them." See this admitted by the City Chamberlain. "Evidence of Mr. Scott before Taxation Committee of 1861," q. 246.

measure of national utility should become law, except upon the condition that the City of London should not be included. They were subsequently compelled to bring in a measure to supply the deficiency they themselves had created, and the only distinction which now remains between the City of London Court and an ordinary County Court is in the vicious system under which the officers of the former are appointed.

Nothing can be more lamentable than the effect upon London generally of this mischievous policy of the Corporation, nor is its public result any better. The Corporation practically spends from £6,000 to £10,000 a year in maintaining its civic pride and its imagined but undefinable privileges at the expense of the rest of the nation. No one can fail to recognise the important services that the Corporation of London has rendered to civil and religious liberty in the past;—services that we should be unwilling to depreciate, because they have often been prompted by the dictates of worldly wisdom,—but it is as we think intolerable that this Corporation, still great in name and in influence, if not in glory, should be any longer permitted to mar the beauty of statutes, and to destroy the uniformity of public law at the instigation of civic pride, and under the torturing fear of impending dissolution.

If the Law and Parliamentary Committee had its duties contracted within their true limits, there is no reason why the functions of the present "*Local Government and Taxation Committee*" should not be transferred to them, and so far as the work of the "*Gas and Water Committee*" consists in the consideration of Parliamentary measures affecting these questions, that also would come within their province. Where such work consists in the regulation of the Gas and Water Supply, it is within the class of duties now undertaken by the Commissioners of Sewers, and the

consideration of any other methods of supply would, as a matter of course, be referred to the General Purposes' Committee.

The three Committees above enumerated now consist of 147 members, but if remodelled on the above basis, the work would probably be performed by a Committee of twenty.

The "*Improvement Committee*" of the City of London undertakes the superintendence of all improvements. It is not likely or probable that within so confined an area as that of the City, proper structural improvements can be effected to any considerable extent further, except at a cost so enormous, that no public body would be justified in incurring it. If, however, it were found after the completion of the improvements now in progress, that others of a beneficial character might be usefully effected, probably it would not be difficult to add to the General Purposes' Committee the work now allotted to the Improvements' Committee. Having regard to the existence and functions of the Commissioners of Sewers, and to the contracted area of the City, these might be readily undertaken by one committee of fifteen intelligent members. In case of such a division being made, a Sub-Committee could easily fulfil the duties performed by the six members of the "*Bridges' Joint Committee.*"

The "*Commissioners of Sewers*" have a regulating Act of Parliament. This body consists of the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the Common Serjeant, the 3 representatives of the City at the Metropolitan Board of Works, 6 Aldermen, and 83 Commoners—total 95.

The following is a summary, condensed from a recent Parliamentary return, of the powers and duties of the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London, and the means by which such powers and duties are carried into effect.*

* "Third Report of Committee on Metropolis Local Government, 1867." Appendix, p. 199.

General Powers.

1. Making, altering, repairing, and cleansing all common sewers, vaults, and drains.

2. Paving, cleansing, lighting, and improving streets, with power to appoint Clerks, Surveyors, Collectors, Inspectors of Pavements, Sewers, and Nuisances, Medical Officers of Health, officers, servants, and persons generally.

I.—Sewers and Drainage.

The management and control of all sewers and public drains, except main sewers; also of all drains within and without houses.

II.—Nuisances and Sanitary Matters.

The Commissioners are empowered to appoint one or more Medical Officer or Officers of Health.

The powers and duties of Medical Officers of Health so appointed are:—

1. To inspect and report periodically on the sanitary condition of the City.
2. To ascertain existence of diseases, especially epidemics.
3. To point out nuisances and other local causes affecting health.
4. To take cognizance of contagious diseases, and point out remedy.
5. Modes of ventilation of churches, schools, lodging-houses, and public buildings generally.
6. Other analogous duties.

The Commissioners can appoint or contract with scavengers to—

1. Sweep, cleanse, and water streets.

2. Collect dirt and refuse.
3. Cleanse sewers, drains, &c.

The Commissioners are required to appoint Inspectors of Nuisances, whose duties are:—

1. To superintend scavengers' duties.
2. To report to the Commissioners all breaches of their rules and regulations.
3. To point out nuisances.

The Commissioners are required to appoint Inspectors of Slaughter-houses and Meat.

The general powers of the Commissioners under their Acts, as to sanitary matters, are:—

1. To order cleansing and purifying of houses and abatement of nuisances.
2. Removal of dust and refuse, and cleansing drains.
3. Registration and inspection of common lodging-houses.
4. License and registration of slaughter-houses; to make rules and regulations for preserving cleanliness thereof, with penalties, inspection, &c.
5. Superintendence of all meat in slaughter-houses, shops, and places: power to seize and dispose of same, and proceed for penalties.
6. Power to enter all houses for purposes of Act.
7. Power to compel due provision of convenience to private houses.
8. Power to erect and maintain all requisite public conveniences.
9. To compel due provision as to water supply, cisterns, &c., to private houses.
10. To abate nuisances arising from manufactories.
11. To compel consumption of smoke of manufactories.

III.—As to Streets.

1. Lighting.—Vest all public lamps in the Commissioners, and give them powers to contract with Gas Companies and others to light the City.

2. Paving.—All paving and materials of carriage and footways are vested in the Commissioners; they have powers—

1. To pave and repair all streets, and to raise and lower the soil thereof.
2. To compel owners of courts to pave.
3. To control all vaults under streets, which cannot be constructed without their consent.
4. To control Gas and Water Companies and others taking up paving, which they cannot do without the consent of the Commissioners.
5. General management and control of pavements.
6. To water streets, provide public water supply and dust bins, &c.
7. To compel cleansing of footways by occupiers of houses.

3. As to projection of houses, &c.:—

1. To compel owners to set back projecting houses, when taken down, to line of streets.
2. To remove projections.
3. To control dangerous structures.

(This they generally do pursuant to the powers expressly given to them by the Metropolitan Buildings Act.)

4. To compel and license erection of hoards during building or repair of houses.

4. As to the improvement of streets under the Act 57 Geo. III., c. 29, the Commissioners of Sewers, as the Commissioners having the control of the pavements of the City, are empowered to alter, widen, turn, or extend the streets

or other public places in the City, and to lengthen, continue, or open the same from the sides or ends of any streets into any other street or public place, and to pave the new parts, and generally carry out the powers given by the Act for compulsory taking of houses, buildings, and lands, projecting into, obstructing, or preventing them from so altering or widening such streets. The Consolidated Rate is expressly made chargeable with the costs of such improvements. The Commissioners can sell and dispose of or demise surplus lands.

1. They can, with consent of Bishop of London, arrange with parish authorities for appropriation of churchyards and burial grounds for public improvements and enlargement of streets.
2. They may, with consent of Bishop of London, lower, plant, and pave burial grounds.
3. They have power to treat with trustees, and Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, for appropriation of west area of churchyard.*

IV.—Rating.

1. Powers to make sewers' rate, not exceeding 4*d.* in the pound in any one year, for constructing, repairing, and cleansing sewers, and maintaining sewerage and drainage.

2. To make a consolidated rate, not exceeding 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound in any one year, for forming, making, maintaining, repairing, paving, lighting, sweeping, cleansing, and watering streets in the City, making and carrying out such improvements as they are authorized to make for sewerage purposes, officers' salaries, and all expenses of Acts.

* This power has been now exercised.

Dangerous Structures.

Under second part of "The Metropolitan Buildings Act, 1855" (18 & 19 Vict., c. 122), the Commissioners have power in regard to dangerous structures and buildings generally.

Burial Board.

By the Act 15 & 16 Vict., c. 85, s. 420, the Commissioners have the powers of a Burial Board for the City.

Bakehouses.

And under "The Bakehouses Regulation Act, 1863" (26 & 27 Vict., c. 40), the Commissioners are entrusted with the regulation of bakehouses within the City of London.

These functions of the Commissioners of Sewers are in most respects analogous to those of the Vestries hereafter set out; but whilst the latter are frequently under-officered, the City certainly errs in the other direction. It has a far larger staff than Vestries with two and three times its area and street mileage.

There are within the City less than 700 acres of land, and only 9,236 inhabited houses, and yet there are three Inspectors of Pavements with salaries aggregating to £540 per annum; one Inspector of Sewers at £200; two Inspectors of Slaughter-houses at £450; three Inspectors of Sanitary Works at £540; one Superintendent of Cleansing at £450; one Inspector of Gas Lighting, £117; one Inspector of Animals, £25. As to the rest of the staff (including the Engineer at £1,625, with £1,642 for expenses, and the Solicitor with £1,000) we say nothing now; but if we add the two Medical Officers at £725, and the Food Analysts at £75, we have a total of Inspectors and Medical Officers of sixteen officers, and a yearly cost of £3,122!

Any independent person acquainted with the City of

London will admit that this formidable array of officers is out of all sort of proportion to the requirements of the case; and, having regard to the work done by some excellent officers in the best-managed Vestries, we say that any Corporation (for the Commissioners of Sewers claim to be a "Corporation," a kind of *imperium in imperio*) that maintains so extravagant a staff, at the public cost, abdicates its functions as a public board of trustees, and is unfit to be entrusted with the expenditure of public money. The Commissioners pay their head clerk £900 a year, and other officials on a similar scale, but we take their Inspectorships as a test. How is it possible, for example, for three Inspectors of Pavements to find employment? Some of the City streets are kept in order by contract, and all the others would occupy about one-half the time of one man. So with the two Inspectors of Slaughter-houses. One man could do this work, unless we are much mistaken, in one day; therefore there are two men with nothing to do, except half-a-day now and then, receiving £5 a week and £4 a week each! And what can three Inspectors of Sanitary Works, at £180 a year each, find to do? To the ordinary observer it seems a flagrant waste of public money.

The parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, covers an area more than *six times* that of the City, and it has more than three times the number of inhabited houses—and very different houses to those in the City, which are built for all time, and require little inspection,—and the whole work performed by the sixteen officers above mentioned is done fairly well by *five* men, with aggregate salaries less than those of two of the clerks to the Commissioners of Sewers. Comment on this is needless; and yet the Commissioners of Sewers are regarded as the most executive and business-like body of men in the Corporation!

Their expenditure in 1874 in paving was £43,074;

in cleansing, £12,631; and in lighting, £16,357. Their total expenditure in 1874, including the payment of £13,254 to the School Board, and about £15,000 on loan account, together with £91,165 for the purchase of land, amounted to £254,876. Their income is mainly derived from rates, and being appointed under an Act of Parliament, they claim to be independent of the Corporation, and do not report their proceedings to the Common Council. They have a complete staff of officers, independently of those possessed by the Corporation; twenty-two of these are salaried officials. Twenty members would be an ample allowance for this Committee.

The "*Police Committee*" consists of eighty-three members, including the whole of the Aldermen. This Committee exercises, in conjunction with the Common Council, the control over the City Police given to the Corporation by the 2 & 3 Vict., c. 94. It deals with an expenditure of some £80,000 a year, and appoints the Surgeon and the Receiver. It is a matter for subsequent consideration how far a separate police jurisdiction ought to be any longer continued; but, whilst it is in existence, ten members ought to do the work.

The Committees, as above remodelled, would stand thus:—

City Lands and Gresham Estate	12
Finance	12
General Purposes	15
Library	6
Markets	15
Law and Parliamentary	20
Schools	10
Paving and Lighting	20
Police	10
	120

Probably those who are accustomed to attend the overgrown City Committees would consider it impossible to carry on civic government with only 120 Committee appointments, instead of more than 900 as at present; and no doubt the possibility of doing so would largely depend upon the public spirit of the members. At present, every Common Councillor must, on an average, sit on four Committees; and when, in addition to the meetings of the Committee itself, there are Sub-Committees and Select Committee meetings besides the regular meetings of the Common Council, it becomes clearly impossible for any man in business both to carry on his trade and do his full duty to the Corporation.

In order to ensure regular attendance of members and due efficiency in the work, two Committee appointments for each member would be found quite sufficient. There would thus, in the above project, require an aggregate of Aldermen and Councillors of at least sixty. Such a number would be ample for the work of the City as it now exists, but of course not for a more extended area.

The number of meetings of the Common Council and its Committees is, at present, somewhere near a thousand in the course of the year. We shall, in the next chapter, deal with the *solatium* of about £5,000 a year, which is granted by the Corporation for the feeding of these Committees; but an examination of the City Committee system discloses the remarkable and unprecedented fact that appointments on many of these Committees are objects of ambition, in consequence of their social advantages in dinners and so forth. Not merely is this recognised in the City system, but the Common Council, in its own Standing Orders, deliberately excludes men of experience from being re-elected on Committees where they have served four years. Thus, men of presumable special knowledge have constantly to make way

for others with no experience at all, but whose turn has come to share in the loaves and fishes.

Bad as this system is now, it was formerly much worse. The Committees were fewer in number, but the "allowances" were three or four times the amount. "Line Money" was also allowed to those who were present before a certain time, and wrote their names over the line. Under the circumstances of these Committees' selection, it is cause for wonder that they perform their work so well. Perhaps the regulation champagne dinners make men fitter for good work. That is, at any rate, the City theory.*

The Committee system, if remodelled, is excellently well adapted for its purposes, but it could never be made satisfactory in the City without such a revolutionary change in the whole City system as will never come from within. In indicating the number of men who could do the work of the Corporation, and the possible remodelling of the Committees, we have neither wish nor expectation to see anything of the kind come to pass. Our propositions go much deeper and much farther than any such superficial change, and the illustration of these unwieldy and unmanageable Committees, meeting to dine at the public cost, is useful as pourtraying the state of things which must be changed. It is also necessary in any fair description of the City system. There is no probability of any important change coming from within, and the present method will go on to the end. If the members of the Common Council were compelled somewhat oftener to breathe the healthy atmosphere of a contested election, there might be hope for them; but when nearly every City ward is a pocket borough, there can be none.

* See a skilful defence of the system. "Evidence of Mr. James Medwin before Select Committee on Local Government and Taxation of the Metropolis, 1867," p. 55. See, also, p. 60, q. 971.

There are some Standing Orders of the Common Council, in addition to those quoted above, which deserve to be set out. Thus, it is provided that no members of the Common Council who are connected with public Companies or partnerships having dealings with the Corporation, are to vote when such dealings are under discussion.

It is also provided that no one holding any salaried office may be appointed to any Commission or Committee. No son of a Common Councillor is eligible for an appointment, nor is any Common Councillor himself; but in a recent instance this wholesome rule is understood to have been set aside in favour of one of the present officials who was a member of the Common Council, and resigned to become a candidate. No member of the Court is to be surety for any officer.

Under Standing Order No. 55, every member has a right to inspect documents, books, and papers, and take extracts; but no officer of the Court shall be at liberty to show any of the books, papers, or records of the Corporation to any one not a member of the Corporation, without the license of the Court. No person is eligible for any place or appointment of emolument in the gift of the Common Council unless he is free of the City.

When petitions for grants in aid of benevolent, useful, or charitable objects are made to the Court, they are to be referred to the Coal, Corn, and Finance Committee for report. The petition must set forth all moneys previously received by the applicants from the Corporation, and also the amount of the income and expenditure of the institution, together with the salaries of its officers and its property.

The Standing Orders of the Common Council illustrate both the good and the bad side of the City system. Thus there is most elaborate provision made for publishing to the members every fact connected with City land proposed to be

let on lease, so that the highest price may be obtained. On the other hand, the provision that no one shall be employed by the City unless he chooses to go through the farce of being made free, is both antiquated and unjust. The fear of publicity being given to corporate documents and proceedings must be considerable, when it is made the subject of a formal order. If the proceedings are creditable and worthy of a great and historic Corporation, what is there to conceal? How are inferior Municipalities to learn from her if she declines to teach?

The Corporation have the right, under the Thames Conservancy Acts, which we shall discuss hereafter, of nominating six members of the Corporation of London on the Conservancy Board. The Lord Mayor is the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Board, and the City is further represented by two Aldermen and four Common Councillors.

The Corporation of London also appoint one member of the Lee Conservancy Board.

The poor of London, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, obtained relief from the ecclesiastical endowments within the City. The number of these was considerable, and the property they held was extensive, covering a large proportion of the City area. Some, as St. Bartholomew, specially devoted themselves to the relief of the indigent and sick. After the dissolution the Corporation of London addressed a memorial to the king, in consequence of which he granted to them St. Bartholomew's, Grey Friars, and Bethlehem, endowing the former with 500 marks per annum; the City providing an equal amount. The hospital of St. Thomas, in Southwark, was purchased by the City at the suppression. The charters of the Corporation under which these grants were made, and the control of the City regulated, were dated January 13, 38 Hy. VIII., and June 26, 6 Edw. VI. Under these charters a governing

body was appointed, consisting of a Comptroller-General, a Surveyor-General and three Aldermen, a Treasurer, and eight other citizens as Governors. These Governors were elected yearly, and appear to have consisted exclusively of persons connected with the Corporation. The whole of these hospitals were formerly used by the City as establishments for dealing with the poor and diseased; but in the present day St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas are hospitals for the sick, Bethlehem is a Lunatic Asylum, and Grey Friars is a School. The latter is, however, no longer a school for fatherless and orphan boys and girls. Under the careful fostering of the Corporation of London, who, as Governors, have presentations to this "Charity," it has now become a resort of the children of people in good condition. Instead of the shoeless boys that King Edward desired to benefit, the scholars of to-day ride about London, the children often of parents who could well afford to pay three times the cost. Under the charter of Edward the Sixth, Grey Friars, or as it has been since called Christ's Hospital, was designed for the education and apprenticing of children, but since that time many legacies and gifts have been made to the hospital for other purposes. Some donors have given estates on condition that scholars shall be received from certain of the City Companies or certain parishes. One donor left a legacy conditional on the yearly presentation to each boy of a pair of gloves, upon which should be inscribed the words "Christ is risen." Another has left a yearly sum for an annual dinner of boiled legs of pork. Others for the provision of other meat dinners, and many bequests for purposes equally out of date. The present gross income of the hospital is £70,000 per annum, of which somewhat more than £40,000 is expended in education. In addition to the Corporation Governors, there are a number of Governors elected in consequence of the payment of £500

each to the charity. An investment of £500 so made in this school is a good one provided the donor nominates his own friends and relations, and is not troubled with any qualms of conscience as to the fraud he is thus perpetrating upon the poor. His nominees will receive benefits from the charity to the extent of about £80 per annum. The number of boys is about 1,200, of whom about one-third—being the youngest boys—are kept at Hertford. The cost of the Hertford school, which the Schools' Inquiry Commissioners propose to abolish, is about £11,000 a year. There are a number of scholarships of £80 and £100 each to Oxford and Cambridge. Something like thirty masters are engaged in the school. Like many other endowments connected with the City, the carrying out of trusts for the benefit of the poor is a thing entirely ignored, so long as an opportunity remains for appropriating the funds to their own purposes. The poor have little chance of getting in, and as for the girls who were intended to be equally benefited with boys, there are very few on the foundation. For the notorious misappropriation of the funds of this school the Corporation Governors are largely responsible.

The City still exercises control over these establishments, the present regulating statute being the 22 Geo. III., c. 77.

This Act recites that disputes had arisen between the Corporation of London and the Presidents, Treasurers, and Acting-Governors of certain hospitals, including the four above mentioned, as to their respective rights, powers, and privileges, and that certain terms of agreement had now been come to between them. These terms are set out and then enacted so that they are as binding as an Act of Parliament. It may be observed that most of those who acted on behalf of the hospitals were also at the time members of the Corporation of London.

The Act provides for the continuance in office of the

Governors then acting, for the custody of the seals of the hospitals being with the City Chamberlain, for the use of the full title of the Corporation as Governors in all actions, &c., with the provision that all expenses in such actions must be borne by the hospitals, and that if the Corporation have to pay the costs, they may enter upon the property of the hospitals to recoup themselves. All leases and deeds belonging to the hospitals are to be deposited with the Chamberlain, and to be sealed at the next meeting of the Court of Aldermen and Common Council.

The Court of Common Council are empowered by the 4th article to nominate forty-eight of their own members to be Governors of the four hospitals above mentioned, twelve to each, to act so long as they continue members of the Court, and their places to be duly filled up as they become vacant, so that there may be always twelve members for each hospital. The present regulations of the Common Council affecting the election of Governors were enacted February 24, 1870.

By this regulation the City wards are divided into six classes, and arrangements are made for each ward having its share in its turn of this piece of useful patronage. The election is by open voting, and is regulated by the 45th order of the Court of Aldermen.

In the same manner the patronage of the Corporation, in the appointment to the London Almshouses, is carefully divided, so that each ward may have its turn. Of course the almshouses are confined to decayed freemen, their widows, and daughters.

Chapter V.

THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

The Income and Expenditure of the City, and herein of The City Estate: City Markets: Rates: Coal, Wine and Grain Duty: Metage and Brokers' Rents, &c.—Expenditure on the Administration of Justice.—Police: Maintenance Accounts, &c.: City Loans: Salaries of Officials: Charitable Gifts: Analysis of Expenditure.

In the year 1692, the Corporation of the City of London were petitioners before the House of Commons for the grant of certain powers of taxation to extend over the whole metropolitan area, the proceeds of such taxation to be applied in recouping the loss of moneys deposited in the Royal Exchequer in the reign of Charles the Second. Before passing the measure which resulted in the imposition of the Coal and Wine Dues, the House of Commons, by order, required the Corporation to produce to them an account of all their revenues and of the value of the different offices in their disposal. It was, undoubtedly, greatly to the interest of the City to represent herself as being in a pauperized condition, in consequence of the action of a former and now unpopular king. We do not intend to impeach these accounts as being absolutely untrue; but we find that the Corporation returned, as of no annual value, certain "rights" and "prescriptions," which at a very short time subsequently brought in a goodly revenue to the City Chamber.*

* See this return set out, *House of Commons' Journals*, 1692, Vol. X., p. 713, and pp. 796-800. Quoted in Appendix to "Report of Taxation Committee, 1861," p. 70.

For the purposes of contrast, as well as for its intrinsic interest, this return has considerable value. It is, of course, possible that it did not represent so large an income as that which the City had previously enjoyed, and this "in consequence of the late troubles and revolutions of Government." The total yearly revenue was stated to be £11,658; the two largest items consisting of Quit Rents, £3,480, and Markets, £3,100.

The expenditure was on an equally modest scale: £739 was paid for rents; £88 for tithes; £65 for Poor's Rate; and £257 for legacies. The total cost of City government is set down at £3,946. The salary of the Recorder was £80; of the Remembrancer, £50; of the Common Serjeant, £40; of the Comptroller, £40; of the City Solicitor, £26 13*s.* 4*d.*; of the Town Clerk, £23 6*s.* 8*d.*; and of the Chamberlain, £50. The whole expenditure of the Corporation of London in 1692 was considerably less than the single item of "disbursement, before the Epping Forest Commissioners," in 1874.

The next published accounts of the Corporation were printed in the year 1785, and they show an enormous advance upon the state of things in 1692, although, as we shall hereafter show, this was not allowed to affect the imposition of the Coal and Wine Dues, even when the City income was twentyfold greater than at the time when they were first imposed.

The accounts of the Corporation have been tabulated and printed since 1785. In that year the total receipts of the City shown in two accounts, that of the City Estate and of the Bridge House Estate, amounted to £59,356, or about one-thirtieth of their present amount. The City rents produced, in 1785, £19,199. Forty years later, in 1825, they had increased to £45,269. In 1874 they amounted to £110,033.

The Bridge House Estate produced, in 1785, £7,465; in 1825, £34,168; in 1874, £50,099.

The City Markets, in 1785, produced £15,631; in 1825, £58,958; in 1874, £115,015. The expenditure on the markets in 1785 was £2,621, showing a profit of £13,010; in 1825, £6,687, with a profit of £52,271. In 1874, the expenditure, including the interest upon the vast sums expended in new erections, was £113,998, showing a profit of £1,017. In this, as in many other respects, modern City management suffers by comparison with former management.

The character of the accounts has changed extremely during the last ninety years. The income derived from the fining of those who were elected Sheriffs and declined to act, amounted sometimes to more than £10,000 a year, in the days when men were elected purposely to be fined, as in the case of Dissenters who were unable to take the needful obligations; but now the City Estate receives but little benefit from this source.

So, on the other hand, the yearly charge of £11,500 on account of the Orphans' Fund has ceased to appear in the expenditure.

The number of Corporation servants and their salaries have both been enormously augmented. In 1785 the Recorder had been increased to £600 a year; in 1875 he receives £3,000. In 1785 the Common Serjeant and the Comptroller received £550 and £500 respectively. In 1875 the Common Serjeant has £2,550, and the Comptroller £2,000.

The accounts of the City are now prepared in the Chamber, and under the 20th standing order of the Common Council, are presented every year to the Corporation. They are divided into two parts, the first part being devoted to the account of the "City's cash" and accounts connected with it, represented by eleven different accounts; and the

second part to what are called "public and trust funds," represented by forty-six different accounts; or if we treat the several City of London School Scholarship accounts as one account—by thirty-four separate tabulated statements. There are, therefore, forty-five different statements prepared every year, and possibly it is much more convenient for the purposes of the City that they should be kept separate. They comprise a considerable amount of detail, and having regard to the end for which they are prepared—that is to say, the satisfaction of the Common Council—they probably serve their purpose. But if any stranger consults them with the object of ascertaining the aggregate work or income or expenditure of the City, he will be greatly puzzled, unless he chooses to spend, as we have done, some days in mastering them. The recommendations given by the Commissioners of 1854 and by others, to render these accounts at once intelligible, have been apparently totally disregarded by the Corporation. When, for example, the City's cash is in 1874 short by some £25,000, we find that sum supplied from the Reserve Fund, and as that is exhausted in the process, we find £15,360 15*s.* transferred from the Clerkenwell Improvement Fund, a fund which is drawn upon every year for this purpose. This process is repeated in a variety of forms through the forty-five accounts, and renders the ascertainment of the true income or the true expenditure a task not easy to perform, and one of which we have been unable to find any useful precedent. We propose, in the first instance, to deal with the accounts as they stand in the yearly report, showing the method in which the items came under the control of the Corporation, and afterwards analyse and summarise them.

The forty-five different statements are entitled as follows:—

The City's Cash.—City's Estate, receipts and expenditure;

Reserve Fund; Felons' Goods, Fines, and Recognizances; Deptford Foreign Cattle Market; Billingsgate Tolls' Account; Guildhall Library Account; Widows of Freemen Fund; Town Clerk's Establishment Account; Architect and Surveyor's Establishment Account; Corporation's Assets and Liabilities; Schedule of Corporation Bonds.

Public and Trust Funds.—The Bridge House Estates; Blackfriars Bridge Rebuilding Account; the Gresham Estate (City's moiety); Metropolitan Meat and Poultry Market Site and Approaches; Ditto Western Approach; Ditto Tolls' Account; Newgate Market Fund; Holborn Valley Improvement; Ditto Surplus Lands' Account; Holborn Valley and Farringdon Market Improvement; Consolidated Rate Account; Sewers' Rate; Metropolitan Board of Works Sewers' Rate; Police Rate; Ward Rate; Police Superannuation Account; Coal (9*d.*) and Wine Duties; City Coal Duties (4*d.*); Drawback on Coal Duties' Account; Drawback on Coal Expenses' Fund; Coal Duties' Expenses Fund; Coal Market; City of London Grain Duty; City Meters' Provident Fund; City of London School Account; Scholarship Accounts; the Freemen's Orphan School Account; Clerkenwell Improvement; Admiral Duff's Legacy; General Fund of the City of London Court; Account of the Fees arising from the Admiralty Jurisdiction of the said Court; Account of Surplus Suitors' Cash of ditto; Account of the Profits of the Office of Chamberlain; Account of Revenue Officers' Salaries paid out of the profits of the office of Chamberlain.

By far the largest tabulated statement contained in the yearly report of the accounts of the City is that connected with the produce and expenditure of what is termed "The City's Estate." The receipts on this account include rents; interest on investments; the produce of the various markets; metage dues; brokers' rents; fees and reimbursements

in connection with the administration of justice; receipts from fines and forfeitures, &c.

The expenditure includes the payment of the cost of managing the City Estate; the payment of rates, taxes, and other charges upon it; of charges on the various markets; on the metage dues and brokers' rents; the expenses of magistrates, police, paupers, and prisons; the cost of the administration of justice and of the civil government of the City; pensions; donations; charges for the City schools; sanitary expenses; Parliamentary costs; the maintenance of the library and museum; the cost of public entertainments; and certain expenditure on capital account, in respect of the erection of buildings and the enlargement of markets.

The income of the *City's Estate* from rents was, in 1874, £93,510. By far the larger part of these rents was received from property in the City of London. No details are given as to the situation or character of this property, and the manner in which much of the land came into the possession of the City is shrouded in considerable doubt. It is supposed to include the sites of the old City gates and walls, of which the stewardship and care rested with the Corporation; the sites of former conduits, of which the Corporation were trustees; and of tracts of land, such as Moorfields and Smithfield, originally granted to be held for the public use and advantage of the citizens of London. Moorfields, for example, remained an open space for the benefit of the public until 1812, when by a private Act of Parliament (52 Geo. III., c. 210) the Corporation obtained power to build upon it. The income from Irish rents was £428, and from the model dwellings in Farringdon Road £3,222. The income from investments in Government securities was £10,864, and the total income from realized property £110,033. The capitalized value of this income

is between two and three millions sterling. The collection of the rents and payment of the charges upon this property, together with the charges of management, amounted, in 1874, to £8,303.

In our chapter on the City Charters we have set out the first Inspeximus Charter of Charles the First, confirming the charter granted March 6th, 1 Edw. III., whereby the old privilege of the City, that no market should be allowed within seven miles of the City, is expressly re-granted. It is still in force, and has the validity of law. The object of the City in purchasing from English sovereigns the exclusive right of market was clearly their own aggrandizement, through the concentration of suburban commerce within their walls. In the present day it would be impossible for any such claim to be originated; but the Corporation has always been particularly careful to insist upon its rights in this regard. No market was allowed to be established without the consent of the City under its corporate seal being first obtained; and where, as in the case of the Islington Market Bill, there was danger of competition, the City offered the strongest opposition, and insisted upon compensation in case of its establishment. So also, when a Bill was introduced for the removal of Smithfield Cattle Market, an object on which Parliament, the press, and the public were all agreed, the Corporation met the proposal with the fiercest resistance, and large sums were expended out of Municipal funds for the purpose of retaining in the heart of the City a profitable but most aggravated nuisance.* The markets of

* Serjeant Pulling estimates the cost to the City of this opposition at £6,000, amongst the details of which was the employment of certain literary gentlemen, at considerable cost, for the purpose of writing up the united cause of the Corporation and the butchers. *Vide* "*City of London Corporation Inquiry*," by Serjeant Pulling (Hatchard, Piccadilly), 1854, pp. 15, 16. Evidence was also given by a member of the Common Council before the Commissioners of 1854 as to other details of this expenditure,

the City are now eight in number, viz., Smithfield Dead Meat Market; the Metropolitan Cattle Market, Copenhagen Fields; the Foreign Cattle Market, Deptford; Billingsgate; Leadenhall; Farringdon; Columbia Market; and Smithfield Hay Market. Except where the rights of the City are clearly ascertained by specific Acts of Parliament, the Corporation claim to possess the tolls of these markets as their own private property.* They are, however, a much less profitable possession than formerly, and barely pay their own expenses.

The receipts at the Metropolitan Cattle Market for lairage, tolls, rents, licenses, &c., amounted in 1874 to £37,351, whilst the total expenditure was £34,742, including £19,120 for loan interest, £6,542 for forage, £2,675 for salaries, and £2,180 for rates, taxes, and insurance.

The gross receipts from the Smithfield Meat and Poultry Markets amounted to £60,247. Of this sum £23,906 is charged to the Tolls' Account, and kept separate from the City's estate. The income charged to the City Estate Account is £34,275. The gross expenditure on both accounts, including the payment of £43,832 for interest, is £55,462.

Leadenhall Market produced £2,065, and cost £922.

Farringdon Market produced £1,714, and cost £1,220.

Smithfield Hay Market produced £155, and cost £89.

Billingsgate Market produced from rent £6,518 and from tolls £1,301, making a total of £7,819. The Tolls' Account is kept separate, under the provisions of an Act of Parliament. The total expenditure on the Market was £2,415.

including the tavern bills of certain Members of Parliament. *Vide* "*Evidence of F. Bennoch, Report of Commissioners*," qq. 1221, *et seq.* But compare detailed statement of Mr. Scott as to this expenditure. *Ibid.*, qq. 4660-77.

* *Vide* "Evidence of City Remembrancer before Commissioners of 1854." *Report*, qq. 5417-5420.

Columbia Market produced £1,131, and cost £2,108. The deficit upon this account is thus seen to be considerable, but falls far short of the deficit upon the Foreign Cattle Market Account, which is the subject of a separate statement, and which, amounting to more than £10,000 a year, goes far to lessen the favourable balances of the City Markets proper. In addition to the market charges enumerated above, there are general charges on these accounts amounting to £576.

The compulsory metage of grain is now abolished; but the Corporation carry on a voluntary metage, which in 1874 produced £1,869, at a cost to the City's Estate of £1,452.

The Corporation still claim the right of fruit metage, from which source they received £2,421, and in the collection of which they expended £1,403.

The sum of £122 is credited to the Estate on account of fees for stamping weights and measures.

Brokers' rents produced in 1874 £7,029, at a cost to the Corporation of £353. Of this sum £334 was expended by order of the Court of Aldermen in advertisements.

The receipts from fees and other matters at the Mansion House Justice Room amounted to £2,025, and the expenditure to £3,301. The receipts at the Guildhall Justice Room were £864, and the expenditure £1,931. The other items of expenditure charged against the Magistracy Account amount to £3,690, including £1,440 on account of the maintenance of City lunatics. The whole of these payments are made by order of the Court of Aldermen.

The amount charged against the City Estate, on account of Police, was £22,034. Of this sum £19,509 was paid by order of the Common Council to the Police Fund, being one-fourth of the net expenditure due from the City Estate under the provisions of the Act 2 & 3 Vict., c. 94.*

* As to total cost of City Police, see p. 182.

The sum of £7,250 was expended in the enlargement of the Pauper Lunatic Asylum, and £498 was charged for repairs; the former, being capital expenditure, was reimbursed from the Reserve Fund.

The City receipts on account of Newgate Prison were chiefly made up of reimbursements from the Paymaster-General and the Treasurers of other counties, on account of the maintenance of prisoners. They amounted to £476. The cost of maintaining the prison was £5,969. This sum included £2,279 for wages and £1,297 for salaries.

The receipts on account of the City Prison at Holloway were £3,236, including £1,571 on reimbursement account and £1,343 on account of the prisoners' work, chiefly mat-making. As an illustration of the remarkable sources from which the Corporation income is derived, we may note that £5 16*s.* 8*d.* is credited to this account in respect of "money found on vagrants." The expenditure at Holloway was £10,972, including £3,985 for wages and £1,306 as salaries.

The general prison expenses—an item chiefly made up of pensions to retired prison officers—amounted to £1,381.

The reimbursements on account of criminal prosecutions amounted to £935, whilst a sum of £10,000 was credited from a separate account kept of fines and forfeitures levied by the Sheriffs.

The cost of keeping up the Sessions House at the Old Bailey, and the cost of the Central Criminal Court, are charged at £7,941. Of this sum £3,784 is expended in salaries, £1,710 in the expenses of witnesses, and £800 in the reporting of Old Bailey trials.

The cost of the City Coroner was £1,351, made up of £885 salary and £466 expenses.

The total expenditure on account of the "Civil Government of the City" was £49,304. Of this sum £10,000 was

paid to the Lord Mayor, "in lieu of all his ancient fees and emoluments." The keeping up of the Mansion House cost £4,498, including the sum of £1,622 for repairs and £882 for new furniture; £82 was paid for two robes for the Lord Mayor, £97 10*s.* to the Chaplain, £60 to keep up the coach, and £524 for decorating the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day. The fees received from the Mayor's Court in 1874 amounted to £7,393, and the expenditure to £6,756. Of this expenditure, £5,685 was in salaries and £962 for compensation to one of the solicitors of the Court on account of the purchase of his former exclusive right of practice. The sum of £1,101 was paid to the Sheriffs on account of their customary allowances.

The other expenses of Civil Government include the sum of £9,270 for the salaries of the Comptroller, Remembrancer, City Solicitor, a proportion of the cost of the Town Clerk, and the salaries of the Sword-bearer, and some minor officers. There is also a considerable sum, of which no details are given, charged for the expenses of these officers.

The cost of keeping up the Guildhall and City Courts amounted to no less a sum than £12,478, mainly composed of tradesmen's bills, and including £3,181 for repairs to the Guildhall alone, whilst painting and repairing the Law Courts cost £1,325.

The cost of the Borough Court at Southwark is set down at £217.

Against this total of £49,304 is credited as "officers' surplus fees and profits," a sum of £5,399. Part of this sum is transferred from the Chamberlain's Profit Account, and part from the Bridge House Estates. The true receipts comprise £400 for Sessions fees, and £609 for fees at the Monument. This building costs £359 to keep up.

The pensions charged against the City Estate amount to £3,566, of which amount about one-half is paid by order

of the Court of Aldermen. These pensions chiefly consist of allowances made to old servants of the Corporation and their widows. The late Clerk to the Lord Mayor has a retiring allowance of £700. The other pensions range from £300 a year to the late principal Clerk in the Architect's office, down to £15 to the late doorkeeper at the Central Criminal Court.

The London Almshouses are charged at £1,500, of which £1,067 is put down as "allowances to inmates."

The charitable donations voted during the year amounted to £3,497, and included £1,000 to the Indian Famine Relief Fund, £710 to the widows of freemen, of which sum £500 is to be distributed by members of the Court of Common Council, and £210 by Aldermen; £315 was voted for a pulpit for the City Temple on Holborn Viaduct. The other amounts were voted for hospitals, orphanages, and so forth.

The honorary votes of the year cost £513, including a sword to Sir Garnet Wolseley, and gold caskets for Sir Albert Sassoon and Sir Bartle Frere.

The expenditure charged against the City's Estate for educational purposes was £6,355; of this sum £1,572 is charged for the contribution towards the City of London School, and £4,783 for the Freemen's Orphan School.

The sum of £1,840 is charged for sanitary expenses at the Port of London, under "The Public Health Act, 1872." The chief items are for salaries of medical officers, inspectors, and wages generally. The sum of £127 was received in reimbursements.

The expenses charged to the City's Estate in respect of West Ham Park were £1,056, of which £744 was connected with the opening, the *déjeûner* costing £387. The maintenance is charged at £312. The incidental receipts are £221.

Gas supply expenses are £204, of which £100 are the "expenses" of the Special Gas Committee.

The expenses in relation to Epping Forest are £12,260, of which sum £11,998 is charged for fees to counsel, and other expenses before the Epping Forest Commissioners, but no details are given.

In addition to the sum of £2,515 charged for the Remembrancer, and the expenses of his office, we have £1,158 charged in connection with the progress of Bills in Parliament; but no details are given which enable us to judge of the propriety of the expenditure.

The Incidental Receipts arising from the sale of old materials, and from other sources, amounted in 1874 to £1,060; the "Incidental and Casual" expenditure to £9,266. This expenditure includes £4,852 for interest, (afterwards credited to the capital expenditure accounts of Billingsgate and Smithfield Markets), and £1,750 for remunerations and allowances to various Committees; £750 for summer excursions, and £120 for cloth delivered "according to ancient custom," to Ministers of State and others, by order of the Court of Aldermen.

The Guildhall Library and Museum cost in maintenance £2,929, part of which is charged against a separate account. Of this sum, £1,337 was paid in salaries and wages.

The scraps of the great feasts on Thanksgiving Day in 1872, and on the occasion of the reception of the Shah in 1873, are served up in the 1874 account. There are receipts from the sale of decorative fittings on the first account of £61, and on the second of £112,* and an expenditure on the first account of £25, and on the second of £546, the

* The expenditure on these entertainments was £29,034, of which nearly one-half was in carpentery and upholstery, and with the exception of a sale of surplus furniture in 1873, credited at £1,000, this is all that results to the credit account.

chief item in the latter being a sum of £441 for commemorative medals.

There are two entertainments in 1874, which appear in the City accounts. The breakfast on the occasion of the Prince of Wales unveiling the Prince Consort's statue cost £1,821, of which sum the tavern bill was £925. The reception of the Czar is set down at £13,362. On occasions like this, the Guildhall has a wooden floor put down, and some hideous erection of timber gaudily decorated with cloth disfigures the entrance; we are not therefore surprised to find £6,713 set down for carpentery and upholstery work. The tavern bills were £2,676. The other expenses were for decorations of various kinds, interspersed with such items as the "arranging of the plate" £98 16*s.*; admission and *menu* cards, £290; bands, £170; gloves, £22; gratuities to corporate officers, £263; wands, £25, and so forth.

The sum of £6,570 was expended on capital account in connection with the Library. This amount was advanced from the Reserve Fund.*

The sum of £60,034 was spent on the enlargement of Billingsgate Market. To meet this expenditure, a loan of £50,000 was raised at 4 per cent., in addition to the balance of £28,021 standing in the hands of the City on this account at the beginning of the year. There were also receipts on account of the rents of premises taken. The sum of £47,755 was expended on the Western Extension of Smithfield Market. There was a credit on this account

* If, instead of spending £543 in chromo-lithographs, and hundreds of pounds for decorative ornamental brass, and so forth, the Corporation would provide a decent and intelligible catalogue, and offer greater facilities for research, there would be more credit attaching to them in the management of this splendid library, and its precious stores would soon render it a favourite resort of the student. At present it is inundated with boys in their teens reading novels. July 1875.

in the hands of the City at the beginning of the year of £63,000.

The sum of £9,575 was spent on the police stations at Snow Hill and Tudor Street, to meet which cost, £10,500 was advanced to the City Estate from the Reserve Fund.

The Metropolitan Cattle Market Loan of £131,900 was renewed, and a loan of £25,000 was raised, and paid in to meet the deficiency on the Deptford Cattle Market Account.

The sum of £1,462 was invested in consols, and £613 in the purchase of property; £801 was paid on account of designs for the proposed new Fruit and Vegetable Market.

The sale of property during the year produced £1,228, and the sale of securities £462. £1,000 was received from the executors of Sir David Salomons, to be expended in a memorial in connection with the Library, and a sum of £24,682 was advanced from the Reserve Fund to meet deficiencies in the City Estate Account.

The total income on the City Estate Account, as set out in the Chamberlain's Report, is £577,789, and the expenditure £554,044, leaving a balance in hand of £23,745.

By a resolution of the Common Council passed in 1857, a "*Reserve Fund*" was created, and is now kept separate. The amount in reserve and in investment is £130,160, of which £118,486 is invested in East India Government Securities. This fund is also credited with £341,350 due from the "*Clerkenwell Improvement Fund.*" The payment from this fund to the Reserve Fund mainly resulted from the produce of rents and sales of land. The amount transferred in liquidation of the above balance was in 1874, £15,360; in 1873, £22,675; in 1872, £15,675. The moneys realized through the action of the Sheriffs are also kept separate; the reason for this is not clear. The amount realized from fines, &c., during the Shrievalty of 1872-3 was £10,888.

Under the provisions of the 33 & 34 Vict., c. 70 (the

Contagious Diseases Animals Act), the Corporation is the "local authority" within the City, (sec. 10) but if they do not open a market for public use for the purposes of the Act before January 1st, 1872, they shall cease to be the local authority (sec. 29), and any one else may establish a market for the purposes of the Act, section 15 of "The Metropolitan Market Act, 1857," notwithstanding.* Hence arose Deptford Foreign Cattle Market. The Corporation have power under the Act (sec. 28) to borrow on credit of the same property as in "The Metropolis Market Act, 1865." They have power to take tolls, and the produce of the market must be applied in paying the interest and repaying the capital borrowed. For the purposes of the market, the Corporation borrowed in 1870, £30,000; 1871, £180,000; 1872, £20,000; 1874, £25,000; total, £255,000. Of this, £230,000 is at 4½ per cent., and the rest at 4 per cent. This market is not at present in a satisfactory condition, and it would have been better for the City's Estate to have allowed the Metropolitan Board to be the "local authority." The gross expenditure in 1874 on the market was £15,112; if we deduct the loan interest of £9,805, we have net £5,307, whilst the income from the market is only £4,533. There is thus a deficit of more than £10,000 a year, and the method adopted in 1874 of meeting the difficulty by the issue of a new loan, is not one that can be open to constant adoption.

The "*Billingsgate Tolls' Account*" is kept separately from the general market account, presumably because by the 9 and 10 Vict., c. 346, s. 11, the tolls are to be applied towards the maintenance of the market. This seems an insufficient reason for dividing this market's accounts. Neither does any adequate reason appear for separate balance sheets

* This Act provides that no new market for the sale of cattle or horses shall be set up within seven miles of St. Paul's.

being issued for the "*Library Maintenance Account*," or the "*Widows of Freemen Fund.*" If some information were given as to whom the £500 voted for the latter by the Common Council was given, and upon what basis it was appropriated, it would be somewhat different; but no doubt these are points of inner corporate life familiar to those for whom the accounts are prepared.

The accounts of the establishment of the Town Clerk and the Architect are also each the subject of a separate statement. They, however, deal only with the question of salaries. The Town Clerk's office costs in this way £4,009, and the Architect £2,407; but these sums very inadequately represent the cost of these functionaries to the City.

The "*Bridge House Estates*" are now chiefly in land and houses. This is the fund derived from royal grant, devise, and other sources, upon which the cost of building and maintaining London Bridge was originally charged. The cost of the other bridges are now charged upon it. It is a very valuable property, which the City treats as a "Public and Trust Account," on the ground presumably that it is charged with the repair and maintenance of the bridges, and that therefore the City are only trustees of the lands, &c. It would seem from the contrast thus made of the City accounts, that when some thirty-four of them are styled "public and trust accounts," it is intended that the rest shall be regarded as "private and peculiar," which it is only by special grace that the public are allowed to know anything about. The object in publishing them is apparently to allow the City to pose as excellent stewards of their own land, and not for one moment as responsible to any-one outside themselves for what they may choose to do with it. This view is in accord with the "statement" of the Aldermen in 1856, as to their astonishment that the Government should attempt to apply different principles to such property to those which were

applicable to a man's private estate. On the contention of the City, the Corporation might sell by auction all their lands, markets, houses, library, &c., and pocket the proceeds, and it would be a perfectly justifiable and *bonâ-fide* business transaction. As a matter of law, the Corporation are just as much trustees of their markets and their lands, as they are of the City of London School, or the Police Fund, and just as accountable to the public. It is time, therefore, that in these reports there ceased to be this division into "public" and "private," as it serves no useful object, although no doubt it may please the untutored fancy of such Common Councillors as have inherited rather than earned their position in the City.

The Bridge House Estate rents produced in 1874 £50,099, a sum which it cost more than £3,000 to collect and manage. £4,952 was expended on London Bridge, £2,493 on Blackfriars Bridge, and £1,472 on Southwark Bridge. The Blackfriars Bridge and Southwark Bridge Loans of £615,000 are charged against this account, and so £30,115 was paid in loan interest. The Act 26 & 27 Vict., c. 62, after reciting that the bridge over the Thames at Blackfriars was in a dangerous condition, and was likely to be seriously endangered by the proposed Embankment, goes on to authorize the Corporation to erect a new one, and for that purpose to borrow £300,000. By the Act 30 Vict., c. 3, a further borrowing power to the extent of £315,000 is granted, to enable the Corporation to complete the building of Blackfriars Bridge, and to purchase Southwark Bridge. Under these Acts the money has been borrowed, and is charged as above, but for some reason or other a separate account of these Bridge Funds is kept, independent of the interest account. The expenses on this separate account during the year amounted to £480, being composed of £350 law charges, and £130 shorthand notes and models,

all in connection with an action by the contractors which it may be therefore presumed the City lost. Probably when the balance of £2,092 has been spent, the account will be closed.

In the year 1575, Sir Thomas Gresham, a London merchant, bequeathed his dwelling-house, after the death of his wife, to the Corporation of London and to the Mercers' Company in trust for the founding of a college. For the purpose of endowing such college, the testator bequeathed to the same parties the Royal Exchange that he had built, together with the shops and cellars within and beneath it. The number of professors to be appointed in pursuance of the will was seven: they were to inhabit, and study in the college; were required to be celibate; and for a salary of £50 per annum to read daily lectures on divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, physic, and rhetoric. Lady Gresham died in 1596, and the joint trustees forthwith appointed the professors and entered into possession of the property. Their title was strengthened by the confirmation of the will by Parliament which had taken place in 1581, and by a patent to possess the property in perpetuity which was granted by the Crown in 1641. The Committee were put to great expense in rebuilding the Royal Exchange after the fire of London, and towards the end of the century the proper maintenance of the college seems to have been abandoned. In 1767, Gresham College was sold to the Government, in consideration of a ground rent of £500. By the Act 8 Geo. III., c. 32, confirming this transaction, it was provided that, in consequence of the loss of their house, the professorial salaries should be doubled; that the restraint on marriage should be removed; and that the trustees should provide a new lecture hall. A long period of obscurity followed, during which the lectures were relegated to a room above the Exchange, but, in consequence of the destruction

of the building by fire in 1838, the lectures were transferred to the recently-erected City of London School, and afterwards to the new building erected in Gresham Street. For the purpose of rebuilding the Royal Exchange, a sum of £85,000 was borrowed in the year 1842, and a further sum of £13,500 has been borrowed since; of this £3,500 has been repaid. The lecture hall of Gresham College, situated at the corner of Basinghall Street, was built during the years 1842-3-4, at a cost to the City's moiety of £6,955.

The whole estate was originally bequeathed as an educational trust, but in consequence of the improvident sale of the college to the Government in 1767,* and of the burning of the Royal Exchange on two occasions, there is now but a small sum available for educational purposes. The income of the City's moiety from rents amounted in 1874 to £7,087. Of this sum £4,026 was expended in loan interest, and £500 towards the repayment of the loans. The expenses of the Royal Exchange amounted to £539; £242 was paid towards almshouses and poor prisoners; £504 was paid in salaries to keepers and constables; whilst each of the readers in divinity, geometry, astronomy, and music still delivered their lectures at intervals during term-time for the statutory salary of £100 a year. The charge for the readings in law, physic, and rhetoric was defrayed by the Mercers' Company. The lectures on music, partaking largely as they do of the character of gratuitous concerts, have generally been well attended; but, as to the rest, they have long been a bye-word amongst educational efforts. Poor Sir Thomas Gresham never imagined to what contemptible results his noble bequest would lead. The audience at some lectures could be counted on the fingers of a single hand, and elabo-

* The Excise building, erected by the Government upon the site of the college, together with the other purchased land, was sold in 1852 for £108,000.

rate discourses in Latin have been recited for the benefit of half-a-dozen stray wanderers who had dropped in for shelter. It is difficult to conceive of a great educational establishment in a more lamentable case.

There are three separate accounts kept in connection with "*Smithfield Market,*" and this besides the ordinary account, which is included in the City cash. The Smithfield Market Tolls' Account is now in a satisfactory condition. Not merely does it pay the interest upon the £325,000 loans charged upon it, but it is fast repaying the money borrowed of the City, and may be expected soon to reduce the ordinary loan capital. The Act by which the construction of this market was authorized, was the 23 & 24 Vict., c. 193. The tolls were charged with the expense of construction, and if at the end of five years they were insufficient, then the Corporation were authorized to exact a toll of one farthing for every 14 lbs. of meat taken to the market instead of one farthing per 21 lbs. as then provided. They also had a right to construct an underground station, as well as the overground market. It is apparently with respect to this station that an otherwise useless account is kept open. The Act was extended and modified by the 25 & 26 Vict., c. 174, and a separate account is also kept as to this.

Another small account is the "*Newgate Market Fund.*" By the Act 24 & 25 Vict., c. 52, Newgate Market was abolished, and the site dismarketed. The power to sell the land was given to the Corporation, and there is now on this account a balance of £13,140. The year's expenditure consists of £50 rent, and £212 10*s.* interest on a loan of £5,000. Fortunately the loan falls in in 1877, and will presumably be paid, otherwise the interest would gradually eat away the balance which is credited with no interest. All the interest on the various floating balances is credited

to the Chamberlain's account, and as his salary is dependent upon the profits realized, he ought, if a wise man, to keep good and productive balances. It would be unjust to charge this system of keeping open accounts with large and useless balances, to the desire of the Chamberlain to augment his profits. Of no man could such things be said with less truth than of the present City Chamberlain, but the system is none the less, as it seems to us, cumbrous and indefensible.

The Act 27 & 28 Vict., c. 61, recites that it would "conduce to the interest of the public" to raise Holborn Valley, and that for this purpose it was expedient to continue the Coal and Wine Dues from July 5, 1872 (to which they had been extended by the Coal and Wine Duties Continuance Act, 24 & 25 Vict., c. 42), to July 5, 1882, under the terms of the Coal and Wine Dues Continuance Act, 26 and 27 Vict., c. 46. The proceeds of the wine duty, and of 9*d.* part of the coal duty, are under that Act payable to the Thames Embankment and Metropolis Improvement Fund. The proceeds of the 4*d.* coal duty should be applicable in the first instance to pay the interest, and discharge the principal of sums borrowed on the Holborn Valley Account, and afterwards to such other City improvements as Parliament should sanction. Under the Holborn Valley Act (27 & 28 Vict., c. 61) power is given to the City to take lands and to borrow moneys on this account, which shall not exceed £600,000 at any one time. By the Act 30 Vict., c. 55, the above Act is modified and extended so far as relates to the carrying out of the improvements. The total amount borrowed on this account has been £2,381,400, which was borrowed in seventeen distinct loans, of which only one reached the maximum of £600,000. In this aggregate we have included the sum of £15,000 raised under "The Holborn Valley and Farringdon Market Im-

provement Act," 35 & 36 Vict., c. 81, which empowered the Corporation to borrow further moneys for the general improvement, and also to keep open certain lands for the public benefit, in the parish of St. Sepulchre. To this latter improvement St. Sepulchre parish contributed £10,723, being an item standing to its credit from another account. The "*Holborn Valley Account*" proper is credited with receipts from the sale of ground rents and premises to the extent of £115,404, and from rents of £17,991, whilst the expenditure on interest account was £29,049, and on construction account £17,956. Under order of the Court of Common Council, the Loan Liquidation Account is kept separate. The sum of £10,691 has been expended on construction account in connection with the Holborn Valley and Farringdon Market Act, and the loan of £15,000 is exhausted. There still remains under the Act a borrowing power to the extent of £76,000, which will probably be forthwith exercised.

By the Acts 13 & 14 Vict., c. 103, and 14 & 15 Vict., c. 120, power was given to the Corporation to borrow £88,000, and complete certain improvements in Clerkenwell. These improvements have long been concluded, but the fund is kept separate. The balance of about £15,000 standing to the credit of the account at the end of 1873 has been transferred to make up the deficiencies of the Reserve Fund, but there have been further receipts from rents and land purchased by the Metropolitan Railway of about £8,000.

There are three separate statements of account in connection with the department of the "*Commissioners of Sewers.*" One of these is with respect to the Metropolitan Board of Works contribution, and during the past year £37,743 was levied by rate to meet this claim. As, however, only £21,931 was paid over, there remains in hand a large

balance of £15,812 derived from surplus rating. On the "*Sewers' Rate Account*" there is shown an expenditure during the year of £9,338, and a further payment to the Board of Works on the same account of £12,978. This amount was raised by rate, the floating balance being nearly £20,000. The third account is with respect to receipts and expenditure on account of the "*Consolidated Rate.*" In this account are included various items of receipt on account of Gas Inspection Fees, City of London Cemetery Fees (£8,510), fines, sale of old materials, &c., and £123,854, the produce of the Consolidated Rate itself. The expenditure during 1874 amounted to £254,876, of which £91,165 was expended in the purchase of ground for improvements, &c., £16,048 in the repayment of loans and the payment of loan interest, £14,129 on account of the London School Board expenses, and the remainder in the ordinary charges incident to paving, lighting, and cleansing the streets, maintenance of the London Cemetery, testing of gas, &c. Notwithstanding the fact that £75,558 was reimbursed in connection with the improvements, there remains on this account, which is made up to September 29th, 1874, an overpaid balance of £39,466.

We shall deal with the City of London Police in a subsequent chapter. The total receipts on the *Police* account during 1874 amounted to £87,440, of which sum £20,267 was contributed from the City and Bridge House Estates, and of the remainder £62,021 was raised by rate. The expenditure during the year was £83,508.

The payments made during 1874 to *Ward Clerks*, Beadles, &c., in connection with the holding of wardmotes, amounted to £4,163, and the receipts from a rate levied for the purpose, to £3,295. The expenses of Aldersgate Within were £58 6*s.* 8*d.*, while those of Farringdon Without, the largest of the City wards, were £750. These pay-

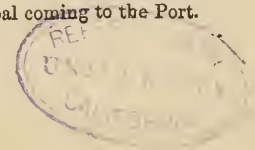
ments are made under the City of London Police Act (2 and 3 Vict., c. 94, s. 85). The same Act (sec. 91) directs that the accounts shall be kept by the City Chamberlain.

The City Police Act also provides (sec. 87) that the Common Council may make such allowances to superannuated watchmen as they think fit, such sums being chargeable upon the Police Rate. The City "*Police Superannuation Fund*" is kept as a separate account, and the disbursements in pensions amounted in 1874 to £6,119.

In 1694 the House of Commons by resolution expelled Sir John Trevor, the late Speaker of the House, he having been guilty of the high crime and misdemeanour of receiving from the City of London a gratuity of £1,000 after the passing of the Orphans' Fund Bill. It is to that measure that the present "*Coal and Wine Dues,*" levied in the Metropolitan District, owe their origin.*

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City had by custom the custody and guardianship of orphan children, and the management of the estates of deceased freemen. They were also in the habit of receiving the money of freemen in the Chamber of London, and allowing to investors interest at four per cent. During the reign of Charles the Second the Chamber of London invested more than £750,000 in Exchequer tallies, which was presumed to be a safe form of investment, but which, by the financial expedient of "closing" the Exchequer, became worthless. At length, by the 5 & 6 Wm. & Mary, c. 10, relief was given to the City creditors. An "Orphans' Fund" was established, and the City Estates were charged with the yearly payment of £8,000. The fund was also benefited by a sum of £2,000 per annum, levied on the City; by an assignment of the profits of the City aqueducts; by fees on the binding of

* We here deal with these dues as a whole, and irrespective of the City's claim to be prescriptive measurers of coal coming to the Port.



apprentices and the admission of freemen; and, lastly, by a duty of 4*s.* per tun on wine imported into the City of London, 4*d.* per chaldron on coal or culm imported, for ever, and 6*d.* per chaldron on importations during the succeeding fifty years.*

In 1748, the duty of 6*d.* having expired, was continued for thirty-five years longer,† and the City Estates charged with a further sum of £2,000, making a total charge of £10,000 per annum. In 1767 the City Estate was further charged with £1,500 per annum for forty-six years, making its total contribution £11,500.‡ The same Act continued the 6*d.* duty on coals for forty-six years, the produce to be expended in completing Blackfriars Bridge, redeeming the Bridge tolls, rebuilding Newgate, repairing the Royal Exchange, and improving the banks of the Thames. In 1804 both the 6*d.* duty and the additional £1,500 yearly charge were continued for five years and three-quarters longer,—the duty being expended in improving Snow Hill and Temple Bar.§ In 1807 a further duty of 1*d.* per chaldron or ton was imposed, for the purpose of establishing a coal market.‖ In 1830 the duty of 6*d.* per chaldron was continued for twenty-one years longer, for the purpose of improving the approaches to London Bridge. The duty of 4*d.* per ton was also transferred to the same fund.¶ In 1831 further provision was made for the same object, and also for the removal of Fleet Market by transferring the wine duty, the

* We have here accepted as true the version given by the City as to the Orphans' Fund and the "closing" of the Exchequer. There is no direct evidence available as to the facts, but a good deal of collateral evidence exists. This was subjected to a thorough sifting by the Metropolis Taxation Committee in 1861, and, as we think, the City proved their case, so far as could be fairly expected in the absence of documents indisputably showing it. See evidence of Mr. Scott before this Committee. *Report*, qq. 286-9 and 430-52.

† By the Act 21 Geo. II., c. 29. ‡ By the Act 7 Geo. III., c. 37.

§ By the Act 44 Geo. III., c. 27. ‖ By the Act 47 Geo. III., c. 68.

¶ By the Act 10 Geo. IV., c. 136.

apprentice and freedom fees, and the aqueduct profits at the yearly charge of £11,500 on the City Estate, to the same Improvement Fund.* By the Act 1 & 2 Wm. IV., c. 76, the 1*d.* per ton was continued, for the purpose of erecting a coal market. This Act regulated the sale of coals for a considerable distance round London. It remodelled the other duties, commuting the two duties of 6*d.* and 4*d.* to 8*d.*, and reducing the fee allowed for weighing from 8*d.* to 4*d.* Coals were thenceforth to be sold by weight. Under this Act, therefore, the coal dues were commuted to 8*d.*, 4*d.*, and 1*d.*, making an aggregate of 1*s.* 1*d.* per ton, including weighing. The selling of coal by measure was abolished, and the City undertook the compensation of the coal meters. The charge on this account has now ceased.

By the 1 & 2 Vict., c. 101, the above Act was continued for seven years more, that is, to 1858. This was extended by the 3 & 4 Vict., c. 131, to 1862.

Under the provisions of the 8 & 9 Vict., c. 101, the duties were to be levied on all coal brought within twenty miles of the Post Office; and by the Act 14 & 15 Vict., c. 146, a drawback was allowed on all coals conveyed beyond twenty miles in a direct line from the Post Office.

The scheme devised in 1694 had succeeded, and in 1834, just 140 years later, the funds due to the creditors of the City, in consequence of the closing of the Exchequer, were finally paid off. The coal and wine duties, however, were too useful to be dispensed with, and they still remain.

By "The Coal and Wine Duties Continuance Act, 1861,"† the duties on coal and wine levied by the Corporation are continued another ten years, that is to say, until July 5th, 1872. The proceeds of the wine duty, and of 9*d.*, part of the 13*d.* coal duty, are to be paid to an account, opened in the names of the Lords of the Treasury at the

* By the Act 11 Geo. IV., c. 64. † 24 and 25 Vict., c. 42.

Bank of England, and entitled "The Thames Embankment and Metropolis Improvement Fund," such fund being applicable to the improvement of the Metropolis; the 4*d.* coal duty to be applied by the Corporation to City improvements.

By "The Continuance Act, 1863," 26 & 27 Vict., c. 46, the duties are continued ten years longer, the proceeds of the 9*d.* duty being payable as before, and the proceeds of the 4*d.* duty being applicable to the raising of Holborn Valley and other City improvements.

By the 31 & 32 Vict., c. 17, the duties are continued to 1889, to be applied as before. In 1889, the duties are to be applied for the purpose of freeing Kew, Kingston, Hampton Court, Walton, and Staines Bridges over the Thames, and Chingford and Tottenham Mills Bridges over the Lee.

In default of any further legislation, the 9*d.* duty will then cease, but the 4*d.* appears to be perennial.* It is not, however, likely, that so useful a tax will be allowed to slip, although its incidence is somewhat hard in outlying districts in Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, &c., that happen to be within the radius.

It will be noted that all payments on the Coal and Wine Duties Account pass through the hands of the Corporation of London, and the method in which they are dealt with is set forth in six separate statements in the City accounts. The 9*d.* coal duty and the wine duty, which, as we have seen, are applicable to the same purpose under the Con-

* This duty furnishes a curious example of City "prescriptive rights." The Corporation claim, under a charter of James the First, the right of measuring coal brought to the "Port of London." Measuring has now been abolished, and the control of the port has been taken from them by "The Thames Conservancy Act, 1857;" and yet they now claim, under this old charter, a right to a duty on all coals brought within the radius. It requires a special City training to understand such a claim. The Remembrancer floundered with it a good deal before the Committee of 1866.—*Report*, p. 56.

tinuance Act of 1863, are dealt with in the first of these accounts. The 9*d.* coal duty produced in 1874, £249,774, and the wine duty produced £11,651; the sum of £36,139 was allowed as drawback on coals re-conveyed beyond the limits, and the sum of £218,178 was paid into the Bank of England to the credit of the Improvement Fund. The 4*d.* coal duty produced £111,010, with a drawback of £16,061. This fund was charged with loan interest to the extent of about £80,000, and with repayment of loans to the extent of £9,195. The sum charged by the City for managing the Drawback Fund was £2,292, and in respect of the collection of the duties themselves £5,364, making a total of £7,656. This sum represents the toll taken by the City upon the duties passing through their hands. It is mainly expended in salaries, which range from £950 per annum, downwards.

The cost of maintaining the Coal Market in 1874 was £2,254, and the receipts for rent £2,215.

The year 1872 is important in City annals, as having witnessed the abolition of the compulsory metage dues on grain, the claim to which, resting as it did on prescription and upon dubious charters, had been more than once contested, with results by no means creditable to the City.* By the Act 35 & 36 Vict., c. 100, the prescriptive rights of the City to grain metage, lastage, and tillage were commuted into a fixed duty, chargeable by weight. From the 1st of November, 1872, the Corporation were empowered to demand and receive for the term of thirty years three-sixteenths of a penny per cwt., in respect of all corn brought into the Port of London for sale. The produce of the duty was to be applied to the preservation of open spaces near the Metropolis. Power is given to the Common Council to decide on the pensions payable to

* *Vide supra*, p. 21.

Deputy Corn Meters, and a power is also given to borrow, upon the security of the Grain Duty and of the City revenues, a sum not exceeding £99,000. This latter power does not appear to have been exercised. The Corporation still continue the metage of grain where requested. This voluntary metage produced in 1874, £1,869. The produce of the *Grain Duty* in 1874 was £17,429. The sum of £5,335 was paid in pensions, and the cost of management was £3,619. The sum of £14,776 was spent in connection with West Ham Park. The charge against the duty on this account was, however, lessened by the sum of £4,000, raised by public subscription.* The Corporation are the trustees of the "City Meters' Provident Fund." This fund has now a balance in hand of £1,285.

As we have already shown, the City Estate is chargeable with £900 a year towards the support of the *City of London School.* The other receipts of the school amounted in 1874 to £8,079. The cost of the school in salaries was £6,374, and in general expenses £2,777. The Pupils' Deposit Account is in the hands of the Chamberlain, with a credit balance at the end of 1874 of £325.

There are sixteen scholarships in connection with the City of London School, the account of each of which is kept separate by the Chamberlain. The average income from each scholarship is about £50. Most of these sums are expended in the maintenance of children at Cambridge.

The cost of the *Freemen's Orphan School* to the City Estate in 1874 was £4,783. The further receipts of the school from rents and fees on taking out freedom were £603. The expenditure in salaries was £885, and in maintenance £4,530.

* If the subscribing public had been aware of the extent of the City's income, for the special purpose of purchasing open spaces, this sum would probably have been less.

A separate account is also kept for *Admiral Duff's Legacy*. It produced £36 15*s*. 2*d*., which was paid over to the Treasurer of the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association.

The fees of the *City of London Court* in 1874 amounted to £7,874; the interest on investments and unclaimed Suitors' Cash to £893; the expenditure in salaries was £5,482; the pensions, law and incidental expenses, £1,582. The fees received on account of the Admiralty Jurisdiction were £452 12*s*.

The office of the Chamberlain is credited with the profit at interest of the floating balances. These amounted in 1874 to £10,179. The account is also credited with an item of fees, £61, and with one year's interest on the surplus profit fund of £1,720. The salary of the Chamberlain ranges from £1,500 to £2,500, and is dependent upon the profit realized in this department. The total salaries paid in the Chamberlain's office are £5,582. The incidental expenses amount to £350. The sum of £3,000 is paid to the credit of the City Estate, and £3,052 is paid towards the salaries of certain officers of the Corporation in pursuance of a deed executed by the Chamberlain to that effect.

The Income of the City during the year 1874 may be summarized as follows :—

From realized Property—	£	£
City Estate Rents, Quit Rents, Interest, &c. . . .	110,033	
Bridge House Estate ditto .	50,099	
Gresham Estate—City's moiety	7,087	
Interest on Investments . .	6,657	
Coal Market Rents . . .	2,215	
		176,091
Carried forward . .		176,091

	£	£
Brought forward . .		176,091
From Rates—		
Consolidated Rate . . .	123,854	
Police Rate	62,021	
Board of Works—Sewers' Rate	37,743	
Sewers' Rate	21,502	
Ward Rates	3,295	
		248,415
Receipts credited to Rate Accounts—		
Reimbursements for Improvements on Consolidated Rate Account	75,558	
Miscellaneous Receipts, Interment Fees, &c., on ditto .	15,997	
Reimbursements on Police Account	5,142	
Ditto on Sewers' Account. .	623	
		97,320
Markets—		
Smithfield Market Tolls and Rents	60,247	
Metropolitan Cattle Market .	37,351	
Billingsgate Market—Rent and Tolls	7,819	
Foreign Cattle Market . .	4,533	
Leadenhall Market . . .	2,065	
Farringdon Market . . .	1,714	
Columbia Market . . .	1,131	
Smithfield Hay Market . .	155	
		115,015
Coal, Wine, and Grain Duty—		
Ninepenny Coal Duty . .	249,774	
Fourpenny Coal Duty . .	111,010	
Carried forward . .	360,784	636,841

	£	£
Brought forward . .	360,784	636,841
Duty on Wine . . .	11,651	
City of London Grain Duty .	17,429	
		389,864
The Administration of Justice—		
Fines, Forfeitures, &c., in Shrievalty, 1872-3 . . .	10,888	
City of London Court Fees, &c.	8,768	
Admiralty Jurisdiction of ditto .	462	
Mayor's Court Fees . .	7,393	
Holloway Prison Reimbursements	3,236	
Mansion House Justice Room .	2,025	
Guildhall ditto	864	
Criminal Prosecution Reimbursements	935	
Newgate Prison ditto . .	476	
		35,047
Metage and other Fees, Brokers' Rents, &c.—		
Chamberlain's Office—Interest on Balances, Fees, Dividends, &c.	11,962	
Brokers' Rents . . .	7,029	
Fruit Metage	2,421	
Voluntary Grain Metage . .	1,869	
Fees at Monument, Sessions House, Green Yard, &c. .	1,337	
Stamping Weights and Measures	122	
		24,740
Receipts on Account of City Schools, Missions, &c.—		
City of London School . .	8,079	
Pupils' Deposit Account .	216	
Scholarships . . .	690	
Carried forward . .	8,985	1,086,492

	£	£
Brought forward . .	8,985	1,086,492
Freemen's Orphan School . .	683	
Admiral Duff's Legacy for Scripture Readers . . .	34	
		9,702
Miscellaneous Receipts—		
Holborn Valley Account Rents .	17,991	
Miscellaneous . . .	1,808	
From Investments . .	1,281	
Smithfield Western Approach Rents	5,156	
Dividend and Interest .	1,509	
Bridge House Estate, Incidental Receipts	1,496	
West Ham Park Public Subscription	4,000	
Incidental Receipts . .	221	
Billingsgate Enlargement, Rents and Interest on Amount in hand	2,780	
Smithfield Poultry Market, Interest on ditto . . .	2,497	
Casual Receipts in City Estate .	1,060	
Blackfriars Bridge Fund Rents.	175	
Sanitary Expenses, Reimbursement	127	
City Meters' Provident Fund Dividend	44	
Gifts on Admission to Freedom.	5	
Legacy by Sir David Salomons .	1,000	
Town Clerk's Fees . . .	31	
Police Superannuation Fund, Casual Receipts and Dividends	1,585	
Carried forward . .	42,766	1,096,194

	£	£
Brought forward . .	42,766	1,096,194
Clerkenwell Improvement Fund, Rents, Interest, &c. . .	7,311	
Sale of Furniture and Decorations	173	
		50,250
Total Receipts on Current Account .		1,146,444
Receipts on Capital Account—		
Billingsgate Market Enlargement Loan	50,000	
Sale of City Estate . . .	1,228	
Sale of City Securities . .	462	
Foreign Cattle Market Loan .	25,000	
Renewal of Metropolitan Cattle Market Loan . . .	131,900	
Sale of Oude and Rohilcund Railway Stock in Reserve Fund Account	38,503	
Loan in Bridge House Account to meet Bonds falling due .	100,000	
Smithfield Market Western Approach, Sale of Securities and Bonds paid off . .	75,697	
Loan renewed, Surplus Lands .	30,000	
Holborn Valley Improvement Account, Loans renewed, Surplus Lands	155,900	
Sale of Ground Rents, Premises, and Interest. . . .	115,404	
City Police Superannuation Fund, Sale of Consols . . .	4,314	
Cannon Street Improvement Loan renewed . . .	15,000	
Carried forward . .	743,408	1,146,444

	£	£
Brought forward . .	743,408	1,146,444
Holborn Valley Improvement Loan renewed . . .	35,000	
City of London Court, City Bonds paid off	10,000	
Payment by Smithfield Market Account towards Money borrowed	5,885	
		794,293
Total City Income in 1874		£1,940,737

The Expenditure of the City during the year 1874 may be summarized as follows :—

City Establishment Account—	£
City Estate, Management and Charges	8,303
Bridge House Estate ditto .	6,861
Expenses in connection with Bridges . . .	9,449
Interest on Loans and Investment on Bridge House Account . . .	31,129
Gresham Estate . . .	6,475
Coal Market	2,254
Town Clerk's Establishment, Expenses not charged to separate Accounts	4,009
Architect and Surveyor's Establishment, ditto . . .	2,407
The Lord Mayor . . .	10,183
Carried forward . .	81,070

	£	£
Brought forward . .	81,070	
Keeping up the Mansion House.	4,580	
Minor Mayoralty Expenses .	693	
Expenses of various City Officers	13,289	
Maintenance of Guildhall, Law Courts, &c.	12,478	
Library and Museum . .	3,431	
Sanitary Expenses, under "Public Health Act, 1872" . .	1,840	
Expenses of Chamber of London	5,932	
Salaries of Officers paid out of Profits of ditto . . .	3,052	
Ward Expenses . . .	4,163	
		130,528
Administration of Justice and Police—		
The Mayor's Court . . .	6,756	
City of London Court . .	7,473	
Borough Court, Southwark .	217	
Expenses of Sheriffs . .	1,101	
Mansion House Justice Room .	3,301	
Guildhall ditto . . .	1,931	
Other Magistracy Expenses .	3,690	
Central Criminal Court . .	6,220	
Sessions House . . .	1,271	
Coroner	1,351	
City Prison, Holloway . .	10,972	
Newgate Prison . . .	5,969	
General Prison Expenses . .	1,318	
Expenses of City Police Force .	86,033	
Ditto Superannuation Payments	6,119	
Pauper Lunatic Asylum, Repairs	498	
		144,220
Carried forward . .		274,748

	£	£
Brought forward . .		274,748
Expenditure on Markets' Account—		
Smithfield Meat and Poultry Market	55,462	
Metropolitan Cattle Market .	34,742	
Foreign Cattle Market . .	15,112	
Billingsgate Market . . .	3,505	
Columbia Market . . .	2,108	
Farringdon Market . . .	1,220	
Leadenhall Market . . .	922	
Smithfield Hay Market . .	89	
General Market Charges . .	576	
Newgate Market Fund . .	262	
		113,998
Metage, Grain Duty, Brokers' Rents, &c.—		
Voluntary Grain Metage . .	1,452	
Fruit Metage	1,403	
City Meters' Provident Fund .	301	
City of London Grain Duty Expenses	9,959	
Brokers' Rents' Expenses . .	353	
		13,468
Scholastic and Charitable—		
Pensions and Almshouses . .	6,797	
Charitable Donations . .	3,497	
Honorary Votes . . .	513	
Widows of Freemen Fund .	499	
Scripture Readers (Admiral Duff's Legacy) . . .	36	
School Board Expenses . .	13,254	
City of London School . .	8,823	
Freemen's Orphan School .	5,665	
Carried forward . .	39,084	402,214

	£	£
Brought forward . .	39,084	402,214
City of London Schools' Scholarship Account . . .	691	
Ditto Pupils' Deposit Account .	134	
		39,909
Coal and Wine Duty Payments—		
Paid to Treasury on Thames Embankment and Metropolitan Improvement Account	218,178	
Interest on Loans charged against 4*d.* Coal Duty . .	81,767	
Drawback and Expenses of 9*d.* Coal Duty	43,747	
Ditto of 4*d.* Coal Duty . .	20,045	
Interest on overdrawn Balances	146	
		363,883
Expenses of Entertainments, &c.—		
Reception of Czar . . .	13,362	
Déjeûner to the Prince of Wales	1,821	
Shah Reception Expenses (unpaid)	546	
		15,729
Incidental Expenses—		
West Ham Park . . .	1,056	
Expenses in relation to Epping Forest	12,260	
Parliamentary Expenses (extra)	1,158	
Investment and Purchase of Property	2,041	
Designs for New Vegetable Market	801	
Carried forward . .	17,316	821,735

	£	£
Brought forward . .	17,316	821,735
Expenses in relation to Gas Supply	204	
Miscellaneous	9,291	
		26,811
Paving, Lighting, Sewerage, &c.—		
Paving, Lighting, and Cleansing Expenses—Expenses of London Cemetery, &c., &c., charged against Consolidated Rate	137,252	
Metropolitan Board — Main Drainage Account . .	12,978	
Further Contributions to Metropolitan Board . . .	21,931	
City Sewerage Expenses . .	9,338	
		181,499
Expenses on various Accounts—		
Holborn Valley Improvement Account	47,005	
Smithfield Market, Western Approach	30,420	
Ditto, Site and Approaches .	2,530	
Farringdon Market Improvement	10,691	
Blackfriars Bridge Fund Expenses	481	
Clerkenwell Improvement .	346	
		91,473
Total Current Expenditure .		£1,121,518
Capital Expenditure—		
Holborn Valley Improvement Account: Loan discharged .	155,900	
Carried forward . .	155,900	1,121,518

	£	£
Brought forward . .	155,900	1,121,518
Bridge House Estate Loan paid	139,100	
Metropolitan Cattle Market Account, ditto . . .	131,900	
Smithfield Western Approach, ditto, ditto	115,000	
Cost of Ground, &c., for Improvements, charged against Consolidated Rate	91,165	
Payments on account of Billingsgate Enlargement . .	60,034	
Ditto ditto, Smithfield Western Extension	47,755	
Cannon Street Improvement, Loan discharged . . .	30,000	
Holborn Valley ditto ditto .	35,000	
Expenditure on West Ham Park	14,776	
City of London Court, Bonds purchased	10,129	
Police Stations at Snow Hill and Tudor Street . . .	9,575	
Enlargement of Pauper Lunatic Asylum	7,250	
Library Building Account .	6,570	
Smithfield Poultry Market Account	2,695	
		856,849
Total Expenditure . .		£1,978,367
The total Expenditure of 1874 was thus— . .		£1,978,367
Income		1,940,737
Excess of Expenditure over Income . . .		£37,630

This deficit merely lessens the floating balance in the Chamber, nad as during the year a considerable amount of borrowed money has been paid off, the balance sheet for 1874 is on the right side. The arrears due to the Corporation at the end of the year were somewhat larger than in 1873, amounting to £50,221, of which £36,648 was due on the rent account. The profit upon the floating balances in the Chamber during 1874 was, as above noted, £11,962. The amount of such balances during the year is sometimes very large. Of the forty-nine separate accounts kept in the Chamber, and with floating balances, we find that the credit balances on December 31st, 1874, amounted to £196,579, and the overdrawn amounts to £52,100, leaving a credit balance in the Chamber of £144,479. This is considerably less than the credit balance on December 31st, 1873.

The capitalized value of the Corporation estate rents (independently of market rents) we have estimated at between two and three millions sterling. In addition to this they possess £367,994 invested in consols. This latter sum is the produce of sales of freehold property, and is available for the re-purchase of land. This property forms the final security of those who lend money to the City.

The liabilities of the Corporation, in respect of loans which are now outstanding, have been all incurred since 1842. The security given to the borrowers has generally varied according to the object for which the loan was raised. Where the object was the construction of markets and their approaches, the payment of loan interest and repayment of capital is charged in the first instance upon the produce of the tolls and rents of the market, and on the produce of the surplus land sold when the approaches are completed. Behind these, in case the security proves in any year insufficient, is the whole City Estate, and so the security being regarded as a high one, the rate of interest is small.

The Holborn Valley Improvement is charged upon the produce of the 4*d.* coal duty, and also of the surplus lands taken; with the City Estate when these prove insufficient. The loans for the rebuilding of Blackfriars Bridge and the purchase of Southwark Bridge are charged on the Bridge House Estates in the first instance, with an ultimate liability in the City. The Royal Exchange Loans are charged on the City's moiety of the Gresham Estate, with the same ultimate resource.

The contingent liability of the City is thus extremely large, and on the Smithfield Market Tolls' Account a deficiency of £75,222 was made good by the City's Estate in the years 1869, '70, '71, and '72; but the tide has begun to turn, and £12,021 of this sum was repaid in 1873-74. This account is the one where the contingent liability has been most largely called upon, and it seems likely soon to be recouped.

There is, therefore, apparently some ground for the anticipation that all the outstanding loans will be ultimately discharged without any recourse being had to the City Estate.* As the loans fall in, they are sometimes lessened in amount, thus in 1874 the loan of £39,100 raised for the repair of Blackfriars Bridge, and charged against the Bridge House Estate, was finally discharged. So also, on the renewal of the Cannon Street Improvement Loan, the amount was reduced from £30,000 to £15,000. The loans are also frequently re-issued at a lower rate of interest, as the value of the security offered by the City becomes more widely recognized. The rates of interest paid on existing loans vary from 4 to 4¾ per cent.; the average is about 4¼. The present rate at which loans are obtainable and are renewed is 4 per cent.

* This is, of course, contingent upon a continuance of City prosperity. Practically, these loans are very heavy drafts upon the future.

During the years 1842 and 1874, loans to the amount of £647,100 have been discharged. This is a very small proportion of the whole, and considering the length of time that some of them have been outstanding, reflects no credit on City management. Indeed it is difficult to believe that any *bonâ-fide* effort has been made in this direction.

There now remain due upon the various City Loans the following aggregate amounts—

	£	
Holborn Valley Improvement	2,381,400	
Metropolitan Meat and Poultry Market, Site and Approaches	1,162,000	
Metropolitan Cattle Market	445,600	
Blackfriars Bridge Repairing, and Southwark Bridge Purchase Account	315,000	
Blackfriars Bridge Building Account	300,000	
Deptford Foreign Cattle Market	255,000	
Billingsgate Market Enlargement	130,000	
New Cannon Street	125,000	
Building Royal Exchange	94,500	
Newgate Market Fund	5,000	
Total City Loan Liability		£5,213,500

The Corporation, on the various accounts, paid in interest on loans during the year 1874 more than £200,000.*

Whilst the salaries and expenses of every department are arranged upon a scale of liberality, which has probably no parallel in any public institution in the world, the City

* The forms of various bonds given by the City to its creditors are set out in the Appendix to the "Report of the Local Taxation Committee, 1861," pp. 98-104. It may be noted that the Committee had to divide on the question of their production, and the City members on the Committee voted against it.

Committees also receive pay for their services. The "allowances" and "expenses" of the Committees of the Corporation amount to some £5,000 a year. Of this sum, the City Lands' Committee and the Commissioners of Sewers receive £400 each. The Bridge House Estates' Committee receives £300. The Cattle Markets' Committee, Police Committee, Coal, Corn, and Finance Committee, General Purposes' Committee, Library Committee, Coal Committee, and Markets Improvements' Committee each receive £200. The Local Government and Taxation Committee gets £150, and the City of London School Committee, the Orphans of Freemen School Committee, the Officers and Clerks' Committee, the Special Gas Committee, and Metage Duty on Grain Committee, each £100. Thus, the labours of these useful public bodies are soothed by refreshments of various kinds. The Common Council spend £750 a year in summer excursions, so as to revivify them after their toil. When the Coal Committee desire to visit the boundaries of their jurisdiction, they make a nice excursion of it, expend £300 of public money in ordinary expenses, and even indulge in the luxury of a steam launch at an expenditure of £150 more. When the Freemen's Orphan School Committee go down to look at their *protégés*, and to distribute the prizes, they also distribute £150 in refreshments amongst themselves. So with other Committees.

It is alleged that the whole of the allowances and expenses of these Committees are expended in food, drink, and costs of travelling, and that no money is paid to the members. And the proceeding is defended on the ground—no doubt, a true one—that the attendance is much more numerous and the work obtained from the members much better than it would be if they were sent empty away. The dinners are good; but whilst we deeply sympathize with the Poor Law Guardians in being surcharged by a ruthless

auditor the cost of a cup of tea, we are not prepared to say that the City is spending its money properly in feeding Committees of thirty or forty each at this rate.

The City Estate Accounts are examined by auditors appointed by that remarkable body, the "Common Hall." The audit of what the Corporation are pleased to term their "public and trust accounts," is by the Committees of the Corporation. Thus we see that although the Corporation succeeds in levying heavy taxes upon the suburban Londoner, it takes very good care that he shall have no part in the expenditure, and moreover that he shall have no guarantee that his money is expended properly. A spending body that is its own trustee, and its own auditor, must be of remarkable composition if it does not now and then overlook its own extravagance. The City seems to have regarded any fair attempt at economy as useless, and so the floodtide of extravagance sweeps through all these accounts. If Mr. Lloyd Roberts, the excellent auditor of the London School Board and of the Poor Law Board accounts, were to be authorized to audit the accounts of the City Chamber, he would probably surcharge these luxurious trustees something like £60,000.

The expenditure of the City upon public improvements during the last 115 years has been nearly £10,000,000 sterling.

The items of this account have been collected and set out from 1767 to 1872. The amount will now be larger by £200,000 to £300,000, on account of the expenditure in 1873, 1874, and 1875.

	£
Building, &c., first Blackfriars Bridge, 1760 and following years	230,000
Removing Tolls on London Bridge, 1767 .	30,000
Carried forward	260,000

	£
Brought forward	260,000
Repairing Royal Exchange, 1768 . . .	10,000
Rebuilding Newgate and Sessions House, 1769 and 1785	90,000
Paving of Goswell Street, 1778 and 1784 .	5,000
Improvement of Moorfields and Bishopsgate, 1778 and 1815	16,500
Improvement of Temple Bar and Strand, 1795 and 1811	246,300
Repairing Common Sewer in Bridge Street, 1796 and 1800	9,000
Making Coal Exchange a Free Market, 1803-4	25,600
Whitecross Street Debtors' Prison for London and Middlesex, 1812 and 1820 . .	95,000
Improvement in Moorfields, 1812 and 1820 .	5,000
Site of General Post Office, 1815 and 1824 .	80,000
Rebuilding London Bridge, 1824 and 1833 .	680,232
London Bridge Approaches, 1824 and 1846 .	1,213,508
Formation of Farringdon Street and Removal of Fleet Market, 1825 and 1831 . .	250,000
Formation of Farringdon New Street, 1839 and 1852	70,633
Enlarging Site of Royal Exchange, 1839 to 1844	228,578
Erection of Royal Exchange (City's moiety), 1839 to 1844	85,000
New Coal Market: Widening of Thames Street, St. Mary-at-Hill, &c., 1847 to 1851 . .	111,518
Clerkenwell New Street, 1851 . . .	88,000
Holloway House of Correction, 1850-1851 .	92,700
Cannon Street, Queen Street, Holborn Bridge, Field Lane, Gracechurch Street, Finch Lane, &c., 1850 to 1862	540,000
Carried forward	4,202,569

	£
Brought forward	4,202,569
Copenhagen Fields Cattle Market, 1852 and since	445,600
Holborn Viaduct and Approaches, 1864 and since	2,432,384
Holborn Viaduct and Farringdon Market .	15,000
New Blackfriars Bridge, 1863 and since . .	396,131
Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1862 to 1866 . . .	76,880
Newgate Prison Alterations, 1857 to 1862 .	25,646
New Meat and Poultry Market at Smithfield, and Approaches, 1862 and since . .	1,247,000
Southwark Bridge, 1866	218,868
Deptford Foreign Cattle Market, 1870 to 1872.	230,000
Billingsgate Enlargement, 1872 . . .	80,000
Widening Streets paid out of City cash . .	183,831
Total	£9,553,909

Although the Committees of the Corporation are not supposed to receive any direct payment for their services, there can be no doubt but that those services receive in many ways a fuller equivalent in the London Corporation than in any other Municipal body. The number of Common Councillors is exceedingly large, and the various Committees of the Corporation are proportionately unwieldy; but there exist within the City walls many of the subtle influences that succeed in bringing and uniting men together, apart from and beyond the performance in common of public duty. Every member of the Corporation is entitled from his position to participate personally, and through his friends, in those sumptuous festivities for which London is so famous. He is invited to the great Mansion House balls; he is brought into close contact with people of the highest rank in every department of the public service, and has a voice in the exercise of a patronage which in extent and value has rarely been equalled by a public body.

A Common Councilman of the City of London is provided with many good dinners every year at the public expense; he has a pocket book every year which costs more than £1 per head to print; he has excursions up the river and down the river; he may in his turn have an Irish trip, with every expense paid and towns doing him homage; he has lithographs of the buildings that he debates in, and of the carriage that he aspires to ride in; he has his pocket full of public gloves; wands to carry on public occasion; heavy medals to transmit as heirlooms to generations unborn; almshouses and orphanages for all the poor he wishes to benefit or to get rid of; pensions to give away to people he may consider "deserving;" schools at which to educate his own children, and rights of presentation at the City of London and other schools for the children of his friends; surely he is a man to be envied!

So far as regards the actual character of the work done, it is probably true that the Corporation is in the main well served, although the system of contested elections for various City offices has in some cases been productive of anything but edifying results, as is well known. Such a system ought not to exist another day. It is also true that the City, either because it believes in the policy of highly remunerating faithful service, or because those who perform that service keep their claims well to the fore, pays its servants exceedingly well. In addition to their salaries the Corporation officials are also rewarded for any extra or extraordinary service by an extensive system of gratuities.

We subjoin a list of the moneys received in the way of salaries and gratuities by leading officials in the various City departments in the year 1874, or which are now payable. In these sums we do not include the large additional amounts which are frequently allowed for "expenses," but of which no details are given in the public report:—

	£
The Lord Mayor	10,000
City Engineer (salary, £1,625; for other professional services, £1,621)	3,246
The Recorder (as Judge at Central Criminal Court, £2,000; at Mayor's Court, £1,000) . .	3,000
Registrar of Mayor's Court (salary, £1,250; as Assistant Judge £1,385)	2,635
The Common Serjeant (as Judge at Central Criminal Court, £1,500; at Mayor's Court, £1,050) .	2,550
Judge of the City of London Court, £2,205 (as Commissioner at Central Criminal Court, £300)	2,505
Chamberlain	2,500
Comptroller (salary, £2,000; as Prothonotary, £100)	2,100
Remembrancer	2,000
City Solicitor	1,800
Chief Commissioner of Police	1,800
Architect and Surveyor	1,500
Town Clerk	1,500
Head Master of City of London School . .	1,023
Registrar of Coal Duties, £950; as Inspector of Fruit Metage, £50	1,000
Solicitor to Commissioner of Sewers . . .	1,000
Coroner	942
Registrar of City of London Court . . .	923
Principal Clerk to Commissioners of Sewers . .	900
Ditto to Chamberlain	890
Ditto at Mansion House . . .	800
First Clerk in Town Clerk's Office . . .	696
Cashier in the Chamber, £645 (as "Quickener of the City Tenants," £50)	695
Keeper of the City Prison of Holloway . .	650
Superintendent of Police; Surgeon of Police; Medical Officer to Commissioners of Sewers; and Second Master of City of London School; each . .	600

	£
Assistant Clerk to Architect	575
Receiver of Grain Duty	550
Reporter of Grain Delivery (salary, £400; for copies of Wine Entries, £78; and List of Colliers, £60)	538
Chaplain of Newgate	525
Deputy-Registrar of Mayor's Court; Superintendent of City of London Cemetery; Collector of Wine Duties; Junior Clerk of the Mansion House; and Superintendent of Smithfield Market; each	500
Third Committee Clerk	497
Surveyor of City Property	475
Librarian	462
Officer in charge of Vacant Lands; Superintendent of Cleansing; Clerk to Commissioners of Sewers; and Keeper of Newgate; each	450
Medical Officer of Health; Rent Cashier; Collector of Coal Duty; Gas Examiner; Clerk in Library; Clerk to Surveyor; Clerk in City of London Court; Keeper of Guildhall; Inspector of Cattle; Collector at Cattle Market; and Clerk at the Mansion House; each	400
Collector of Brokers' Rents	381
Clerk to Special Sessions	375
Inspector of Railway Coal Traffic (salary, £300; as Inspector of Fruit Metage, £53)	353
City Marshal; Clerk at Guildhall; Chaplain of Holloway Prison; and two Masters at City of London School; each	350
Serjeant-at-Mace; Sword Bearer; two Architects' Clerks; Master of Freemen's Orphan School (three-quarters of a year); Collector of Billingsgate; and Clerk to Coal Collector; each	300

About fifty Clerks, Inspectors, Schoolmasters, Bailiffs, &c. . . . . £200 to 300

If we take the dividing line between the application of the term "salary" and the term "wages" at £200 a year, we shall find that the Corporation pay in salaries between £60,000 and £70,000 per annum; and in wages between £110,000 and £120,000 per annum.

As an illustration of the observation previously made as to gratuities, we may take the case of the City Engineer. The Commissioners of Sewers pay him a salary of £1,625 a year; but in addition to the service rendered on this account, he is allowed two separate sums of £1,550 and £71 respectively, on account of professional services rendered in respect of the improvements in Holborn Valley and Farringdon Market. The same official received in 1873 gratuities for extra professional service to the extent of £849; in 1872, £1,281; in 1871, £8,400; in 1870, £1,605; in 1869, £800. It is certainly open to grave question whether the Corporation, who, for all practical purposes, are as much the trustees of the Holborn Valley Funds as they are of the Consolidated Rate—each account being managed by a Committee of their own body,—are justified in giving large gratuities of this kind merely because they allow the servant of one Committee to render his assistance to another. It is quite clear that the Commissioners of Sewers are presumed to pay for the whole of the Engineer's time, and no reduction is made in salary for the time given elsewhere. As an illustration of another form in which these gratuities are given, may be quoted the payments made on the occasion of the visit of the Czar. On this occasion various clerks in the offices of the Town Clerk, Architect, &c., received sums varying in amount from fifty guineas downwards, on account of their "extra services."

When any office is altered in its character, or is abolished, it is also customary to increase the salary or to bestow some gratuity on the holder. As an illustration of the latter, may be taken the abolition of Whitecross Street Prison in 1870, on which occasion the surgeon received a gratuity of £400, and the other officials of the prison proportionate amounts. As an illustration of the former, may be taken the post of Judge of the City of London Court. In 1866, this absorbent official received, as Judge of the Sheriffs' Court, £900; in 1867, when the Court was assimilated to a County Court, he received, in salary and compensation, £1,799; in 1868 he received, as Judge of the City of London Court, £900, and £300 more was added on account of the newly assumed Equitable Jurisdiction; in 1869, on account of salary and compensation, with respect to the Judgeship of this Court, he appears to have received £2,495. The salary of the office was subsequently advanced to £1,800 a year, and in 1871, £105 was allowed in addition to enable him to pay a deputy; in 1875, in consequence of the Admiralty Jurisdiction conferred on the Court some years before, the Judge of this Court was voted by the Common Council a further salary of £300 per annum, and compensation to the extent of £1,000, on account of the discharge of this special duty during preceding years.

Nor are these the only advantages accruing to faithful service. In 1873, the sum of £5,000 was voted as a gratuity to the City Architect, "in recognition of the satisfactory manner in which he had carried out the large works entrusted to him during the preceding ten years." So, in 1869, £2,500 was voted to the City Chamberlain for his successful management of the City accounts.

If it be an advantage to be on the roll of Corporation officials, it is not less so to be on that of "City tradesmen."

Perhaps we are not justified in counting builders and contractors as within this category. They received from the Corporation funds, in the year 1874, more than £83,000. But the ordinary City tradesmen were paid bills on various accounts (exclusive of repairs) amounting to more than £40,000. The printing and stationery account of nearly £4,000 is not included in the above. Neither have we included expenses in relation to the maintenance of the roads and sewers of the City, which, exclusive of the item of wages, amounted in 1874 to about £80,000. The year's payment for gas was more than £20,000, and the various legal expenses of the Corporation, exclusive of salaries, reached nearly the same amount.

We have included in the above estimate of legal expenses those incurred in connection with the inquiry before the Epping Forest Commissioners, but have not included those incurred by the Remembrancer with respect to bills in Parliament. Of this expenditure no details are given beyond the particular bills with respect to which they were incurred. Sometimes the items are very heavy; thus £1,250 was expended with respect to the Metage of Grain Duty in 1873, and during the last ten years the expenditure on this account has been about £35,000, or an average of between £3,000 and £4,000 a year. The reasons for and method of expending this sum require careful examination.

Perhaps the most remarkable item of expenditure in the City account is that of repairs. The simple repairs of the various buildings belonging to the City, exclusive of the costs of construction or the supply of new furniture, &c., amounted in 1874 to more than £15,000. And the analysis of this expenditure is equally extraordinary. If we take the two most important buildings within the City—the Mansion House and the Guildhall,—they will illustrate our meaning. During the year 1874 there was expended in the repair of

the Mansion House £1,772, and £812 was expended in decoration. The ordinary inference from this expenditure would be that the building had been neglected for a considerable length of time. So far, however, is this from being the case, that in the previous year more than £3,000 was expended upon its repair, decoration, and furniture. The Mansion House is by no means a large building; it is a substantial, comely, and well-finished edifice; and it is impossible to understand how such large sums can be spent in its repair and decoration year after year. The actual repairs of this building charged against the City's Estate during the last ten years amount to more than £20,000, whilst the cost of furniture and decorations during the same period has been nearly £15,000 more. The total cost of keeping up the building since 1865, exclusive of salaries, has been about £53,000. And yet the very steps of the building are in quite a dilapidated condition.

The expenditure at the Mansion House may be deemed excessive, but it is far outstripped by the expenditure at the Guildhall. This building, with the Courts and offices behind it, is a heavy charge on the Corporation Estate. During 1874 the cost of maintaining the buildings was no less than £12,478. Of this sum, the salaries of the hall-keeper and his assistants absorb somewhat less than £1,000, whilst the cost of printing for the City offices and Courts is somewhat more. Nearly the whole of the rest is made up of maintenance expenses. It includes the enormous sum of £3,375 for "repairing" the Guildhall, and £1,325 for repairing and painting the Courts behind it. Nor is this extravagant expenditure in any way exceptional, for we find that during the ten years ending 1874 there was expended upon the Guildhall, in ordinary repairs, more than £24,000. If we add to this £23,729 as the cost of the new roof put up in 1865 and 1866, we have a total of more than £48,000. In

addition to this, other tradesmen's bills with respect to the building have been sent in during the same period to the extent of between £17,000 and £18,000. The money expended in connection with the Guildhall, during the ten years ending December 31st, 1874, reached the enormous total of £117,476. It is probable that an ancient edifice like the Guildhall may need a good deal of attention; and no doubt the atmosphere conduces somewhat to its decay. Even the pictures seem to suffer from the general ailment; they have required cleaning three times in the course of the last five years, and this at a cost of £245. Can it be that City tradesmen devise work, whether it be required or not? Except on some such hypothesis, this expenditure is utterly inexplicable.

This extravagance with respect to repairs runs through the whole of the City accounts. Even the Monument has undergone repair to the extent of £53, whilst Temple Bar has cost £242.* As for that huge monstrosity, the state coach, it is constantly out of repair. More than £1,000 has been spent upon it during the last ten years.† Among the minor items of City expenditure, it may be noted that in addition to the payment made to the Lord Mayor on account of the expenses of his office, the City are accustomed to provide him with reception robes. More than

* The fair expenditure of anything like one-half of these sums seems to the ordinary intelligence inexplicable. But there are other things more inexplicable still. Take the wretched condition, in 1875, of the room in which the City of London Court performs its work—a room without even the recommendation of clean whitewash walls, far less of any decent accommodation—and ask where £169 has been expended in repairs. Possibly in the cellar.

† There does not seem to have been much structural defect in this machine, so probably the wheels are taken off once a year to oil. What else the yearly repairs can be we cannot tell. The whole journey it is called on to perform is some six miles over very fair road, so that in ten years it has only travelled sixty miles, and this at a cost of £16 a mile in repairs alone!

£700 has been spent on this account since 1865, the Lord Mayor in 1873 having three, at a cost of £197.

It is satisfactory to notice that the vicious system under which the City Administration suffered for many years, whereby various offices of profit were bought and sold in the open market, is now practically at an end. One by one, these offices have been bought up by the Common Council, the last one purchased being the office of Yeoman of the Waterside, with its right of alienation, purchased in 1873 for £2,100. There was also an expenditure in 1874 on account of compensation to Corn Meters of £5,335; to an attorney of the Mayor's Court, on account of the abolition of his exclusive rights of £962 and of compensation to the Water Bailiff's second young man, probably for rights existing before the Thames Conservancy Act, of £130.

There are some items that ought to be expunged altogether, and there are others which can only be retained as ancient and peculiar customs. An illustration of the former is the payment, now continued for many years, of £800 for reporting the proceedings at the Central Criminal Court, an expenditure wholly needless so long as there is no right of appeal in criminal cases, except upon reserved points of law. Illustrations of the latter may be found in the expenditure of £120 for cloth, to be delivered to Ministers of State and others, and in the yearly payment of £40 to ale conners, officers having the technical right of tasting and reporting upon all malt liquors sold in the City; duties which, if we mistake not, are likely to be discharged quite as much to the conners' satisfaction as to the public benefit.

The entertainments given by the City to visitors of note and foreign potentates are always on a princely scale. The last four of these festivals were—

	£
The entertainment of the Sultan of Turkey, and of the King of the Belgians, in 1872 .	30,525
Thanksgiving Day for the recovery of the Prince of Wales	13,173
Reception of the Shah of Persia . . .	15,681
Reception of the Czar of Russia, 1874 . .	13,362

The entertainments present exactly the same features. By far the largest portion of the expenditure is in carpentery and upholstery. The tavern bills amount in the aggregate to some thousands of pounds, and everything is supplied in the most lavish manner. At the reception of the Shah, £58 was spent in gloves; at the reception of the Sultan, £627 was expended in flowers; at the reception of the Czar, £290 was expended in *menu* and admission cards. From the £10,000 on upholstery and woodwork to the £7 on corkscrews, everything is supplied with lavish completeness. The representative body of the Capital of an Empire ought to receive royally if it receives at all, and we do not quarrel with a considerable expenditure on this account. But those who take part in it are drawn from a contracted area whilst the funds themselves come from a wide one, and there is no proper economy and independent oversight, so that reckless extravagance is found on every hand. The money spent in erecting and pulling down hideous wooden porches to the Guildhall would have defrayed the cost of a handsome permanent one many times over And why the fittings cannot be kept in stock and charged merely for use is by no means clear. If the Guildhall must have a new floor put down for a few days every year at enormous cost, surely the City might acquire the materials. But we shrewdly suspect that in this atmosphere of "prescription," the City tradesmen have also their "prescriptive rights."

The Corporation of the City also dispense a considerab

sum every year in charities. If we allow the very fullest latitude for the carrying out of the precept that "charity begins at home," it may be said that they are given with fair discrimination, and—if we set aside the payments to the schools of the City and to the poor freemen and their widows—with some public spirit. It is only what might be anticipated, that the first care of the Corporation would be for those of their own household; and when these have been adequately relieved, the sorrows of those outside the walls have received due consideration.

In the years 1787-1874, inclusive, the Corporation have voted for what may be termed "charitable purposes" the princely sum of £345,579 12*s.* 2*d.*, divided as follows:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Infirmaries	2,582	10	0
Schools and Education	155,549	11	4
Almshouses	35,174	2	10
Asylums	2,743	15	0
Cathedrals, Chapels, and Churches	4,775	0	0
Dispensaries	3,877	10	0
Sufferers by Fire	4,465	0	0
Hospitals	17,800	0	0
Institutions	5,357	10	0
Naval, Military, and Foreign	21,028	0	0
Societies	16,831	0	0
Miscellaneous, Home and Colonial	74,115	15	0
Personal Grants	1,279	18	0
	£345,579	12	2

Of the grants to infirmaries, the Royal Sea Bathing Infirmary at Margate has received altogether £805; of the grants to schools and education, the Freemen's Orphan School has received £78,977, and the annual charge to the

City is now over £4,000 a year. The building fund of the same institution has received grants to the extent of £24,276. The City of London School received in the same period £33,235, and the remainder was granted to various schools and societies mainly within the limits of the City.

Of the grants to churches, &c., the grants of £1,052 10*s.* to the Bethnal Green Church Fund, in the years 1841-51, may be quoted with commendation.

The gifts to dispensaries and asylums are fairly distributed, but the almshouses are mainly under City control. The largest grants made in aid of sufferers by fire were £1,000 to Quebec in 1846, and £1,050 to Chicago in 1871.

Of the grants to hospitals, Bethlehem has received £3,000; London, £2,325; Royal Free, £2,055; and London Fever, £1,270. The rest are distributed over the whole Metropolis.

The British and Foreign School Society has received £1,700. The other institutions and societies seem well chosen, and no less than eighty particular organizations have received grants.

Of the Naval, Military, and Foreign charitable gifts, we find £2,000 for the relief of Paris; £1,000 for the sick and wounded of 1870; £2,000 for the wounded and widows after Waterloo; £2,000 for the suffering Russians in 1812; £1,000 for the Portuguese in 1811; £1,000 for the Greeks in 1823; £1,000 for the Spaniards in 1823; £500 for the sufferers by the earthquake in Peru in 1868; £500 for the sufferers by the Italian floods in 1872; £500 for the French Inundation Fund in 1856; £500 for Polish refugees in 1836, &c., &c.

Of Home and Colonial Charities, we find £21,250 has been given to widows of freemen by the Common Council, and £7,440 by the Court of Aldermen; other gifts to widows of citizens, £3,450; for the City poor, £8,100; for

City kitchen, £2,000; Lancashire operatives, £1,262; distress in 1847, £2,000; Patriotic Fund, 1854, £2,000; Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, 1805, £2,000; defence of country in 1798, £10,000; and £1,000 for the Indian Famine Relief Fund in 1874.

The gifts made by the Corporation for public purposes, in the years 1786 to 1874, have amounted to £56,861 3*s.*; thus summarized :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Royalty and Nobility . . .	7,093	8	0
Ministers of the Crown . . .	8,344	11	3
Military, Naval, and Volunteers .	22,553	3	4
Philanthropists	965	0	0
Other Public Men	4,618	13	3
Miscellaneous	13,286	7	2
	£56,861	3	0

The gifts to royalty and nobility include £3,089 towards the statue of George the Third and £1,600 towards the statue of William the Fourth; gold boxes to the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia, the Viceroy of Egypt, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Arthur, the Duke of Cambridge, the Prince Consort, Prince Frederick William of Prussia, &c.; a bust of the Prince Consort; a sword to the Duke of Cambridge, &c.

The Ministers of the Crown most largely honoured have been the Earl of Chatham, whose monument in 1780 cost £3,241, and his son, whose monument in 1807 cost £4,078.

The gifts to military and naval heroes have generally consisted of swords and gold boxes. More than a hundred of these persons have received recognition.

The list of the other public men honoured with gifts of freedom, &c., includes nearly all the eminent men of each period. The miscellaneous gifts include £10,000 for sculp-

ture at Mansion House, £1,543 6*s.* for the defence of Gibraltar, and a considerable sum for tablets and benefactions.

Except in the hour of danger the Corporation of London are slow to take advice, and they have utterly disregarded the recommendations of the London Corporation Commissioners of 1854, as to the system of keeping balances in the Chamber, and investing them instead of putting them in a bank; as to the consolidation of management and of accounts; as to revision of establishments; as to audit and other matters; all of which were of imperative importance, and commend themselves to every student of these accounts. The Corporation in 1875 are a borrowing body; they have contracted enormous loans, and made some of the best paying parts of their estates nearly worthless, as is the case with the markets. Their ancestors were more thrifty, and the time seems to have come when the City, in this as in many other matters, ought to be saved from itself. The City has spent millions in demolishing houses and buying land within its own borders, and this money has gone into the pockets of its citizens as compensation—sometimes into those of members of the Corporation. But the limit of safety has been reached, and reform is urgently required.

As to the accounts themselves, there is intrinsic evidence that within their cumbrous framework of method they are kept with as much lucidity and clearness as possible. We have subjected them to an exhaustive analysis, and if the Corporation were willing to adopt the recommendations of the Commissioners of 1854, and alter the public complexion of their accounts, we believe they would, as far as regards the method in which the larger details are kept, reflect credit on the City Chamberlain and his officers. As to the smaller details, they are kept carefully hidden from the public eye. They are aggregated together under one

head, and no explanations given. There are scattered through the accounts large items charged under different names, such as expenses of "Mr. Comptroller," "Mr. Hall-keeper," "Mr. Architect," "Mr. Solicitor," and so forth, which it would be well to submit to a public audit. And probably the most remarkable result that would accrue from such an audit would be an explanation of the manner in which the Remembrancer dissipates the large sums of money placed to his credit in the City accounts. If they are, as it is alleged, mainly spent in feasting, is it not desirable that the public should know who are the people that honour this City official with their presence at dinner, and they will then find themselves able to understand why the City authorizes the expenditure of public money in this fashion?

It is alleged that when the date of a great City banquet has been fixed, preparations are at once made for extracting as much benefit out of it as possible. The stewards have costly badges, which afterwards serve as lockets and heir-looms; and it is said that there are Common Councilmen who, after making good their *claim* to seats at a civic banquet, do not scruple to sell them, and that the market price for such seats in 1875 was £10. Sometimes, again, the whole Common Council insists upon presenting an address at Windsor or Marlborough House, greatly to the annoyance of the personages addressed, who in vain request smaller deputations. This modern rudeness is supposed to be necessary to the due vindication of an "ancient right;" but there is no ancient charter which permits them to charge and individually to appropriate sums out of the City cash for "expenses" which are never expended. If the City cash is "private property," this may be justifiable. If it be public trust money, such proceedings can only be truly defined by a very ugly word.

As with the whole, so with the individuals. If a City officer, for example, is requested to verify the sureties of a proposed City tenant—a matter which might cost a private landlord a few pence in postage stamps,—he has been known to take a three weeks' tour in the country, charging all expenses to the Corporation. One Corporation servant helps on another in this appropriation of public money. The relations of some City tradesmen with those who have influence in their appointment, is not always such as ought to exist between trustees of public money and those whom they employ, and how many City servants are there who, being entitled to a coat, take many other things also ?

It is alleged that more than one recent mayoralty has resulted in a gain of something like £5,000 to the Lord Mayor, and one of the most lavish mayoralties of modern times, only cost the occupant of the office some £3,000 more than his allowance. Possibly, this was in consequence of his shrewd and business-like system of doing everything by contract.

The bills of the City tradesmen are supposed to be passed by the Architect, and his certificate is accepted as the authority for their payment: whether this is a sufficient guarantee for the due value of work being received by the Corporation, those who are most intimate with the City can form the best opinion.

The staff of the City seems to be about three times as large as is necessary, and four times as expensive as it would be in the hands of a private firm undertaking the work. The consequence is that there are numbers of highly-paid officials whose time is not fully occupied, and some of whom are by no means constant in attendance at their offices, and even those who do attend regularly, do not always employ their time for the benefit of the public who pay them. It would be easy to illustrate this, and if it were necessary the

illustration might be taken from a City office, which those who know its chief might suppose was the cleanest in connection with the Corporation. There is no need, however, to visit upon the head of one man, faults which are common to the offices of the Corporation; and therefore, it is sufficient to say, that those who serve the Corporation of the City serve a lenient master. Whilst paid for their full time, full service is not exacted from them, and the relations between the City and its officers is not such as could exist in any English Corporation save the Corporation of London. Possibly, the City doctrine that the property of the Corporation is private property, and not charged with any public trust may have something to do with this.

A study of the inner life of the City and of its public expenditure, with the aid of a little authentic information, points to the melancholy conclusion that personal advancement is the great object with which many persons connect themselves with the Corporation of London. No vote passed in the Common Council for the construction of any public work, no loud profession of the purest patriotism, but is open to the very gravest suspicion. It has recently been openly suggested in a public paper, and not contradicted, that the present seat in Parliament of a well-known City magnate is the result of successfully conducting an election to a lucrative City office; and on every hand we find that the vast expenditure of money, which is paraded as a proof of the "hospitality" or "enterprise" of the Corporation, is really simply a carefully-matured device for "conveying" a large amount of City cash into private pockets. Those who are competent to judge of the matter express the opinion that more than one-third of the Common Council are amenable to pecuniary considerations; and when the secret history of some of its recent acts comes to be written,

men will be astonished at what has existed so long in their midst, and succeeded in attracting such remarkable homage.

From the day when as candidate he brings up his voters from the ends of the earth,* to the day when having resigned the Lord Mayor's gown, he badgers the poor Recorder into begging a title for him as a reward for his fidelity—to himself,—the career of the City "Corporator" is an undeviating pursuit of the main chance.

But yet within themselves the City are not entirely a happy family. It is true that they have to a large extent succeeded through the numerous agencies which they command, and because of the value of the power that they wield, in keeping back or staving off a successful attack from without; but within there are sometimes bitter disputes about the division of the spoil. These, however, are generally prudently hid from the public eye, and fortunately for the parties concerned, do not become matters of general discussion.

And on every hand the assaults upon the City's exchequer are going on. Notwithstanding the condition of City finance the members of the Common Council are constantly petitioned to make "improvements." The result of these has been already shown, and to such a point has City morality grown that inhabitants of a street will petition for its widening on account of its inconvenience, *although if the requested improvement be carried out these inhabitants will be improved and compensated out of it!* †

The Common Council is besieged with applications from City officers for increase of salary. In 1870 the Remem-

* At a notable election in 1875, they came from outlying districts in England, and from Germany, Switzerland, &c.,—"all expenses paid."

† See an example of this in petition presented to Commissioners of Sewers, Feb. 1, 1876.

brancer, whose work was then enormously overpaid at £1,500 a year, writes to the Common Council for an increase of salary, and mournfully adds:—"I have not received, directly or indirectly, any emoluments except my salary, *whilst other officers have been more fortunate.*" He has now got increased to £2,000 a year. And so on every hand, there is this fighting for the spoil, and scheming for fresh assaults on the City's exchequer.

The honest citizens of London must decide how long this remarkable "Corporation" is to continue to exist.

Chapter VI.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.

The Origin of the Board.—Constitution and Powers under "Metropolis Management Act, 1855."—The Work of the Board for nineteen Years.—Present Work and Jurisdiction of the Board.—Revenue and Expenditure of the Board.—Metropolitan Board Loans.—Work of Committees.—Constitution and Character of the Board generally.

The Metropolitan Board of Works owes its origin to the legislation on the question of metropolitan sewers. A conviction of the necessity of creating some single central authority to deal with Metropolitan Drainage forced itself upon the House of Commons, and so came into existence a body which has succeeded in the course of time in aggregating to itself powers over other questions common to the whole Metropolis, which were not within the conception of its founders: a body which, from a proportionately modest expenditure, now aspires to the dispensation of somewhere near a million a year.

In connection with the City proper, the existence of Commissions of Sewers may be traced back for a long period. In 1307 we find one directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs, commanding them to purify the river Fleet.* By the 19 Car. II., c. 3, passed soon after the Great Fire, provision was made for the designing and laying out of sewers within the City, and several Acts affecting the same question were passed in the following century.

* Cited in Woolrych's "Law of Sewers," 2nd ed., p. 2.

Map
shewing boundary of
METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.
with the division into
VESTRIES & DISTRICT BOARDS;
together with the
ACREAGE & CENSUS POPULATION OF EACH.
HAMPSTEAD
Area 2,245
Population 32,281
ST PANCRAS
Area 2,672
Population 213,775
HIGHGATE
HIGHBURY
CAMDEN TOWN
Barnsbury
ISLINGTON
Area 3,107
Population 307,405
HACKNEY
Area 3,935
Population 124,951
CLAPTON
Homerton
STOKE NEWINGTON
Upper Clapton
Willesden
Kilburn
Hampstead
Harlesden Green
Finchley
Crouch End
Hornsey
Tottenham
Edgware
Hendon
Highgate
Archway
Holloway
Upper Holloway
Stamford Hill
Lea
Lea Bridge
Leyton
Walthamstow
Wood Green
Tottenham
Seven Sisters
Stoke Newington
Clapton
Hackney
Shoreditch
Bethnal Green
Bow
Old Ford
Stratford
Victoria Park
Mile End
Mile End Old Town
Pop 93,452
Area 650
Population 27,167
Area 750
Pop 129,704
Area 679
Population 33,335
Area 575
Pop 76,236
Area 243
Pop 76,696
Area 462
Pop 76,696
Area 1,126
Population 35,557
Area 10,394
Population 32,380
Area 3,426
Population 111,306
Area 4,450
Population 208,342
Area 3,941
Area 6,544
Population 49,727
Area 11,488
Population 125,060
Area 1,966
Population 139,354
Area 1,506
Population 120,299
Area 613
Pop 66,050
Area 1,796
Population 66,941
Area 1,720
Population 86,813
Area 1,351
Population 159,677
Pop 71,089
Area 632
Pop 88,722
Area 626
Pop 80,429
Area 753
Pop 27,036

Chapter VI.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.

The Origin of the Board.—Constitution and Powers under "Metropolis Management Act, 1855."—*The Work of the Board for nineteen Years.—Present Work and Jurisdiction of the Board.—Revenue and Expenditure of the Board.—Metropolitan Board Loans.—Work of Committees.—Constitution and Character of the Board generally.*

The Metropolitan Board of Works owes its origin to the legislation on the question of metropolitan sewers. A conviction of the necessity of creating some single central authority to deal with Metropolitan Drainage forced itself upon the House of Commons, and so came into existence a body which has succeeded in the course of time in aggregating to itself powers over other questions common to the whole Metropolis, which were not within the conception of its founders: a body which, from a proportionately modest expenditure, now aspires to the dispensation of somewhere near a million a year.

In connection with the City proper, the existence of Commissions of Sewers may be traced back for a long period. In 1307 we find one directed to the Mayor and Sheriffs, commanding them to purify the river Fleet.* By the 19 Car. II., c. 3, passed soon after the Great Fire, provision was made for the designing and laying out of sewers within the City, and several Acts affecting the same question were passed in the following century.

* Cited in Woolrych's "Law of Sewers," 2nd ed., p. 2.

CALIFORNIA

The provisions of various preceding Acts affecting the sewerage of the City were consolidated in 1848 by a local Act, providing for the sanitary improvement of the City and its liberties.* This Act was still further extended by the 14 & 15 Vict., c. 91, under which the City Commissioners of Sewers were appointed.

The control exercised by the City Commission has been already considered. It is complete, save in so far as it has been modified by the Main Drainage jurisdiction given to the Metropolitan Board of Works by the 18 & 19 Vict., c. 120. Its jurisdiction is coterminous with the City.

Outside the City walls the drainage of the Metropolis was, prior to 1856, under the control of Commissioners. The first Drainage Commission for any district outside the City was, probably, the one nominated in 1532, under the provisions of an Act passed in that year;† and every succeeding reign furnished illustrations either of the appointment of other Commissions or of the extension, alteration, or confirmation of the powers of those that already existed. Some districts obtained special and local Acts for their benefit, which were enforced by the local Commission. The Commissions of Westminster and of Finsbury repeatedly did this.

In 1847 there were seven separate Commissions entrusted with the care of as many different districts in the Metropolis. In that year the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the means of improving the health of the Metropolis presented their report; and in the session of 1848 an Act was passed, consequent upon this report, by which the Crown was enabled to issue a single Commission to the whole of the metropolitan districts.‡ Thus arose the "Metropolitan Commission of Sewers." The property

* 11 & 12 Vict., c. 163. † 23 Hy. VIII., c.
‡ 11 & 12 Vict., c. 112.

rights, and liabilities of the former Commissions were transferred to the new body, which included the Lord Mayor and four members of the Common Council. Considerable powers were given to the new Commissioners for the making and repair of sewers, and for the levying of rates and borrowing of money. The first Commission under the Act sat in January 1849, and the area of its jurisdiction was extended in a short period to more than 100 square miles. The Metropolitan Commission of Sewers was renewed from year to year. Its work also showed a progressive increase in importance and magnitude, until the Commission was finally put an end to by the "Act for the better Local Management of the Metropolis,"* introduced in 1855 by Sir Benjamin Hall.

The three Commissioners, appointed in 1853 to inquire into the condition of the Corporation of London, recommended "That the Metropolis be divided into districts" for Municipal purposes;† also, "That in the event of such division being made, a Metropolitan Board of Works be created, composed of members deputed to it from the council of each Metropolitan Municipal Body, including the Common Council of the City,‡ and further that the Board be empowered to levy a rate limited to a fixed poundage for public works of general metropolitan utility over the metropolitan district."§ In 1855 Sir Benjamin Hall, the President of the Board of Health, introduced the measure which has since been the basis of metropolitan local government. Under this Act and the amending statutes, the Metropolis has for the last twenty years been governed.|| The preamble to the Act states that "it is expedient that provision should

* 18 & 19 Vict., c. 120.

† Report of Commissioners, sec. 28.

‡ *Ibid.*, sec. 29.

§ *Ibid.*, sec. 31.

|| Metropolis Management Act, 18 & 19 Vict., c. 120. The amending Acts are 19 & 20 Vict., c. 112; 25 & 26 Vict., c. 102; and 37 & 38 Vict. c. 97.

be made for the better local management of the Metropolis, in respect of the sewerage and drainage, and the paving, cleansing, lighting, and improvements thereof," and it is the Constituting Act of the Metropolitan Board of Works. We shall in a subsequent chapter deal with its provisions as to Vestries.

By the 45th section of the Metropolis Management Act, the Metropolitan Board of Works is constituted a body corporate with perpetual succession, with a common seal, and with power to hold land for the purposes of the Act.

It is to be composed of forty-six members. These are elected as follows:—Three from the Common Council of the City; two by each of the six larger Vestries, viz.: Marylebone, St. Pancras, Lambeth, St. George's Hanover Square, Islington, and Shoreditch; and one member by each of seventeen smaller Vestries, viz.:—Paddington, Bethnal Green, Newington, Camberwell, St. James' Westminster, St. James and St. John Clerkenwell, Chelsea, Kensington, St. Luke Middlesex, St. George Southwark, Bermondsey, St. George's-in-the-East, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Mile End Old Town, Woolwich, Rotherhithe, and St. John Hampstead, and one by each of the following fourteen District Boards,* viz.: Whitechapel, Westminster, Greenwich, Wandsworth, Hackney, St. Giles, Holborn, Strand, Fulham, Limehouse, Poplar, St. Saviour's, Plumstead united with Lewisham, and St. Olave.†

When it is remembered that under the Act the members of the Board are dependent for their seats upon the votes of Vestries and District Boards, and that the composition of Vestries and District Boards can only be changed

* A District Board is made by the union of two or more small Vestries, as hereinafter explained, *vide* chap. 7, *infra*.

† For the purpose of electing one member, Plumstead District is united with Lewisham, and St. Olave includes the parish of Rotherhithe.

through a number of years, it will be seen that in no fair sense can the Metropolitan Board be regarded as a popular or representative body. Responsibility to ratepayers there is practically none, and the power of ratepayers to affect the action or personal constitution of the Board is very limited indeed.*

The members are elected for three years, one-third leaving in each year. They elect their own Chairman, and decide upon his salary, such salary not to be less than £1,500, and not to exceed £2,000 a year. Such Chairman has recently been elected from the Board itself, although this is by no means necessary; and so the elected of the Vestries are generally vestrymen, although this was not provided by the Act as needful. The quorum is nine. By section 54, the seat of any member at the Board is vacated by bankruptcy or insolvency, or by personal interest in any

* An illustration of the anomaly of this system is given in an excellent pamphlet on the government of London, by J T. Dexter, published in 1875. The District Board of Plumstead and Lewisham is composed of seven Vestries, of which five are in Plumstead, and two in Lewisham. The united Board elect one member to the Board of Works. "The Metropolitan Board is elected one-third annually. Where only one member is returned, the voice of a constituency is dead for three years. Plumstead district might take five years to revolutionize its Board, after three years of agitation to change its Vestries, another year must elapse ere Lewisham can be certainly outvoted by the joint Board, and three years more may pass ere the opportunity occurs for ousting one member from the Metropolitan Board, or twelve years to change a forty-fifth share in the representation! Twelve years is long enough to enable any man in such a position to amass a handsome fortune by arrangement with contractors, and enough beside to silence the complaining of every one of his constituents with golden salve."—"*The Government of London*," by J. T. Dexter: Stauford, Charing Cross, 1875, pp. 12, 13.

The constitution of the Board early showed its inherent defect. The *Times*, Dec. 1, 1859, says—"The fact is, the constitution of this Board has turned out a failure. The Government has shuffled off its own responsibility upon a body which is at once incompetent and irresponsible. The system of double election has never yet produced anything but cliques and jobbing. Unhappily the Board spends our money and rates our property, and we cannot afford to let them alone to their devices."

contract, except as member of a Company contracting (in which case the shareholder is not allowed to vote on the matter of the contract). Penalty £50, recoverable in the superior Courts for acting on the Board when the member's seat is vacated as above; or voting when interested in a Company whose contract is under consideration. Members whose term of service is concluded are eligible for re-election. The Board is to appoint and control its officers; appoint Committees; make entries of proceedings; keep its books open to inspection, &c.

The main sewers throughout the Metropolis are vested in the Board (sec. 135). This includes as well those at that time vested in the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London, as in the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers. Power is also given to construct new ones, subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Works. The Board may also control the sewerage constructions of the Vestries. They have also full control over the numbering and naming of houses and streets, a register being kept of all alterations (ss. 141-2). They are the regulating authority as to the street line and the prevention of irregularity in building (sec. 143). They have also power to make, widen, and improve streets and roads in the Metropolis, and for this purpose to buy land or deal with it in such manner as they think fit, and to apply to Parliament wherever further powers are requisite for the carrying out of any work which they deem to be of public utility (sec. 144). Where any improvement is carried out under this clause exceeding in amount £50,000, the approval of the Commissioner of Works was necessary under the Act.

The Board have power to enter into all requisite contracts for carrying out the Act, and to compound for penalties in respect of its breach: to purchase any lands requisite for the purposes of the Act, and with the consent of the

Secretary of State to take them compulsorily; also to dispose of surplus lands.

The Metropolitan Board is empowered to assess upon the various parts of the Metropolis the sums which they think ought to be charged upon them for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Board in carrying out the Act. The Board then issues to the different authorities, Vestries, and District Boards, precepts under its seal for payment of the amounts assessed (sections 170-179). Power is given to the Board to borrow moneys requisite for carrying out the Act, and to mortgage the rates for their repayment.

Various other Acts have been subsequently passed, by which the jurisdiction of the Board has been extended in many directions. Perhaps the best way to estimate the position in metropolitan government, now filled by the Board of Works, will be to consider the duties which have devolved upon it since its formation, and those which devolve upon it now, and to estimate the amount of work performed by the Board in connection with these various matters. Under the provisions of the Metropolis Management Act, section 200, the Metropolitan Board of Works is required in every year to make a report of their proceedings in the execution of the work entrusted to them. These reports must be sent to various Officers of State, to the Vestries, District Boards, &c. They enable us to estimate from the point of view of the Board itself, what are the advantages we derive from the supervision of this body. They suffer, however, from the bias and colour given to them in the desire to represent everything in the brightest possible light; this is especially noticeable, as we show hereafter on the gas question, and there are other actions of the Board as to which, in its authorized reports, it maintains a discreet silence.

The consideration of the work of the Board since its

foundation, may well commence with the subject of *Main Drainage*, which was, in fact, the reason of its birth.

Under the Metropolis Local Management Act the Board of Works have power to make such sewers and works as they think necessary to prevent the sewage of London or the neighbourhood from flowing into the Thames.* The sewers formerly vested in the Metropolitan and City Commissioners of Sewers, extending to 166 miles in length, are vested in them. The Board may declare which sewers are main sewers, make orders for the guidance of Vestries, and have the general control of the sewerage.† The Vestries must obtain the order of the Board before constructing new sewers.‡

When the Metropolitan Board began their work under the above Act, the condition of the London sewerage was very different from what it is now. The whole of the main sewers discharged into the Thames opposite to the districts they drained, and, as such discharge was only possible at low water, the sewage matter remained stagnant during much of the twenty-four hours, and in flood time the high tides forced it up into low-lying streets and houses. The sewage, when discharged, was frequently carried by the rising tide up the river, and then brought down to the City again at the ebb. No state of things in a metropolitan city could well be worse; and when, in addition to this, we have the constantly-increasing number of houses with no sewer accommodation whatever, but only a multiplication of stagnant and unhealthy cesspools, the gravity of the situation may be understood.

Almost immediately upon its formation the Board had plans prepared and submitted to the First Commissioner of Works; but these plans did not prove satisfactory; and it

* 18 & 19 Vict., c. 120, s. 135. † *Ibid.*, ss. 137-8.
‡ *Ibid.*, ss. 69, 202-11.

was not until the particularly pestilential condition of the river in 1858 re-awakened public attention, that effective action was taken. A measure was introduced, and passed through Parliament in that year, enabling the Board to finally decide upon the best system of Main Drainage, and to raise £3,000,000 (afterwards extended to £4,200,000) for the work, the repayment of the money being guaranteed by the Treasury. The Board approved of a scheme within a fortnight of the Royal Assent being given to the Bill, and specifications were at once made out.

The general scope of the scheme comprised the construction of sewers parallel to the river, and lower than the cross sewers; thus intercepting and receiving their contents, and preventing the discharge of sewage into the river. By these main intercepting sewers the sewage north of the Thames is conveyed to the Abbey Mills Outfall, more than 11 miles below London Bridge, and the southern sewage to Crossness, some 14 miles below bridge. The discharge of the sewage takes place at high water, and so the matter is carried by the ebb tide a considerable distance down the river, and all pollution within the London area is impossible.

In the selection of the place for discharge, and the method of pumping, the fall of the sewers, the method of dealing with the rain water, the size of the sewers, and various other matters, the Board seem to have exercised a wise discretion. Three lines of intercepting sewers were constructed on the north side of the river. The High Level and Middle Level discharge by gravitation, the Low Level by pumping. There are also three intercepting sewers on the south side of the river.

The High Level sewer, north of the river, cost £190,633. It intercepts the drainage of Hampstead, Kentish Town, and North London generally—an area some 10 miles in

extent. This sewer varies in diameter from 4 feet to 9 feet 6 inches by 12 feet. The sewer is connected with the Middle Level at Bow, where there is an elaborate arrangement for emptying the surplus water in storm time into the river Lee.

The Middle Level sewer cost £318,334, and drains an area of 17½ square miles, being carried on as low a level as possible, consistently with the operation of gravitation.

The Low Level sewer drains the whole of the lowest area, some of the sewage having to be raised twice in its course first at Chelsea, and again at Abbey Mills.

The Outfall sewer, carrying the sewage from London to Barking, was the most expensive of the constructions, costing £649,760.

The reservoir, of 9½ acres, cost £172,800.

The Southern High Level sewer drains an area of 20 miles, including Clapham, Brixton, Peckham, Sydenham, &c. The original cost was £234,670. The sewer has a branch commencing at Dulwich, analagous to the Middle Level sewer on the north side. The Low Level drains an area of 20 miles, from Putney to Rotherhithe; cost £209,000. The Southern Outfall sewer cost £310,648. It carries the aggregate of the southern sewers, being some 12,000,000 gallons daily. The Crossness works and reservoir cost £295,000.

The works were commenced in January 1859, and practically completed in 1865. They swallowed up between 300 and 400 million bricks, about a million yards of concrete, and some four million cubic yards of earth were excavated. The total quantity of sewage intercepted daily is supposed to be about 60,000,000 gallons, some four times the bulk of the Serpentine, and in case of a flood the sewers could accommodate several times the quantity. They were formally opened by the Prince of Wales, April 4th, 1865, and in the

same month the Chairman of the Board received the honour of knighthood.

The Main Drainage system is now a finished work. The last of the pumping stations was delayed long after the rest were in full work, in consequence of the necessity of first completing the Chelsea Embankment. But August 1875 saw this last station opened; and now this system of drainage, which has cost not less than £4,600,000, which has been seventeen years in construction, and which accommodates 117 square miles of area, and 4,000,000 of people, is complete. The Main Drainage system of London is now —having regard to its situation—the best of any large city on the face of the globe. The length of its main sewers exceeds 82 miles, and through them the sewage is discharged far below London Bridge. The large acreage of settling reservoirs, and the pumping engines, with an aggregate horse-power of between 2,000 and 3,000, and constructed to raise some 50,000 gallons of sewage per minute to heights varying from 10 to 36 feet, render the metropolitan drainage system unapproached in magnitude.

Gradually the noble river on which London stands is being purified. There only remain two towns in the whole Thames basin which have not adopted some method for purifying and disposing of their sewage, and both of these have commenced works for the purpose.

There is no doubt that the citizens of London do owe something to the body of men who have devised and carried out plans whereby the capital has been freed from the evils under which it was suffering. The work is done, and done it is hoped for all time; but whether the public money has been wisely expended, and full value received for it, is a different question. Very grave charges have been made against the Board, with respect to their proceedings in connection with the great public works entrusted to them;

charges which it will be impossible to pass over unnoticed when we come to discuss its qualification or fitness for its position. At present, we record the fact that through its agency a system of Main Drainage has been perfected, which is excellently well adapted for its object. We may go farther, and confidently anticipate the time when the intake of the Water Companies shall be free from the germs of typhoid, and when the capital of the empire—standing on the healthiest site, and enjoying the lowest death-rate amongst its compeers—may also see its greatness reflected in the limpid bosom of a stream untainted by the effluent of a single drain. Who knows but the time may come when the Spanish Ambassador shall, in this century, follow the example of his predecessor at the Court of Elizabeth, and, when despatching to Madrid the news affecting his mission, take the opportunity of praising our capital, and of dilating on the "nobility of the river and the beauty of its hundreds of swans?"*

The next great work of the Board was the embankment of the Thames. The subject was one that had engaged the attention of more than one Royal Commission before 1856, but the only embankment actually executed was a piece between Vauxhall Bridge and Chelsea Hospital; and it was chiefly because of the necessity of finding a site for the Low Level sewer that the question was again brought prominently forward in the years 1860-1-2.

The *Victoria Embankment*, 1½ miles in length, and extending from Blackfriars to Westminster Bridge, was commenced in 1864, and opened in 1870. Thirty-seven acres of land were reclaimed; and, in addition to the Low Level sewer, the embankment carries the Metropolitan District

* The Acts of Parliament under which the system of Main Drainage has been carried out are the following, viz.:—21 & 22 Vict., c. 104; 26 & 27 Vict., c. 68; 28 Vict., c. 19; 28 & 29 Vict., c. 121; 29 & 30 Vict., c. 280; 33 & 34 Vict., c. 149; 34 & 35 Vict., c. 129; 36 & 37 Vict., c. 218.

Railway, and also an extensive subway for pipes. Nineteen acres are occupied by road and footpath; some have been conveyed to the Crown and to adjacent proprietors, including the Societies of the Middle and Inner Temples, and the remainder is set apart for public recreation. The river wall of this embankment is carried down to a depth of 32½ feet below Trinity high-water mark, and 14 feet below low-water mark. In the construction of the northern embankment there were employed 650,000 cubic feet of granite, 80,000 cubic yards of brickwork, 140,000 cubic yards of concrete, 1,000,000 cubic yards of earth filling, 125,000 superficial feet of York paving, &c. The cost was £1,455,672, of which the sum of £236,672 has been recouped by sales. Since that time more than £600,000 has been paid for the Charing Cross approach,—so that the total cost of the Victoria Embankment is considerably over £2,000,000.

The *Albert Embankment*, 4,300 feet in length, was commenced in 1865 and opened in 1868. The contract price for its construction was £309,000, and more than £700,000 more was paid in compensation for claims by holders of property. The cost of this embankment has been £1,150,813, of which sum £130,298 has been recouped by sales.

The *Chelsea Embankment* project practically rose out of the Western Drainage scheme; and, when the original intention of discharging the Fulham drainage into the river near Cremorne was abandoned, it became necessary to find a site for the Low Level sewers. This embankment is 4,219 feet in length. It was commenced in August 1871, and opened in May 1874. The total cost was £321,126. The work has narrowed the river here to 700 feet, and has reclaimed some 9½ acres of land from the mud.

The total length of these embankments is about 3½ miles, and about 52 acres of land have been reclaimed from

the foreshore. The result has been to give London a magnificent boulevard, to improve the current of the river, to ease the traffic of some crowded streets, and to purify the air from the effluvia of the mud banks. The total cost, exclusive of the Charing Cross approach, is about £3,000,000; inclusive of that, it will probably ultimately approach closely to £4,000,000.*

This work also is done, and done well. A work of Roman grandeur and solidity, it will stand as a monument of the engineering skill of those who constructed it as long as London shall last. The Metropolitan Board deserve the credit due to any body of men acting as public servants, through whose agency such a work has been effected; but here also, as in the case of the Main Drainage scheme, they have suffered from very serious charges, affecting the honour of some of their members.

By the Act 20 & 21 Vict., c. 115, the Metropolitan Board were authorized to make a new street in the parish of St. Martin-in-the Fields, and a new street in Southwark.

The first of these, *Garrick Street* as it is now called, was opened to the public in March 1861. It is 420 feet in length and 50 feet in breadth. It connects King Street, Covent Garden, with St. Martin's Lane. The cost was £123,215; nearly one-half of this sum was recouped by the sale of the ground rents.

Southwark Street cost £585,093. It is about three-quarters of a mile in length, and 70 feet in width, and was opened in 1864. It extends from the Borough to Blackfriars Road, and completes a most important link in the line

* The Acts of Parliament under which the works were executed and the money raised were the following:—

25 & 26 Vict., c, 93.	26 & 27 Vict., c. 75.	27 & 28 Vict., c. 61.
27 & 28 Vict., c. 135.	31 & 32 Vict., c. 43.	31 & 32 Vict., c. 111.
31 & 32 Vict., c. 135.	33 & 34 Vict., c. 92.	35 & 36 Vict., c. 66.
36 Vict., c. 7.	36 & 37 Vict., c. 100.	36 & 37 Vict., c. 40.

of transpontine communication. The total amount realized by the sale of the sites, &c., in the street, has been £335,508.

The *Victoria Park Approach Act* (21 Vict., c. 38) authorized the construction of what is now known as the *Burdett Road.* It extends from Mile End Road to East India Dock Road, is 3,486 feet long, and 70 feet wide. It was opened in 1862, and the total cost was £48,149.

Middle Row, Holborn, was cleared away in 1867, at a cost of £77,106, being about two-thirds of the compensation claimed. The improvement was effected under "The Whitechapel and Holborn Improvement Act, 1865" (28 Vict., c. 3).

The *Whitechapel Improvement* consisted in the formation of a new street from Back Church Lane to Leman Street, thus improving the communication between Whitechapel and the Commercial Road. The new street was opened in 1870. The cost was £243,075.

The *Kensington Improvement Act* (29 & 30 Vict., c. 150), authorized the widening of High Street, Kensington. The cost of acquiring the requisite properties, &c., was £186,955. The work was completed in 1869.

The *Stingo Lane Improvement* was carried out under the provisions of the 31 Vict., c. 7. It is a continuation of Seymour Place from Upper York Street to Marylebone Road. The new street is 450 feet in length, and was made at the joint expense of the Board, and the borough of Marylebone. The work was completed in 1872 at a cost, for the share of the Board, of between £40,000 and £50,000.

Under "*The Park Lane Improvement Act,* 1869" (32 & 33 Vict., c. 134), the Board were empowered to widen Hamilton Place, and improve Park Lane. The work was completed in 1871. The total cost was £144,294.

Under an Act passed in 1872 (35 & 36 Vict., c. 163)

the Board are empowered to make certain thoroughfares between Oxford Street, Old Street, Shoreditch, and Bethnal Green; to improve the entrance to the London Docks; to widen Edgeware and Harrow Roads; to widen Newington Butts. For these purposes the Board is by the Act empowered to borrow £2,500,000. The expenditure on these improvements so far has been, in 1872, £8,667; 1873, £336,137; 1874, £534,589; total, £879,393. None of the above improvements are yet complete.

The largest street improvement hitherto carried out by the Board is the construction of *Queen Victoria Street.* This street was constructed under the provisions of the 26 and 27 Vict., c. 45. The total cost of this improvement was £2,292,550. It is, however, anticipated that a large sum will be recouped by the sale and letting of building sites. In 1874 the Board reported that £232,996 had been received from the sale of ground, and that the ground rents now received by the Board amount to £39,221. If we take this item at twenty-eight years' purchase we have £1,098,188, to which add £232,996, and we have the present total of £1,331,184. The street was opened in 1871. This street has been handed over to the control of the Commissioners of Sewers, and the other improvements to the authorities in whose jurisdiction they lie.

There are also certain liabilities undertaken by the Board in respect to improvements not yet carried out. Under the 34 & 35 Vict., c. 202, they undertake to contribute to the London Central Railway Company the sum of £200,000 towards the formation of a new street from Tottenham Court Road, to Castle Street, Leicester Square, and under the Inner Circle Completion Act (37 & 38 Vict., c. 199), they are empowered to contribute £370,000 towards the cost of new streets in connection with the scheme.

In the following table no deductions are made on account of interest. The expenditure under the Improvement Acts has been as follows:—

Name.	Total Outlay. £	Amount Realized by Sales. £	Total Cost to Dec. 31st, 1874. £	Estimated Value still Unrealized. £
Garrick Street	123,215	78,273	44,942	
Southwark Street . . .	585,093	335,508	249,585	
Burdett Road	48,149	9,945	38,204	
Queen Victoria Street . .	2,292,550	232,996	2,059,554	922,685
Whitechapel Improvement	243,075	8,663	234,412	32,974
Middle Row, Holborn . .	77,106	691	76,415	
Kensington High Street .	186,955	60,520	126,435	3,112
Park Lane	144,294	31,172	113,122	500
Stingo Lane	48,000	4,401	43,599	
	£3,748,437	£762,169	£2,986,268	£959,271

The above are completed improvements. The estimated expenditure on uncompleted improvements was, at the end of 1874, as shown above, £879,393, making a gross expenditure of £4,627,830; of which somewhat more than one-third may be returned by sales.

The Board of Works has power, under the Acts of 1855 and 1862 (18 & 19 Vict., c. 120, and 25 & 26 Vict., c. 102), to contribute towards street improvements carried on by Vestries and District Boards. The contribution so made generally amounts to about one-half of the cost. The estimated total cost of improvements made by subordinate bodies, and to which contributions were made, was £839,703, whilst the actual contribution was £394,850. There has been a great difference in the extent to which local bodies have availed themselves of this power. It would, of course, be expected that the City of London would manifest the greatest avidity in the matter; she received no less than £197,826, being more than one-half of the total sum advanced; whilst St. Marylebone only received

£47,502, Limehouse £34,058, and St. George the Martyr, the lowest on the list, only got £66 13*s.* 4*d.**

Under various Acts of Parliament the Board have taken in hand the formation of *Parks,* and the control of *Commons* and *Open Spaces.*

The question of providing more parks for the people was brought under the consideration of the Board in the first year of its existence by memorials, deputations from Vestries, and in other ways. The first issue from this was the *Finsbury Park Act* (20 & 21 Vict., c. 150), which empowered the Board to provide a park in the district of Islington and Hackney. They were authorized to acquire all or any part of certain specified lands up to 250 acres, of which 20 acres might be reserved for building purposes. They actually took only 116 acres. The average cost of this was £472 per acre, and the total cost of the park, up to December 1871, was £111,000. It was opened in 1869. The cost of keeping up the park averages £900 a year, but this includes the making of certain new roads. The reservation of 20 acres for building purposes has now been abandoned.

The *Southwark Park Act* (27 Vict., c. 4) authorized the formation of a park in the parish of Rotherhithe. The area of the park constructed under this Act is 63 acres. It was originally intended to devote 16 acres to building purposes, but as in the case of Finsbury Park, this has now been abandoned. It was opened to the public in 1869. The total cost up to 1871 was £111,000, and the average cost of keeping it up has been about £450 per annum.

Victoria Park was formed under an Act of Parliament passed in 1842. This Act authorized the purchase of 290

* The precepts of the Board upon the City in 1874 were £43,862, but she asked for £78,040 towards improvements in the first six months!! In the years 1871, 2, 3, the City paid to the Board £79,793, and received £107,267! Thus the selfish Corporation has discovered another way to the suburban Londoner's pocket.

acres of land, one-fourth of which was to be set apart for building purposes. Only 265 acres were, however, purchased, and by an Act passed in 1852 the amount set apart for building was reduced to 45 acres. In the year 1872 there remained unlet of this building land 23¾ acres. This was purchased by the Board of the Crown for £20,450. The money was duly paid to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; and by the 35 & 36 Vict., c. 53, the arrangement was confirmed, and the portion thus bought put under the management of the Commissioner of Works, as was the rest of the park.

The Metropolitan Board have a control over commons and open spaces in or near the Metropolis. They have also a power to deal with ornamental grounds set apart for the benefit of the public, and not kept in proper order, under the 26 Vict., c. 13. Their power over commons was first given by the Metropolitan Commons' Act, 29 & 30 Vict., c. 122, passed for the purpose of enabling the Enclosure Commissioners to make inquiry, and to prepare schemes (to be confirmed by Parliament) for the control and management of commons and open spaces near the Metropolis. The action of the Enclosure Commissioners may be invoked by the local authority, which for the Metropolis is the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Subsequent Acts have been passed, confirming schemes as to Blackheath (34 & 35 Vict., c. 57), Hampstead Heath, (34 & 35 Vict., c. 77), Wandsworth Common (34 & 35 Vict., c. 181), Shepherd's Bush (34 & 35 Vict., c. 63), Hackney Commons (35 & 36 Vict., c. 43), Tooting Beck, (36 & 37 Vict., c. 86), Leicester Square (37 Vict., c. 10).

Blackheath was put under the control of the Board by the Act quoted above, and has been much improved in its character. It has been planted, improved, and fenced. The

total cost since 1871, when the Board assumed control, to the close of 1874, has been £3,960.

Hampstead Heath has been under the control of the Board for the same length of time, and has also been considerably improved. £45,000 was paid for the interest of the lord of the manor, a sum which it is more than probable might have been saved, but which is considerably less than the original demand of Sir T. M. Wilson of £5,000 per acre, or a total of £1,200,000 for the 240 acres! The total cost of this heath up to December 1874 was £53,045.

Shepherd's Bush Common was put under the control of the Board by the Act of 1871. It has been much improved in character and appearance, being drained, inclosed, and planted. The sum of £505 was paid for the rights of the lord of the manor.

Hackney Commons came under the Board's control in 1873. These "Commons" comprise some eight different pieces of land, including London Fields, Hackney Downs, Clapton Common, &c. The total area is about 180 acres. They have been drained, fenced, and planted, and about £1,000 spent upon them, but no purchase of manorial rights appears to have been made, and the character and extent of these rights seem to be still unascertained.

The rights of the lord of the manor in *Tooting Beck Common* were bought under the Act of 1873 for the sum of £13,798, and the common is now being put into good condition.

The area and cost of the parks and open spaces under the control of the Board of Works is now as follows:—

	Acres.	£
Blackheath	267	3,960
Hampstead Heath . . .	240	53,045
Carried forward .	507	57,005

	Acres.	£
Brought forward . .	507	57,005
Shepherd's Bush Common . .	8	505
London Fields	27	1,000
Hackney Downs . . .	50	
Well Street Common . . .	30	
North and South Mill Fields .	57	
Clapton Common . . .	9¼	
Stoke Newington . . .	5½	
Waste land, Dalston Lane, &c. .	1	
Tooting Beck	144	13,798
Total . .	838¾	£72,308

If we add to this, Finsbury Park, 115 acres, Southwark Park, 63 acres, and the 14 acres of the Embankments and Leicester Square, we have a total of 1,030¾ acres.

The Board are also negotiating for the acquirement of Clapham Common, 220 acres; Bostal Heath, 55 acres; and Tooting Graveney Common, 63 acres—total 338 acres. It is proposed to pay £18,000 for manorial rights over Clapham Common. It is also proposed to acquire Stockwell Green as an open space for the public, at a cost of some £2,000.

The total expenditure of the Board on parks and open spaces would thus appear to be—

	£
Finsbury Park	111,000
Southwark Park . . .	111,000
Victoria Park	20,450
Commons and Open Spaces .	73,308
	£315,758

The estimated expenditure for keeping in order Finsbury Park, Southwark Park, the Victoria Embankment, and

Leicester Square, for 1875, is £5,855, thus divided--Finsbury, £2,705; Southwark, £1,620; Victoria, £980; Leicester Square, £550. The largest items are wages, gravel, manure, and repairs. Leicester Square is charged £300 for water, a most exorbitant sum to pay for so puny a result. The cost of managing the commons and open spaces in 1874, was £1,519.

In 1866 a return was made to the House of Commons of the various commons and open spaces within a radius of 15 miles from Charing Cross, with their acreage, and other matters affecting the same. According to this return, it appears that there are about 12,650 acres of land coming within this definition. The rights of the public with respect to them are of the most varied character,—in some cases, existing only in those of the public living within the same manor, and in others extending to the public generally. Some of the lands are manor waste, others have been left open under Enclosure Acts, and over others full common rights have been enjoyed from time immemorial. In some cases, copyholders have the right of cutting furze and of digging gravel; in others they may depasture their cattle, and over some commons they have almost complete proprietary rights.

It will, therefore, be seen that the exercise of the Open Spaces' jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works is but in its infancy; and that if the Board were a representative body, into whose hands the inhabitants of the Metropolitan District were willing to confide their interests, there might be in this direction a great future before it.

The Corporation of the City of London, ever on the alert to curb the ambition and to supplant the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board, have watched its progress in this matter with uneasiness. In a previous chapter we set out the provisions of the Act whereby the metage of grain in

the Port of London was commuted to a fixed duty chargeable by weight. The Corporation had wisely concluded that their asserted privilege of compulsory corn metage was untenable; and so, with the real object of obtaining Parliamentary sanction to an impost which it was believed could not be defended in law, but with an ostensible object of a very different character, they introduced and succeeded in passing the measure. The produce of the compulsory metage of grain amounted, on an average of the three years ending 1871, to something like £33,000 a year. It was proposed by the Act to commute this for a duty payable on weight instead of measure, and estimated to produce only £22,000 a year, but which as a matter of fact produced, in 1874, £17,429. The City Remembrancer—who is, as we have seen, a highly-paid official employed for the purpose of manipulating the Corporation Bills through Parliament, and of exciting opposition to all alien measures in any way affecting the City—published for the benefit of the members of Parliament a statement of the objects and advantages of this measure; a statement characterized by the hardihood of assertion and the arrogance of tone which are common to these documents. If we credit this authorized statement of the City, we shall find that the objects of the Corporation in introducing the Bill were:—1. To surrender the "right" of compulsory grain metage, which, "in consequence of grain being now sold by weight instead of measure, *was liable to promote litigation*," and tended to enhance the price of food. 2. The substitution of a fixed charge,—such charge to be expended in the acquisition of open spaces,—notably, Epping Forest. 3. The preservation of "a noble recreation ground at the East End of London." 4. "The conservation of the Forest, when acquired." 5. Prevention of nuisances, protection of turf, shrubs, wild birds, &c. Amongst the "reasons" in favour of the Bill,

besides the preservation of the Forest, we find a good deal of the usual common-place about "wise statesmanship encouraging the acquisition of open spaces," and about the necessity of the "toiling masses of the population and their children breathing fresh air, exercising their limbs, and viewing some of the refining and civilizing scenes of nature."

This is illustrated by a statement about the density of the population of London within the Metropolitan Police District; as if, forsooth, that were a matter for which the Corporation of London had any care, or with which they had any right to interfere. In addition to this it is stated in large type that, if the proposal of the Corporation is declined, there will only remain the alternatives of either inclosing the Forest, or "imposing the cost of its acquisition on the already overburthened taxpayers of the Metropolis." When it is remembered that a rate of 1*d.* in the pound will produce in the Metropolis an amount equal to 5 years' income of the grain duty, and that, while such rate is fair in its incidence, the grain duty is practically a tax upon food of the most vicious kind, the ingenuousness of this argument will be apparent. No one who understands the Corporation of London can be such a dolt as to suppose that, without some very much more cogent reason than mere considerations of public advantage, it would be willing to abandon £16,000 a year.* The real objects undoubtedly were to

* We do not propose to set out all the misrepresentations and untrue inferences of this remarkable but representative "statement" of the Corporation; but, amongst the arguments used thus to influence the judgment of members, it is urged that the measure is exactly analogous to what took place when the coal duty ceased to be collected by measure; with respect to which, we are told "the Corporation subsequently placed the proceeds of this duty (previously applied to their own expenditure) at the disposal of Parliament for public improvements * * * an arrangement which has given entire satisfaction to the coal trade." It will be noted that the Corporation say nothing as to the opinion of the coal *consumers*, and with respect to the 4*d.* coal duty (granted to them before William III. had been long on the throne, and whilst the remembrance

continue an iniquitous tax upon food,—the authority for which they dared not produce,*—and to circumvent their rivals at Spring Gardens, by acquiring authority to deal with open spaces around the Metropolis. They could not expect to carry their measure unless some such useful object were proposed for the application of the tax; and, after all, it mattered very little to them what was the diversion of the money, so long as they controlled its expenditure. Both the Corporation of London and the Metropolitan Board have had to suffer from allegations made against the purity of their contracts; but at any rate, so far as management is concerned, it is far better that the direction of open spaces should be in the hands of the Metropolitan Board than of the Corporation of London; and this, if for no other reason, because they would do it at about one-fourth the cost.

The only Act of Parliament dealing with the question of *Preservation of Life from Fire*, prior to the year 1865, was the 14 Geo. III., c. 78, a statute that provides for each parish within the Bills of Mortality keeping a hand engine, with pipes, ladders, and other appliances. Before 1832 some of the Fire Insurance societies kept up fire engines at their own expense. These different brigades were in that year consolidated into one, thenceforth known as the London Fire Brigade. The cost to the associated Companies in the first of the years of the new brigade was about £8,000, and the number of men employed was about eighty. Both these items, however, increased, until in 1862 the number of men was 127, the number of stations 20, and the annual cost about £25,000.† It is to be remarked that, whilst

of their support was fresh), for the purpose of paying the claims of the Orphan Fund, they actually represent it as having been by them graciously placed at the disposal of Parliament, when, as a matter of fact, the object for which it had been given was attained!

* *Vide supra*, p. 22.

† This sum was about seven per cent. on the premiums at that time

at this time it was estimated that there was insurable property within six miles of Charing Cross to the amount of £900,000,000, the actual amount insured was about £266,000,000; so that nearly seventy per cent. of the property in London was uninsured, and yet receiving the benefit of this voluntary association.

There was also in existence a "Society for the Protection of Life from Fire," which cost in maintenance some £7,000 a year, and some other Fire Brigades in connection with the Dock Companies.

The Select Committee appointed to consider the question of London Fires had reported in 1862 in favour of the formation of a Fire Brigade, under the direction of the Metropolitan Police;* but after conference and negotiation with the representatives of the Insurance Companies and of the Metropolitan Board, the Home Secretary framed and passed through Parliament a measure, whereby the Board undertook the management and control of the Fire Brigade on and after the 1st day of January, 1866. The Board are bound to maintain an efficient force of firemen, and to provide them with engines, stations, and all needful apparatus. The Treasury may pay towards the expenses such sum, not exceeding £10,000 in any one year, as Parliament may grant. The Insurance Companies contribute a sum calculated at the rate of £35 for every £1,000,000 sterling insured by them, and the remainder is defrayed out of the current income of the Board. The contributions of the Insurance Offices have been in the last three years, 1872; £16,267; 1873, £16,334; and 1874, £17,123. The Treasury contributed £7,500 in 1871, and £10,000 in each of three succeeding years. The total current income in each of the said years was £67,519,

received by the associated offices.—*Vide* Evidence given before Select Committee on Fires in the Metropolis. Answer 287.

* *Vide* Report, p. 7.

£73,913, and £75,912. This income is mainly made up of the contributions of the Treasury, the Insurance Companies, and by precepts of the Board. There are other items of income for watching premises, and penalties for chimney fires, &c. The expenditure has been commensurate with the income, a balance of some £10,000 being generally kept.

When the late London Fire Establishment was transferred to the Board, there were 4 foremen, 13 engineers, 15 sub-engineers, 49 senior firemen, and 49 junior firemen; total, 130. The number of stations transferred was nineteen; two of them being on the river. The engines consisted of one floating steam engine, four land steamers, and twenty-seven manual engines. The establishment has been largely increased and improved in every way since it came into the hands of the Board. The number of engines was nearly doubled in the first year.

From that date the organization of the system has gone on improving in efficiency and completeness. The men are carefully chosen and well drilled. Seafaring men are preferred; and rigid examination is made into their physical and other capacity. The Metropolis, for the purpose of the Fire Brigade, is divided into four districts. Of these three are north of the Thames, and the fourth comprises the whole of London south of the river. Each district is presided over by a superintendent or foreman, and the whole are under the direction of a chief officer. The employés are divided into classes—first-class engineers, second-class engineers; firemen of the first, second, third, and fourth classes respectively. The rate of wages was advanced by the Board in 1872. The superintendents are paid £200 a year; first-class engineers, 7*s.* per day; second-class engineers, 6*s.* per day; ordinary firemen, 5*s.*, 4*s.* 6*d.*, 4*s.*, and 3*s.* 6*d.* There are certain other advantages to the officers in free quarters, coals, gas, &c.

The day watch of the Metropolis consists of 108 men, the night watch 181 ; the remainder are available for general fires, under instruction, &c. The total number of men is 396. The Brigade now controls 129 fire escapes, 106 fire escape stations, 49 fire engine stations, 4 floating stations, 3 floating steam fire engines, 1 iron barge, 5 large and 21 small land steam fire engines, 14 seven-inch and 59 six-inch manual fire engines, 12 smaller manual fire engines, 54 telegraph lines, and 86 miles of telegraph lines. This, it will be seen, is an enormous increase on the strength in 1866.

The number of fires attended in the nine years of the Board's control is 14,378, of which number 1,948 were "serious;" but it is satisfactory to note that the proportion of "slight" to "serious" fires has lessened from seventy-five per cent. in 1866, to ninety-two per cent. in 1872, and ninety per cent. in 1874. The above totals do not include chimney fires. These in 1874 numbered between 2,000 and 3,000 per annum. About 74,000 tons, or 16,500,000 gallons of water, were thrown by the fire engines in 1874. Of this, three-fourths was taken from the street pipes: the remainder from canals, docks, and the river. Twenty-three persons lost their lives at fires in 1874, and 134 were saved through the exertions of the Brigade. In forty-seven cases the water supply was either inefficient, or altogether wanting.

The expenditure on the Fire Brigade is not detailed as in the various City accounts. But in 1874, the Staff charges were £40,389. These include £36,810 for salaries and wages; £2,666 for clothing, and the remainder for medical officers and pensions. The establishment charges were £3,707 ; maintenance of stations, £8,278 ; maintenance of engines, fuel, horse hire, &c., £20,997 ; miscellaneous, £2,538. Total, £75,912.

There has been borrowed for Fire Brigade purposes the

sum of £115,000, which has been mainly expended in the purchase of sites, and erection of stations. The current expenditure of the Board in addition to this cannot be accurately ascertained, in consequence of the method of keeping the earlier accounts; but in the nine years it has exceeded £500,000. Probably, the capital and current expenditure of the Board on Fire Brigade account may be put down at £650,000.

The Metropolitan Board is entrusted with the regulation and oversight of buildings under the Building Act of 1855 (18 & 19 Vict., c. 122), and its amending Acts (23 and 24 Vict., c. 52, and 24 & 25 Vict., c. 87). It has also now, since 1869, discharged the duties in respect to dangerous structures, which formerly devolved on the police. The jurisdiction is given by the Dangerous Structures Act, 32 & 33 Vict., c. 82.

The work of the Board under these various Acts has been considerable. For the purposes of the Acts, the Metropolis is divided into fifty-nine districts, each with its appropriate Surveyor, and a deputy, empowered to act where the Surveyor is personally engaged upon any erection within the district. The duties of the Surveyors consist in enforcing the provisions of the Acts as to solidity, materials, and method of construction, &c. Certain fees are payable for the oversight given. In 1874 the building transactions were not so large as in some former years; but something like 13,000 distinct building operations were dealt with, and, including the arrears of former years paid during the year, the sum of £28,487 was received for 18,268 operations.

Under section 56 of the Act of 1855, the consent of the Board is requisite to the erection of iron buildings, furnace chimney shafts, sheds, concrete houses, &c. A number of applications are received every year for this permission. Overhanging eaves are also certified by the Board Surveyor.

During the year 1874, proceedings were taken in reference to no less than 1,689 structures. Of these, 1,456 were certified as dangerous by the District Surveyors. In the large majority of cases the information as to the dangerous condition of the buildings was given by the Surveyors themselves. On the whole, it would seem that the Board has discharged the duties imposed on it by these Acts with credit. The District Surveyors seem to be carefully chosen, and their vigilance is stimulated by a good system of promotion, whereby the claims of deserving Surveyors of inferior districts are regarded as paramount when vacancies occur in more lucrative ones.

Several attempts have been made in recent years to pass a consolidating building Act, containing a number of stringent provisions as to the cubical contents and height of buildings, &c. But a Committee of the House reported against these in 1874, and it is not likely that any measure conceived in so narrow a spirit will receive public sanction.

The control of the Metropolitan Board over streets is exercised by virtue of certain provisions in the Management Acts, and is confined to the regulation of lines of frontage, the formation and closing of streets, and to the naming of streets and numbering of houses.

Under 25 & 26 Vict., c. 102, s. 75, the consent in writing of the Board is a pre-requisite to the erection of any building beyond the general line of frontage in any street or row of houses within 50 feet of the highway; and for the construction of verandahs, porticos, balconies, and other projections the like consent is required under the provisions of the 18 & 19 Vict., c. 122, s. 26. In 1874 there were 388 applications under these Acts, and about seventy per cent. of them were granted.

The 25 & 26 Vict., c. 102, ss. 98, 99, and 112, cast upon the Board the duty of regulating the width of roads, streets,

passages, &c. In 1874 there were 141 applications for the sanction of the Board to the construction of new streets. Of these, 88 were granted. The *minimum* width of a street is 40 feet for carriage traffic, and 20 feet for footways.

The same Act, in section 87, confers on the Board jurisdiction in the naming of streets and the numbering of houses throughout the metropolitan area. Copies of the orders and plans, under the seal of the Board, are sent to the respective Vestries in whose district the proposed alterations are, and then the Vestry is to give the requisite notices, renew the defaced names, &c. During 1874 alterations were made in nearly all the districts of London, and including the abolition of 544 names, the re-numbering of 10,507 houses, and the naming of 137 new streets. Prior to 1862 the Board had exercised a certain jurisdiction in the naming and numbering of streets, but were, up to the latter year, the executors of their own orders. This duty now devolves on the Vestries. During the years 1856 to 1874, inclusive, the Board have named 2,550 new streets, abolished 5,944 subsidiary names, and re-numbered 129,547 houses. This jurisdiction appears to have been exercised in a manner beneficial to the general public.

The closing of a thoroughfare, for the purpose of carrying on works of any kind, requires the preliminary consent of the Board, under 25 & 26 Vict., c. 102, s. 84. During the year 1874, permission was given to close partially or entirely 120 streets under the power thus conferred.

Acts of Parliament authorizing the construction of railways in London now contain provisions whereby the plans of bridges over metropolitan roads, &c., must receive the sanction of the Board. A large amount of work has been thrown on the Board by these clauses, and its attention is mainly directed to securing such conditions as to headway,

method of construction, &c., as may be most beneficial to the public.

Where Gas, Water, Railway, or other Companies propose to interfere with the sewers vested in the Board, its preliminary consent is also requisite.

"The Infant Life Protection Act, 1872" (35 & 36 Vict., c. 38), was passed in order to remedy certain grave evils in connection with what was commonly known as baby farming. The Metropolitan Board is the "local authority" for the Metropolis; and a register is to be kept of all houses where more than one child (or two, if twins) is (or are) received, under the age of one year, to be nursed for hire. The Board only grant registration where the premises are approved for the purpose, and a certificate of character signed by a minister of religion and two inhabitant ratepayers is forthcoming. The number of houses registered have been, in 1872, five, with ten infants; in 1873, ten, with twenty-three infants; in 1874, two, with four infants. The fact of registration is communicated to the police. The numbers given are ludicrously incommensurate with the evil as it existed prior to 1872. Whether farming is now carried on more secretly, or whether it is the Board's machinery that is at fault, does not appear.

The fifty-fifth section of the Metropolitan Building Act of 1844 provided for the removal, within thirty years, of certain businesses then carried on in the Metropolis. If no measure had been passed to repeal it, the businesses of fellmonger, tallow-melter, cattle, sheep, or horse slaughterer, soap-boiler, tripe-boiler, blood or bone boiler, could not have been carried on within the Metropolis after the year 1874. In that year, however, was passed the Act, 37 & 38 Vict., c. 37, by which the businesses of blood and bone boiler, manure manufacturer, soap-boiler, tallow-melter and horse

slaughterer are prohibited from being *established* within the limits of the Metropolis. The businesses of fellmonger, tripe-boiler, and cattle and sheep slaughterer may be established with the sanction of the Board. Slaughter-houses require a license, which is granted by the justices at special sessions; but notice of intention to apply for renewal must be given at least fourteen days before to the Metropolitan Board and to the Vestry. The Board has power, under the Act, to make bye-laws for the regulation of offensive businesses. The Board may also, with the confirmation of the Local Government Board, declare any business to be "offensive," and so bring it within this provision.

By "The Storage of Petroleum Act, 1862," it was rendered illegal to keep more than 40 gallons of petroleum within 50 yards of any house where goods were stored, except with a license from the Metropolitan Board or the Corporation of the City. Only one firm, however, applied for a license under this Act, and so in 1868 another Act was passed, containing more stringent regulations as to the testing of petroleum and the granting of licenses. This measure was much more effective, and numerous licenses were applied for. The storage and sale of petroleum is now regulated by an Act passed in 1871 (34 & 35 Vict., c. 105). The local authority, under the Act, is the same as in the Act of 1862. Regulations are made as to carriage and storage. The storage or sale of petroleum, or its products, is declared illegal, without the consent of the local authority, when such oil gives off an inflammable vapour at a lower temperature than 100 degrees. The fee for a license is five shillings. The premises, where it is proposed to store it, are carefully inspected before the license is granted; and the sale may only take place during daylight. The number of licenses in force, in 1874, was 1,755.

The "Tramways Act" of 1870 (33 & 34 Vict., c. 178) was

passed to facilitate the construction of tramways generally, and to regulate their working. The Act provides that any body of persons, with the consent of the local authority, or the local authority itself, may apply to the Board of Trade for a provisional order for the construction of a tramway. The Board of Works is the local authority for the Metropolis. The Act regulates the width of rails, maintenance of roads and so forth ; and it provides that where the tramways are constructed by other bodies than the local authorities, the local authorities shall have power at the end of twenty-one years, or of any subsequent seven, to purchase the tramway at the value of the materials and works alone. The consent of the Vestries through which the tramway passes is also requisite.

The Board of Works have never acted on the power of construction given them by this Act, they being of opinion that the advantages of a comprehensive system could be secured without it, and that the clause as to purchase in twenty-one years was sufficient for the protection of the public if it should prove that tramways were advantageous to metropolitan traffic. They have, however, given their consent to numerous schemes for the formation of tramways within the Metropolis. Some of these were subsequently lost in consequence of being opposed by the Vestries, and some from other causes. But the majority of those that received the Board's consent are now in full work. The Board appears to have endeavoured to frame a tramway system for the Metropolis, and its consent or opposition depended upon any proposed scheme fitting in with this system; but the opposition of the Vestries in some cases have frustrated the complete development of it. The continuance of a veto power in the Vestries would be in any case undesirable. The Board has framed the bye-laws for the working of the Companies, and these are now under the direction of the police.

A Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament, inquiring into the question of Metropolitan Tramways, in 1872, was in favour of the utmost caution being exercised before any extension of the tramway system was allowed in the Metropolis.

The outbreak of Rinderpest in the early part of 1866 called the energies of the Board into play, and by inspection, communications to the Government, and in other ways, they rendered good service in its suppression. The highest sum paid in any one year, for compensation and expenses, was in 1867-8, when £7,705 was expended.

In 1869, the "Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act" (32 & 33 Vict., c. 70) was passed, and is still in force. This Act consolidated and amended the previous Acts for the prevention of the introduction and spread of contagious diseases amongst cattle. It provides for the examination and slaughter of infected cattle, the isolation of premises, the appointment of inspectors, &c. Under this Act, the Corporation of London are empowered to construct a Foreign Cattle Market. Power is given to the Privy Council to take such measures for repression, as may be necessary, in connection with the importation of foreign animals. Local authorities are empowered to declare places infected; to slaughter infected animals, and pay compensation to the owners; and to appoint inspectors. The Board of Works is the local authority for the Metropolis outside the City. Information of every outbreak of disease is sent by the Board to the Privy Council, and reported on until it is exterminated. The diseases inspected and reported on are farcy, cattle plague, pleuro-pneumonia, foot and mouth disease, sheep pox, sheep scab, and glanders. During the year 1874, 1,088 cases of disease were reported, of which 448 were foot and mouth disease, 332 pleuro-pneumonia, 232 glanders, and 76 farcy. The cost incurred by the

Board in carrying out the Act was £2,297; of which sum £1,496 was paid for compensation, £784 for inspectors' fees, and £16 costs.

There are certain other Acts of Parliament which either confer a jurisdiction upon the Board or require its consent in certain cases.

Thus the Board must, under the 28 & 29 Vict., c. 83, determine the hours and speed at which Locomotives may traverse the metropolitan area. By the provisions of the 31 & 32 Vict., c. 80, the Board may require Gas and Water Companies to place their pipes in subways, and make bye-laws in reference to their management. Under the 29 Vict., c. 31, the Board may grant superannuation allowances to its officers.

They have also certain powers under the "Metropolis Roads Act," 26 & 27 Vict., c. 78. Under the 27 & 28 Vict., c. 121, particulars of projected railways in London are to be deposited at the office of the Board, and the Board may state their objections to the schemes to the Board of Trade. One of the Board of thirteen members incorporated under the Lee Conservancy Act, 31 & 32 Vict., c. 154, must be nominated by the Metropolitan Board.

Under the 24 & 25 Vict., c. 70, the Metropolitan Board are empowered to appoint Inspectors to test gas meters in the Metropolis. In the carrying out of this Act, the Board have two testing places on the north, and one on the south side of the river. During the year 1874 no less than 73,315 meters were tested, the fees received being £2,566, and the cost more than £2,000.

The Metropolitan Board have the duty imposed upon them of testing the quality and power of gas supplied by some of the Companies in the metropolitan area, exclusive of the City. The Acts of Parliament controlling this are—31 & 32 Vict., c. 125; 31 & 32 Vict., c. 106; 32 and

33 Vict., c. 128; 32 & 33 Vict., c. 130. The maximum quantity of sulphur now permissible in the gas supplied by the Companies concerned is 25 grains per 100 cubical feet, and of ammonia 2½ grains per 100 feet. The testing is constantly made, and is said to be made with satisfactory results.

The Board is the metropolitan authority (save in the City) under the "Metropolis Water Act," 34 & 35 Vict., c. 113.

The powers of the Board in respect of the Gas and Water Supply, the manner in which such powers are exercised, and the conduct of the Board in reference to each question, are discussed in the chapters devoted to those subjects.

The Board of Works is the local authority under "The Explosive Substances Act, 1875" (38 Vict., c. 17) for the metropolitan district outside the City. Licenses to establish new factories or magazines under this Act (sec. 6) are granted in the first instance by the Secretary of State, and are then subject to confirmation by the local authority. Under section 15 the Board has power to grant to applicants the right to store explosive substances on payment of a fine not exceeding five shillings; the premises must also be registered (sec. 21). Licenses for the manufacture of fireworks are in the discretion of the Board (sec. 49). They may also, in certain cases, provide storage magazines (sec. 72).

The Board is also the local authority (outside the City, where it is in the Commissioners of Sewers) for the Artizans' Dwellings Act (38 & 39 Vict., c. 36). Under this Act, where a representation is made by the Medical Officer of any district to the Board that any metropolitan area is unfit for human habitation, the Board may, upon being satisfied that this can only be remedied by recon-

struction, prepare a scheme for that purpose. Advertisements of such scheme, and notices to the proprietors affected, are to be followed by a petition to the Secretary of State for an order confirming the scheme. An official investigation then follows, and the Secretary of State may confirm the scheme. It will then remain with the local authority to carry it into execution.

This beneficial measure, passed in 1875, soon produced fruit. The Medical Officer of the Holborn District Board reported a district comprising some 10 acres, and bounded by Gray's Inn Road, Leather Lane, Portpool Lane, and Greville Street. This district containing 5,515 persons living in 335 houses, averaging six rooms per house, seems to have been left alone by the Holborn District Board, although many of the houses were quite unfit for human habitation. However, the Metropolitan Board took the matter in hand with commendable rapidity, and framed a scheme whereby the ground could be cleared and new buildings erected, to be let to the old inhabitants at about the rents they paid in the old houses. The scheme reflects credit upon its designers. The estimated cost as framed by the Board was for purchase of property, £187,500; new streets and drainage, £17,000; new dwellings, £170,000; total £374,500. These are moderate estimates when we remember that the rental of the old buildings was some £16,000. Whether this estimate will approximate to the cost, time will show. Representations have also been made as to other districts, so that those members of the Board who have hitherto lived all day at Spring Gardens, will soon have to enlarge their building by the addition of sleeping accommodation, if they are to perform all the work. But work has some mysterious attraction for the Board. Never was a public body so greedy of new employment.

There is a probability that improvements of a most ex-

tensive character will be carried out in the Metropolis under the provisions of this Act. The Board have power under section 13 to appoint a Medical Officer of their own, upon whose representations they are empowered to act—a kind of roving Commissioner, who will take very good care that powers so extensive and patronage so sweet shall not remain long dormant.

The Loans Act, 1875, 38 & 39 Vict., c. 65, gives power to the Board to expend (in 1875-6) for certain Street Improvements a sum not exceeding £120,000; upon Fire Brigade purposes £15,000; to lend to Vestries for Improvements a sum not exceeding £100,000; to Boards of Guardians £100,000; to Burial Boards and other Land Commissioners in London £50,000; to Metropolitan Asylums' District £100,000 (making an aggregate loan power to this body of £700,000). All these sums are to be expended beyond the limitation to £10,000,000 in the Act of 1869, and this would seem to be the reason of the Act. Provisions are made for the repayment of loans to other bodies within thirty years. The Act contains two useful provisions —(sec. 13) that the Board shall deliver every year to the Treasury returns of moneys raised under various Acts; and (sec. 14) that before lending to any minor body, the Board may require a full statement of its financial condition.

The jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works is, with respect to most of the subjects under its control, exercised throughout the metropolitan area, with the exception of the 650 acres under the control of the Corporation of the City. Whether the Board of Works is or is not the best body to exercise the various functions conferred with respect to these matters may be a question, but there can be no question whatever that they are such as ought to be under one control for the whole Metropolis, and that the exception made with respect to the Corporation of London

is one productive of no public advantage, and, but for the powerful influence exercised by that body, would never have been permitted to exist.

The matters under the control of the Metropolitan Board may now be set out as follows:—

Main Drainage.
Street Improvements.
Commons and Open Spaces.
Control of Buildings.
Baby Farming.
Offensive Trades.
Tramways.
Road Locomotives.
Testing of Gas and Gas Meters.
Artizans' Dwellings.
River Embankment.
Creation and Control of Parks.
Fire Brigade.
Control of Streets.
Consent to Bills.
Petroleum, Storage and Sale.
Contagious Diseases (Animals).
Gas and Water Pipes.
Metropolis Water Act.
Explosive Substances.

The nineteen years which have elapsed since the Board came into active operation, have witnessed a steady advance in the expenditure in nearly all the current departments, although, as one great work after another leaves its hands, there is a variation in what might be called its capital expenditure, which makes the totals somewhat irregular. It may be desirable here to set out the expenditure of the Board in each year of its existence. It will be noted that

the accounts were formerly made up to the 25th of March in each year, but since 1871, have been made up from January 1st to December 31st in each year.

Total current and capital expenditure from January 1st, 1856, to December 31st, 1874:—

	Expenditure.
	£
January 1st, 1856, to March 25th, 1857 (15 months) . . .	174,366
To March 25th, 1858 (12 months).	92,567
,, 1859 ,, .	260,952
,, 1860 ,, .	594,032
,, 1861 ,, .	762,317
,, 1862 ,, .	927,662
,, 1863 ,, .	1,004,329
,, 1864 ,, .	1,159,339
,, 1865 ,, .	1,351,061
,, 1866 ,, .	1,742,098
,, 1867 ,, .	1,970,134
,, 1868 ,, .	2,388,923
,, 1869 ,, .	1,498,140
,, 1870 ,, .	1,002,215
,, 1871 ,, .	1,067,051
To December, 1871 (9 months)	582,001
,, 1872 (12 months)	802,197
,, 1873 ,, .	1,189,850
,, 1874 ,, .	1,926,823
Total expenditure .	£20,496,057

These amounts include the contributions to local improvements, but do not include the repayment of loans, or loans made to the Metropolitan Asylums' District, or to Vestries and District Boards. These items are as follows:—

	£
Total loans repaid . . .	3,384,087
Total loans to Vestries and District Boards, School Boards, &c. .	923,245
	4,307,332
Nett expenditure as above .	20,496,057
Gross expenditure .	24,803,389
Of this there was raised by loans .	15,430,300
Raised by precepts and in other ways	£9,373,089

The above estimates of yearly expenditure may be regarded as closely approximate to the truth. A return made to an order of the House of Commons, dated March 26th, 1867, is our authority for the expenditure of the first eleven years, but there are sometimes considerable discrepancies between these amounts and those stated in the yearly reports of the Board, the reason for which is by no means clear. The Parliamentary return is generally the smaller of the two, therefore the above estimates may be regarded as quite within the mark.

The money raised by loans was raised for the following specific objects :—

	£
Loans of former Sewers' Commission transferred to the Board . .	275,000
Southwark Street	400,000
Burdett Road Approach . .	46,300
Middle Row, Holborn . . .	76,000
High Street, Kensington . .	183,696
Stingo Lane, Marylebone . .	46,092
Whitechapel Improvement . .	232,500
Carried forward . .	1,259,588

	£
Brought forward . .	1,259,588
High Street Shoreditch, High Street Wapping, Harrow Road, Old Street St. Luke's, &c. . .	1,716,980
Local and minor Improvements .	278,392
Finsbury Park	114,519
Southwark Park	111,415
Hampstead Heath . . .	55,000
Victoria Park	20,550
Blackheath, Shepherd's Bush, Hackney Commons . . .	6,706
Tooting Beck Common . . .	15,485
Leicester Square	225
Main Drainage and Main Sewers .	5,312,000
Victoria Embankment . . .	656,000
Albert Embankment . . .	1,015,000
Queen Victoria Street . . .	2,251,000
Chelsea Embankment . . .	346,000
Park Lane Improvement . .	140,000
Charing Cross and Victoria Embankment Approach . . .	616,750
Land on Victoria Embankment .	3,270
Fire Brigade Stations and Plant .	115,000
Loans to Managers of Metropolitan Asylums' District . . .	561,070
Loans to School Board for London	90,000
,, Vestries, District Boards, &c.	306,533
Costs of raising Loans . . .	33,627
Purposes under Loans Acts . .	405,190
	£15,430,300

Of this sum £3,384,087 has been repaid, leaving the indebtedness of the Board of Works on its loan account, at the close of 1874, no less than £12,046,213.

There are certain assets with which the Board credits itself, viz.:—

	£
Loans to Local Authorities . .	866,574
Government Stock . . .	139,577
Surplus Lands unsold . . .	1,580,569
Forfeited by Essex Reclamation Company	25,000
	£2,611,720

These, if admitted, would reduce the amount now due to £9,434,493. But as the bulk of these reductions are as yet unrealized, and the Board remains primarily liable on the whole, it is safest to put the present liability of the Metropolitan Board of Works on its loan account at £12,046,213.

This amount is one which has steadily increased ever since the facilities for borrowing were ready to the hand of the Board. On March 25th, 1868, the amount of the Board's indebtedness was . . . £6,903,366

March 25th, 1869 . . .	7,798,692
„ 1870 . . .	8,195,545
„ 1871 . . .	8,650,517
Dec. 31st, 1871 . . .	9,052,813
„ 1872 . . .	8,967,464
„ 1873 . . .	10,049,746
„ 1874 . . .	12,046,213

By "The Metropolitan Loans Act, 1869" (32 & 33 Vict., c. 102), the Metropolitan Board was authorized to borrow a total sum not exceeding £10,000,000, and to create a Consolidated Stock charged on all the securities of the Board, and redeemable within sixty years. The rates which, prior to that date, had been apportioned to the respective works, were in future to be levied as one, and to

be known as the Metropolitan Consolidated Rate. In pursuance of these powers, the Board created a 3½ per cent. Stock, and £8,056,010 of this stock has been issued. The average issue price was £94 14*s.* 10*d.*, or about 3¾ per cent. The stock was issued in the years 1869-71-73-74, and realized £7,657,000. Of the total nominal sum of £8,056,010, £45,000 was redeemed in 1870, so that the total nominal amount of this stock now existing is £8,011,010.

The Act of 1869 was extended by the 34 & 35 Vict., c. 47, enabling the Board to create stock to pay off the Main Drainage instalments as they become due; to lend money to Vestries and District Boards, &c.; and to lend £100,000 to the Metropolitan Asylums' Board, in addition to £500,000 authorized by the Act of 1869.*

Under "The Elementary Education Act, 1870" (33 & 34 Vict., c. 75, s. 58), the Board is authorized to lend to the London School Board, with the consent of the Education Department. The money so raised is to be expended in the erection of schools; but by the 35 & 36 Vict., c. 27, it is extended to the erection of offices.

The Board is now authorized to lend money to the Managers of the Metropolitan Asylums' District; the London School Board; the Vestries and District Boards; the Hornsey Local Board; and the Guardians of the Bromley Union.

The outstanding amounts due on account of such advances have been as follows:—

* The Act of 1875 enabling the Board to borrow, during the current year, certain sums for certain specific purposes, established the principle that the Board must come to Parliament every year with an estimate of its loan requirements. The correspondence between the Treasury and the Metropolitan Board, which preceded the Act, has been published, and it enunciates the future policy of the Government in sanctioning the loans. Parliamentary Returns, 1875, No. 327.

	£
To March 25th, 1870 . . .	303,000
„ 1871 . . .	459,883
To Dec. 31st, 1871 . . .	500,689
„ 1872 . . .	648,206
„ 1873 . . .	907,770
„ 1874 . . .	923,245

All these sums are raised by the creation of the 3½ per cent. Stock, and are lent at a rate of interest slightly above that paid by the Board, but infinitely better than the particular bodies could borrow it at themselves.* The money is lent for purposes of permanent improvement, and is repayable at times varying from ten to sixty years.

The estimated interest payable by the Board in loans, in the year 1875, is—

	£
On Loans generally . . .	172,888
On Consolidated Stock . . .	280,385
	£453,273

This sum, therefore, represents the present yearly incidence of the loans of the Board. But under the Act of 1869 it is provided that the Board debt shall be redeemable within sixty years. This appears to be reckoned from the date of the Act, and not from the issue of each particular loan, and so we have one fifty-fifth of the total indebtedness of the Board charged in the estimates for 1875, viz., £181,014. In interest and redemption the Metropolis, therefore, will pay on the loan account in 1875, £634,287. If we take the rateable value of the Metropolis at £20,884,560, a penny rate will produce £87,019, and the incidence of the total loans' account is therefore equivalent

* This observation is, however, subject to the special terms upon which the London School Board have succeeded in borrowing money from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, mentioned hereafter.

to a rate of 7¼*d.*, and of the interest account alone to something over 5*d.*

The Thames Embankment Loans were contracted on the security of the Coal and Wine Duties, as set out in the chapter on City Expenditure, and the guarantee of the Treasury was added to the security of the Board. Before 1869, the whole produce of this fund was applied by the Lords of the Treasury in paying the interest and in redemption of debt, but in that year the new Loans Act came into force, and the Board transferred the whole debt so secured into Consolidated Stock, with the exception of £928,100. The produce of the Coal and Wine Duties is more than is required for the interest and sinking fund of this remnant of debt, and so it has been the custom since 1869 for the Lords of the Treasury to pay the balance to the Board in each year. The total produce of the 9*d.* Coal Duty and the Wine Duty to the Board has been as follows:—

	£
1869	193,855
1870	217,640
1871	219,073
1872	227,193
1873	261,740
1874	255,565

The income of the Board, which has to be raised by rates, represents the difference between the estimated receipts from all sources, and the estimated expenditure. The rateable value of the Metropolis, at the same time, has enormously increased since 1856.

	£
In 1856 it was	11,283,633
„ 1857 „	11,290,869
„ 1858 „	12,031,151

	£
In 1859 it was	12,045,476
„ 1860 „	12,057,455
„ 1861 „	12,450,416
„ 1862 „	12,514,053
„ 1863 „	12,569,969
„ 1864 „	12,588,661
„ 1865 „	14,419,823
„ 1866 „	15,252,767
„ 1867 „	16,196,547
„ 1868 „	16,257,643
„ 1869 „	18,719,237
„ 1870 „	18,683,288
„ 1871 „	20,049,742
„ 1872 „	20,367,298
„ 1873 „	20,644,010
„ 1874 „	20,671,440
„ 1875 „	20,884,550
„ 1876 estimated . . .	24,000,000

It will thus be seen that the value is now, in 1875, nearly double what it was in 1856; and in 1876 it is expected that, under the new rating, it will be considerably more than double. In 1856, a rate of one penny produced £47,015; in 1868, it produced £67,486; in 1875, £87,019; and, with a rateable value of £24,000,000, it would produce exactly £100,000.

The deficiency in the Board's accounts, which has been made up by rates, has been, in the last eight years, as follows:—

	£	Rate in the £. d.
1868 . .	442,292 . .	6·5
1869 . .	427,399 . .	6·3
1870 . .	288,196 . .	3·7
1871 . .	285,431 . .	3·6
1872 . .	298,091 . .	3·5

	£	Rate in the £. d.
1873	290,932	3·4
1874	364,335	4·2
1875	456,851	5·2

The estimates of the Metropolitan Board are sometimes very wide indeed of the result; but the estimates for 1875 may be thus summarized:—

	£
Interest on debt, and redemption of same	634,287
Maintenance of Sewerage and Drainage Works, and of Parks and Open Spaces	78,099
Fire Brigade	74,108
Expenses under various Acts	9,685
Establishment, Law, and Parliamentary	21,450
Minor charges	9,564
	£827,193

The income to meet this is estimated thus:—

	£
Coal and Wine Duties	233,000
Contributions of Government and Insurance Offices to Fire Brigade	28,094
Interest, Rent, Fees, &c., &c.	105,439
Balance due	2,179
	368,712
Leaving a Deficit to be raised by Rate of	458,481
	£827,193

	£	£
Brought forward . .		827,193

The estimated capital expenditure was :—

Fire Brigade Stations and Plant	9,000	
Main Drainage and Main Sewers	16,000	
Thames Embankments . .	20,000	
Street Improvements . .	800,000	
Charing Cross Approach . .	80,000	
Miscellaneous	10,000	
		935,000
Total Capital and Current .		£1,762,193

This is the estimated expenditure as set out in a return made to Parliament.* The terms "capital" and "current" in this account, as well as in the 1874 accounts which follow, are so used by the Board. But it is very doubtful whether the terms "capital" and "current" are correctly applied to the accounts of the Metropolitan Board. Its "capital" expenditure consists in improvements, &c., which, in some instances, bring absolutely no return, and which, in most cases, pass away from the Board as soon as completed. Therefore, so far from the capital of the Board increasing with its vast expenditure on capital account, it is practically stationary, and the liability alone progresses.†

The income and expenditure of the Board during the year 1874 may be summarized as follows :—

* Parliamentary Papers, 1875, No. 301.

† In these various estimates and amounts we are compelled to rely upon the figures given by the Board itself. How unreliable these are may be surmised from an incident which recently occurred at the Board. A member for St. George's, Hanover Square, brought forward a motion impeaching the accuracy of the Board's accounts, when the members rose *en masse* and left, so that no quorum remained.—*Vide Times*, October 23rd, 1875.

Income—	£	£
From Rates	345,817	
Coal and Wine Dues* . .	97,406	
Fire Brigade contributions .	27,124	
Interest on Loans to other Bodies, &c. . . .	71,586	
Rents on Property . . .	33,193	
Fees and Licenses . .	5,561	
Miscellaneous . . .	6,226	
Current Income .		586,913
Metropolitan Consolidated Stock	2,605,000	
Sales of Ground Rents, Property, &c.	208,623	
Repayment of Loans . .	46,676	
Contributions for Improvements	3,557	
Waterloo and Whitehall Railway	3,000	
Miscellaneous . . .	3,414	
Capital Income .		2,870,270
Total Income, Capital and Current .		£3,457,183
Expenditure—		
Interest on Debt . . .	362,714	
Drainage Expenses . .	59,314	
Fire Brigade . . .	75,912	
Establishment† (two-fifths) .	21,001	
Carried forward . .	518,941	

* This is exclusive of the £150,160 devoted by the Treasury to payment of the principal and interest of the Thames Embankment Loan, guaranteed by Government, a payment which the Board erroneously omit from the current expenditure account.

† The other establishment charges are not separated from the capital account.

	£	£
Brought forward .	518,941	
Thames Embankment . .	8,147	
Parks and Open Spaces . .	6,502	
Minor Expenses under various Acts	9,647	
Current Expenditure . .		543,237

The "capital" expenditure of 1874, was as follows:—

Main Drainage and Main Sewers	148,459	
Thames Embankments & Queen Victoria Street . . .	61,180	
Expenses on completed Street Improvements . . .	9,565	
Wapping, Shoreditch, Old Street, Newington Butts, and Harrow Road Improvements . .	534,589	
Charing Cross Approach . .	530,780	
Contributions to Vestry and District Board Improvements, &c.	73,654	
Fire Brigade Stations, &c. .	13,902	
Expenses on 1874 Loan . .	10,851	
Firemen's Savings' Fund . .	601	
Loans repaid	516,533	
Loans advanced to Vestries, &c.	93,491	
Miscellaneous	1,420	
Capital Expenditure . .		1,995,025
Total Expenditure, Capital and Current		£2,538,262

This is a large sum to entrust yearly to the control of a body of men so practically irresponsible as is the Metropolitan Board of Works.

The establishment, law, and Parliamentary expenses, are estimated for 1875 at £21,450; but these figures are perfectly illusory as tending to show the true cost. In 1874, this item was £52,629, but as £31,628 of the sum was charged to capital account, it was reduced nominally to £21,001, which is the sum analogous to the £21,450 estimated for this year. No details of this item are given, but we may take it that the cost of the office in Spring Gardens is some £50,000 a year.

The accounts of the Metropolitan Board do not compare in clearness with those of the City, but the yearly Reports supplied to the Vestries never excite any public interest, and except in so far as the auditors are reliable men, the Board has practically no external control exercised over its expenditure, or over the method in which it may choose to set it out in its Reports.

As in the case of the Common Council of the City, so also in the Metropolitan Board of Works, a great deal of the detail of the work is done by Committees. But whilst there are 232 members of the Common Council, the Metropolitan Board of Works consists (excepting the Chairman) of 45, a number which is only about one-half of that of the largest City Committees. There can be no doubt that the number is totally inadequate for the amount of the work now devolving on the Board. It is true that the number of Committees is not so large as in the City, and that most of such Committees include something like one-third of the whole number of the Board; but the frequency of their absolutely necessary meetings, and the enormous importance of the work which they undertake, far outweigh the advantages derivable from these facts.

During the year 1874, there were 44 meetings of the whole Board, with an average attendance of 37 members,

being a per-centage of about 82, or an actual attendance of 1,628, out of a possible attendance of 1,980.

The General Committees of the Board are nine in number. "The Works and General Purposes Committee" is a Committee of the whole Board, and to its care are entrusted the Street Improvements, and other great undertakings of the Board. This Committee, in the year 1874, met 59 times.

The "Appeal Committee" is concerned with appeals to the Board from subordinate bodies. It is a Committee of the whole Board, and met four times during the year 1874.

As the "Works and General Purposes' Committee" and the Appeal Committee are both Committees of the whole Board, it will be seen that the Board itself met during the year 1874, 107 times, being an average of more than twice a week, or more than four times as often as the Common Council of the City.

The "Finance Committee," dealing with the receipts and expenditure of the Board, met 23 times. The "Fire Brigade Committee," 24 times; the "Building Act Committee," 23 times; the "Parks, Commons, and Open Spaces' Committee," 26 times; the "Parliamentary Committee," 23 times; the "Cattle Diseases' Act Committee," 18 times; the "Ventilation of Sewers' Committee," twice; and various Special and Sub-Committees, 85 times. The number of Committee meetings, besides those of Committees of the whole Board, was therefore 224.

If each of the smaller Committees average 15 members, and the average attendance of each member be the same as his attendance at the General Meetings of the Board, he must have been at Spring Gardens something like 60 times in attendance on the smaller Committees; or a total average yearly attendance of each member of about 150, or nearly three times a week.

When we remember that the various representatives at the Metropolitan Board have to travel from forty different and widely separated points in the Metropolis, and that the object for which they come together is simply the performance of public duty, this result is indeed most remarkable. Many of the members of the Board are engaged in businesses with which frequent attendance at Spring Gardens must, most materially, interfere, and yet the flame of Municipal patriotism burns so brightly within them that they are content to bestow something like one-half of their time in performing duties which receive but little public recognition. And not merely are they content to do this for a single term of three years in the discharge of one of the duties of citizenship, but they constantly seek and obtain re-election when their term of office has expired, so that the continuance of their public service may receive no interruption.

These facts are in themselves sufficiently marvellous, but when in addition we come to consider the peculiar circumstances under which this public work is performed, our amazement at the result is increased. So far, at any rate, as is within public knowledge, the work performed by the Board is entirely unremunerated. It receives small recognition in the form of testimonials or addresses, or votes of thanks to the people who discharge it; and even the serious loss which must ensue to individual members, through their neglect of their own businesses, is not recouped to them. Fame, that idol before whom, as says a great writer, "more men have bowed than before Baal or Jupiter, Brahmah or Buddha, or the most extensively worshipped of the gods of heathenism," has no attractions for them. Their debates are scarcely reported at all; their constituencies never bring them to account; their very names are unknown to those amongst whom and for whom they work. The proceedings in Spring Gardens are shaded by their very obscurity from the broad

glare of public opinion. Public criticism seldom lights upon them, and still more seldom in any effective form. It is true that their debates are open to the public, but they are rarely favoured with many auditors besides the local reporters and occasional Vestry deputations.* The action of most public bodies exercising Municipal functions is subjected to vigilant censorship and criticism. The close Corporation of the City of London possesses a considerable equivalent safeguard in its extraordinary number of members, but the Metropolitan Board of Works, exercising the widest Municipal functions in the British Empire, receives no effective criticism at all. The conduct of some of the members and officers of the Board has been impeached in the very gravest manner, when at rare intervals light has been thrown upon its actions; but the Vestries are not apt to dispossess a member once elected, or prone to believe in the possibility of any error being committed by a body that may be regarded as the very apotheosis of Vestrydom.†

In a former part of this chapter we have illustrated the extraordinary method in which the election of members of the Board is conducted.‡ There is no instance on record in which ratepayers objecting to the action of a member of the Board have succeeded in displacing him. Even if the

* It is true that the Spring Gardens debates are not of a character to attract ordinary mortals. When the constitution of the Board was under discussion in the House of Commons, considerable objection was raised on the ground that the members of the Board were likely to discuss politics instead of sewerage, and perhaps to overshadow the authority of the Speaker, and that of the Imperial Parliament! If Earl Fortescue ever attended a debate of the Board of Works, he would not be likely to receive much encouragement towards the fulfilment of his prophecy.—*Vide* Speech of Viscount Ebrington (now Earl Fortescue) reported Hansard, vol. 137, p. 726.

† The Board of Works is merely a Vestry, vestrified to the n^{th} power. —*The Examiner*, June 17th, 1875.

‡ See a return of Vestrymen voting at election of representatives at the Board of Works, method of election, &c., moved for by Mr. Locke. Ordered to be printed, May 14th, 1862.

ratepayers knew what was the method of procedure adopted by their so-called representative at the Board, they would find it practically impossible to dislodge him within any reasonable time; but, as we have seen, London ratepayers as a body know nothing whatever of the proceedings at Spring Gardens. The average Londoner is no more represented in the Board of Works than he is in the Spanish Cortes, and the chances are that he knows more of what passes in the latter than in the former. And yet each Metropolitan Board member represented in 1874 no less than 84,000 people, with a ratal of £460,000, and expended £50,000 of public money. It would be incredible, if it were not a matter of common knowledge, that the largest City in the British Empire would suffer itself to be thus ruled and taxed by a body of men, the very names of whom are unknown, and who are elected upon a system that renders them practically irresponsible to public opinion.

In our chapter on the Common Council, we set out the various occupations of the members of that body for the purpose of enforcing our argument, that it could not be regarded as representative of the citizens.

It may be urged, with respect to the Metropolitan Board, that no such argument can have any application to it, inasmuch as the very form of its election precludes its being considered, at any rate, so far as London ratepayers are concerned, as in any sense a representative institution. But as the idea of the sponsors of the Metropolitan Board was that this system of election would result in the bringing together of the very salt of the public men of London, we will apply to them the same useful, if somewhat delusive, test.

Stuart Mill, in his work on "Representative Government," says, "A mere Board of Works, though it compre-

hend the entire Metropolis, is sure to be composed of the same class of persons as the Vestries of the London parishes; nor is it practicable, nor even desirable, that such should not form the majority; but it is important for every purpose which local bodies are designed to serve, whether it be the enlightened and honest performance of their special duties, or the cultivation of the political intelligence of the nation, that every such body should contain a portion of the very best minds of the locality, who are thus brought into perpetual contact of the most useful kind with minds of a lower grade, receiving from them what local or professional knowledge they have to give, and in return inspiring them with a portion of their own more enlarged ideas, and higher and more enlightened purposes."

The composition of the Metropolitan Board of Works, so far as regards the occupation of its members, stood respectively in 1861 and 1875, as follows, viz.—In 1861, Tradesmen, 14; Retired Tradesmen, 8; Solicitors, 5; Barristers, Engineers, Booksellers and Stationers, each 3; Builders and Retired Civil Servants, each 2; and of the following occupations, each 1, viz., Architect, Stockbroker, Manufacturer, Wharfinger, Surgeon.*

In 1875, the occupations followed, or which had been followed, by the members were,† Builders Architects and Surveyors, 7; Booksellers Publishers and Stationers, 5; Tea Dealers and Solicitors, each 3; Retail Tradesmen, 2; and of the following occupations, each 1, viz.:—Stove Manufacturer, Coach Builder, Tailor, Upholsterer, General in the Army, Gas Engineer, Dealer in Berlin Wool, Architect's Clerk, Auctioneer, Trimming Seller, Watchmaker,

* This list is taken from the Appendix to the "Second Report of Select Committee on Metropolis Local Taxation, 1861," p. 227.

† In this list we have quoted about one-sixth of the Board, as of the occupations from which they have now retired. This seemed useful, as enabling an opinion to be formed of their previous training for the work.

Chemist, Butcher, Brewer, Publican, Surgeon, Barrister, Owner of House Property, Bootmaker, Schoolmaster, Hospital Treasurer, Conveyancer, Soap Dealer, and Pawnbroker.

How far this list fulfils the requirements of such a body, as laid down by Mr. Mill, we leave our readers to judge.

No long time had elapsed, after the Board of Works had taken in hand the carrying out of its various contracts, before public allegations were made seriously affecting the honour of the Board. It was charged that, in the letting of the various contracts, members of the Board themselves were interested, and that those members took care that certain contracts should be given to certain persons. It was further alleged that those contracts, when so given, were not performed according to their specifications; that penalties were not enforced; and that the engineer and members of the Board had relations with one of the contractors of a character quite incompatible with their efficient discharge of a public duty. Eventually the public dissatisfaction took the form of a petition to Parliament, presented by Mr. James Beal, then a vestryman of St. James, Westminster. The petition was presented in June 1865; and it alleged, with respect to the contract of £625,000 for the construction of the Northern Outfall sewer, that it was not completed until three years from the date when it ought to have been finished; that certain embankments, required by the specifications to be made of brick, were only made of earth; that the construction was not of the solidity set out in the specifications; and that large sums beyond the amount of the contract had been paid to the contractor. It was further alleged that two of the tenders for this contract for a much less amount had been passed over, in order to give it to the favoured contractor of the Board, and that, in the carrying out of that contract, the foundations of the sewer had not been carried down to the depth set out in the specifications.

These were the charges contained in the petition, so far as it affected the Main Drainage Works; and more serious charges could not readily be made against any public body. If they had been made against a body of men acting in the public interest alone, and jealous of their own honour, they would at once have insisted upon having a public inquiry, conducted under circumstances that could leave the question in no doubt. But the Board of Works adopted a very different course. They referred the matter to their Main Drainage Committee, who prepared an answer to the allegations of the petition. Before that answer, however, was published, the Board of Works received certain information as to the evidence which could be adduced in favour of the allegations in the petitions.* Upon receiving this information, the answer already prepared was suppressed, and a new answer written and published. This second reply took the form of a report by the Main Drainage Committee to the Board. This report is a somewhat remarkable document. With respect to the allegation as to depths of foundations, they simply deny it, stating that it is clearly disproved by the certificate of their own resident engineer, and that the depth of the foundations could always be ascertained by digging down to them. It is quite clear that no report of the Board's resident engineer could be satisfactory, as he was alleged to be implicated in the fraud. Nor could it be expected that the public would personally investigate the depths of the foundations, especially considering the improbability of their being admitted to the works.

* This statement as well as most of those affecting the misconduct of the Board, is given on the authority of Mr. Beal, who has published various documents with respect to them. There are, however, certain of the documents which speak for themselves. The petition to Parliament; the suppressed Board of Works report; the published report; the debates at the Board; the minutes of the Board; the cross-examination of the contractor on his bankruptcy; prospectuses of which Board members were directors, &c., are of this class, and have all been referred to.

If the allegations in the petition were true, they pointed to a malversation in respect to this particular contract of something like £100,000. They, moreover, implicated certain members of the Board as well as its engineers. The only way in which, if untrue, these allegations could have been met would have been by a full examination and report by competent and independent engineers. The fact that the Board made no effort to exculpate themselves by unimpeachable evidence and examination, constitutes of itself the very gravest possible presumption of the truth of the charges. Nor is it easy to understand how those members of the Board who were disconnected with the whole transaction, could continue to hold their seats at the Board, without demanding an official examination.*

* The members of the Board had not all approved its conduct. In a letter to the *Clerkenwell News*, under date November 17th, 1863, Mr. Nicholay, one of the most honoured members of the Board, and sitting for Marylebone, had written in answer to a letter inquiring if the extraordinary allegations against the Board could be true,—"With feelings of pain, regret, and sorrow, coupled with deep humiliation, I inform you that the statement made therein is unfortunately too true, and I fully endorse the remarks therein made, that it is a farce, nay more, an imposition, to advertise and solicit tenders, when those who are the lowest, whose capabilities and securities are undoubted, are so treated. I voted for Mr. Ridley (the lowest tenderer) from first to last, and I have every reason to suppose after he was accepted, his security being satisfactory, he having offered to place down £20,000 additional, that he would not have been refused, but from the circumstance of our engineer emphatically stating he should place more reliance on Mr. Furness (the accepted tenderer), whose knowledge, experience, and capabilities were far superior. I have every reason to believe that such result would not have been obtained had the members known at the time that our engineer was about to receive from £12,000 and upwards, as commission, from Mr. Furness, for works to be carried out by him at Odessa. In my ignorance I fancied that our engineer's time, talents, and services were exclusively at the disposal of the Board. This awkward and untoward affair has been referred to a Committee, to avoid too much publicity, but the inquiries of a 'Ratepayer' have removed the veil. * * * * Enough has been shown by your intelligent correspondent to cause inquiries to be made by every Metropolitan Vestry and District Board,

A visit was subsequently paid by some of the London Vestrymen to the Northern Outfall sewer, for the purpose of investigating the truth of these charges. They were accompanied by the resident engineer of the Board, without whose cognizance the grave departure from the terms of the specifications could not have been made. The report of this visit was subsequently made public, and from this it would appear that the charges were substantiated in several important particulars.

The specifications had been departed from in the construction of four important roads, in a manner greatly to the advantage of the contractor; only about one-half of the accommodation roads set out in the specifications were actually constructed, and the requisite puddling on the crown of the sewer had not been executed. All these important departures appear to have been admitted by the resident engineer, and the only defence offered was that the contractor would be debited with the difference in cost, and that "more roads could be made if required."

The period of this visit was some years after the date upon which the contract was to be completed, but it does not appear that the Board of Works enforced any penalties, neither does it appear that they debited the contractor in the manner promised by the resident engineer, or that any other occupation roads had been made. On the contrary an enormous sum was paid in addition to the contract price on account of extras, and the decision as to the acceptance or rejection of large items on this account seems to have rested with the engineer of the Board alone. This in itself was a

that the matter may be thoroughly investigated, or else the so-called independent Metropolitan Board will be under a cloud and stigma, and the odium of Government jobs will most assuredly attach to them." This letter was written, be it remembered, by the representative of the most important London Vestry.

most unjustifiable discretion to confide to one single individual, and still more unjustifiable when there were other pecuniary relations existing between the parties.*

The gravity of the position will be understood when it is remembered that the carrying out of these enormous works, involving the expenditure of millions of public money, was entrusted to a body of men who had no practical knowledge whatever, except in two or three instances, of that class of work, and who, although possibly excellent men in their own way as ordinary tradesmen, were entirely unfitted to undertake such responsibility or direction, and who therefore, must delegate it to their officials. It could not be expected that within the details of work of which they had no practical knowledge, the Board of Works—even if they were willing—could have exercised any efficient control over their subordinates. Such subordinates were, therefore, practically irresponsible.

The second series of charges brought against the Board were made with respect to the Thames Embankment. It was alleged that one member of the Board, who was also a member of the House of Commons, acted as the agent of the contractor, whose contract was afterwards accepted, for the purpose of ascertaining the price of granite, and that when such tender was subsequently accepted he had a large personal interest in it; that the lowest contract was not accepted; that one member of the Board, nevertheless, whilst the contracts were under consideration, requested to know from the lowest tenderer what sum would be paid in case he obtained it; that a prominent officer of the Board was interested with the contractor in a certain contract abroad; that the filling in of the embankment was done

* See another allegation of culpable misappropriation of funds in connection with the Thames Embankment contracts, fully set out in *Standard* January 26th, 1865.

with different material, causing a loss of several thousand pounds; that the contractor was paid ninety per cent. in cash on the work done and the materials in hand, and seventy-five per cent. on the value of his plant; and that contracts to the amount of £2,372,000 had been given to two contractors alone, although in several instances they were not the lowest tenderers.

We have said that the whole of these charges, both with respect to the Main Drainage and to the Thames Embankment, ultimately took the form of a petition to Parliament. As, however, the petition contained charges against a member of the House (who was also an influential member of the Board of Works), it was required by the forms of the House to be presented in his presence. Notice was given him to appear in order that this might be done, but he carefully absented himself from all future sittings of the House during that session, and as a dissolution followed, and he was not again returned, he thus escaped being called upon to give a public answer to the charge.

It might have been thought that this strangely culpable conduct of one of their members would have induced every member of the Board, with any regard for its honour, to insist upon a searching investigation; but they contented themselves with a discussion at the Board in which the implicated member took part, and with replying as before through the medium of a report of the Main Drainage Committee. This report altogether omits any allusion to the charges made against that member of the Board who was also a Member of Parliament, and therefore the grave charge of endeavouring to obtain money from a person making the lowest tender in consideration of his receiving the contract, and when such money was refused of inventing excuse for superseding him and giving the contract to another individual, whose tender was £25,000 more, but with whom he had certain pecuniary

relations, *remains to this moment totally unanswered.* As to the allegation that the officer of the Board, under whose superintendence the work would necessarily be done, was concerned with the contractor, whose contract had been thus accepted, in certain contracts abroad; the defence set up by the Board is not that such contract is not existent, but that the engineer did not use his influence to have the contractor's contract accepted, a matter of no importance and as to which the assertion of the Committee of the Board is not evidence of a satisfactory kind.* It may therefore be taken to be true that the interests of the contractor and of the officer were the same. It is only necessary to add that the Board made no change in consequence of this, and that he still held his position under the Board. The charge with respect to the employment of different material for filling in the Thames Embankment—a matter of some £80,000—is met by the assertion that the nature of the contract has been misunderstood. If this were so, it appears to have been also misunderstood by the other parties who tendered, and certainly its terms can only bear one fair construction.

With respect to several of the other charges, they are simply ignored by the Committee; and in order to prevent, if possible, any further disturbance of the mud, the Committee, in conclusion, "strongly urge upon the Board the propriety of closing the controversy." They say that they have felt the importance of replying to all the allegations made, but do not consider any further reply "would conduce to the public service."† The report contains an appendix,

* This, however, was distinctly denied by several members of the Board, who alleged that it was obtained by such influence alone. *Vide* statement of Mr. Nicholay, quoted *ante*.

† It will be noted that Mr. Nicholay says it was referred to this Committee "to avoid too much publicity," *vide supra*, p. 286. It will thus be seen that the Committee endeavoured to fulfil the objects of their appointment.

intended to support its terms, and containing a testimonial, signed by about half the members of the Board, as to the excellence of their impeached officer.

When it is remembered that the petition presented to the House of Commons pointed to a possible malversation of something like a quarter of a million of public money, in which both the Board, its contractors, and its officers were implicated, the miserable inadequacy of the defence set up by the Board of Works is manifest.

At first sight it may seem a somewhat invidious matter when, discussing the competence of the Board of Works in 1875, to introduce matters affecting their conduct ten years previously. It may be objected on the one hand that there ought to be a *locus penitentiæ* even for the most hardened criminals, and on the other that probably the men who disgraced the Board in 1864, have ceased to be members in 1875. It is, no doubt, a prerogative of mercy to allow a place of repentance for the penitent offender; but if that offender deny his guilt, and succeed through the apathy of those against whom he has sinned in escaping, the doctrine can no longer apply. Still less can it ever apply to the conduct of a representative body, acting as trustees of public money, proving themselves unworthy of that trust, and yet succeeding in retaining their seats. There is no evidence whatever of any greater sense of regret than that which always attends the detection of misconduct, and unless the Board of Works are monstrously maligned, their repentance has consisted, not in an honester fulfilment of their public trust, but in the care exercised that multiplied breaches of that trust shall be difficult and well nigh impossible to detect. If the second objection were true, there is no doubt but that it would be harsh to visit on the shoulders of the present members the faults of their predecessors in office. But as a matter of fact, in pursuance of

the extraordinary policy previously mentioned, members constantly seek re-election, and a large number of those who were responsible in 1864 sit and thrive at the Board in 1875. Those members cannot shirk the responsibility of their conduct by fixing it upon particular scapegoats, and sending them forth into the wilderness of public opprobrium, because apart from individual responsibilities, the Board itself, as a constituent whole, made no fair endeavour to free itself from suspicion.

Indeed, it advanced in the opposite direction. When giving evidence before Lord Montagu's Committee, the member for the leading London Vestry was asked this question:* "If I understand you rightly, you mean that the Board in reporting that they did not give the contract to Mr. Ridley because he had not conducted operations of sufficient magnitude; and that they did give it to Mr. Furness because he had conducted such operations, were putting it upon false grounds?" To this question Mr. Nicholay gave an answer which ought to have disentitled the Board to any sort of public confidence. "*It was an afterthought.* I consider, as your lordship states in very forcible language, that *it was on false grounds.*" Thus showing that the public statement of the Board, as to the reason for not accepting a contract lower than the one accepted by £25,000, was distinctly and knowingly false. Even the Chairman of the Board admitted that there were *other reasons* besides want of experience and want of proper securities, which caused the Board to refuse the lowest tender.†

There were members of the Board at the time who sided with Mr. Nicholay, and strongly deprecated the proceedings of their fellow members. They did not, however, as it seems to us, take the best method of vindicating their

* "Evidence of Mr. Nicholay," q. 5757. † See q. 5929.

own honour. On the 7th of February, 1868, a motion was submitted to the Board to the effect that the connection of a member with the contractor was improper, and that "it is highly blameable for any member of this Board to interfere in his private capacity in the management of the affairs of this Board; and that such interference is calculated injuriously to affect the Board in the estimation of the public." *This resolution was lost,* but their membership continued.

Such was the type of the Board then, and there is only too much ground for the opinion that as respects some of its members, such is its type now. It is not needful that we should, at present, set out the facts upon which this opinion is based. They are quite as unpleasant as those already considered, although their authentication has not been so public.

The system under which men can be placed in such a focus of temptation, and with so little outward responsibility to keep them straight, is a most vicious one. It is, we believe, true that there are, and always have been, some—perhaps we might say many—members of the Board, who have done their duty according to their ability, and kept their hands clean. To such men, all honour is due, and although they have not always been the most influential at the Board, they have done much to earn for it the credit which it undoubtedly deserves for some of its work.

As an institution, however, the days of the Board are numbered. No body of public men can long survive the esteem and regard of those amongst whom they work. It is well known that the Board of Works have long since done this, and even those citizens of London, who have been led to believe that they have repented of the error of their former ways and made vows as to future good conduct, also believe that it is scarcely wise to tempt them whilst such resolutions are still weak, by giving them the irresponsible dispensation of more than a million a year.

Chapter VII.

THE LONDON VESTRIES.

London Local Government before 1856.—*Establishment of Vestries.—Inequality of Division.—Functions of Vestries under Metropolis Management Act, Nuisances Removal Acts, Free Libraries, Baths and Wash Houses, Workshops, Artizans' Dwellings, and other Acts.—Method in which Vestries perform their work.—Income and Expenditure.—Loans, &c., &c.*

Prior to the passing of "The Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855," whereby the Metropolitan Board of Works and the Vestries were constituted, there was but little methodical government in the metropolitan area outside the City of London.

Down to the reign of James the First, the most stringent legislative efforts were made to confine the capital within the walls. When this was found to be no longer possible, the City authorities endeavoured to meet the requirements of the increasing population by the creation of "Wards without," and by the exercise of certain governing powers over the aggregation of houses which had sprung up at the other end of London Bridge in Southwark.

But the City of London soon withdrew from any serious attempt to govern the fast spreading suburbs, and, retiring within its own area, contented itself with the enforcement of its franchises as to Markets and City Tolls, and the collection of the Coal and other dues; all of which amounted to a taxation of the suburban Londoner by a wealthy body in which he was entirely unrepresented.

The effect of the action of the City in retiring from any attempt to supply Municipal institutions to the inhabited areas around it, was practically to deliver over these districts to such government and care as the parochial organizations could supply. Between the various districts of suburban London there was at that time no sort of agreement, and the only question with respect to which they seem to have been brought into intercommunication was in the account annually rendered of the returns of births and burials within the particular parishes. This united return was first made in the year 1562; and in succeeding years, as the City increased in population and in area, one parish after another was added, until there were ultimately found within the range of the "Bills of Mortality" no less than 148 parishes.

An Act passed in 14 Car. II. appears to have recognized this area, but for a purpose which had no practical effect upon the Metropolis. The only other conjoint action of the outlying districts of London prior to 1856 was with respect to the sewerage, a subject we have already considered.

The Company of Parish Clerks do not appear to have had any authority by means of which they could compel parishes furnishing returns to continue to do so. Thus, in 1823, the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, ceased to make returns; in 1832, the parishes of All Saints', Poplar, and St. John's, Wapping, did likewise; and they were followed, in 1834, by St. Bartholomew the Less, and St. George Queen's Square.* Weekly tables of mortality are now compiled from returns of the Registrars; the area with respect to which such returns are made being slightly less than that under the direction of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Vide "Insurance Cyclopædia," by Cornelius Walford, quoted, "Census Table," 1871. Vol. 2.

The result of the separate action of parochial districts, prior to 1856, was to produce a state of chaos which we cannot now readily imagine. Some of the districts obtained local Acts, and governed themselves without any regard to the interests of their neighbours, and quite independently of any metropolitan considerations; whilst thirty parishes, comprising nearly one-half of the outlying area, were governed by Commissioners or Trustees, who were irresponsible to the ratepayers. In addition to the general public statutes affecting the Metropolis, there were something like 250 local Acts in force. These were carried out by 300 different bodies, composed, in the aggregate, of more than 10,000 persons. Some of the parishes were well managed by elected representatives, but most of the governing bodies were self-elected and irresponsible. In some districts, considerable debts had been incurred, and in very few was there any efficient discharge of ordinary Municipal functions. The greatest possible diversities were found to exist. The Vestry of the Liberty of the Rolls, was composed of those who had served in the office of Overseer, technically known as the "Ancient Inhabitants." The title of the governing bodies of Norton Folgate, Spitalfields, St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, and other places rested on immemorial custom. In some districts the governing Vestries were elected, the qualification of voters varying from a rateable value of £40 in St. John's Hackney, to £10 a year in St. Paul's Shadwell. The paving of the Strand was controlled by no less than seven Paving Boards; and the boundaries of many districts were most inconvenient, running as they did down the middle of the street. The actual condition of some of the districts was most deplorable. The Vestry of St. Pancras has not been without a certain distinguishing fame of its own in late years; but, in 1855, a large portion of the parish was without any sort of government whatever, and

that which did exist in the rest of the parish was characterized by Sir Benjamin Hall as "the most extraordinary state of local management that ever existed in any country."*

There were no less than eighteen distinct Boards of Commissioners exercising jurisdiction over the streets and houses. Each of these Boards had an Act of Parliament of its own, and the provisions of these Acts were by no means similar. There were two large districts within the parish, over which no public body exercised any control. These districts were without lamps, or proper household conveniences, and the roads were in a wretched condition. In another district of the parish, the powers given under an Act of Parliament were not exercised, and its condition was no better, and a still larger district was being fast built up on the outskirts of the parish, entirely devoid of all street and house accommodation.

Under the Metropolitan Buildings Act of 1844, officers were appointed in the Metropolis, over whom the ratepayers had no possible control. They were paid salaries partly out of the County Rate and partly out of the Consolidated Fund.

The Magistrates in Quarter Sessions also had the appointment of fifty-two Surveyors, with salaries amounting to some £25,000 a year. The organization, however, was very ineffective, and the officers neglectful of their duty.†

The Metropolitan Local Management Act was therefore the first measure by which any serious attempt had been made to rescue Metropolitan London from chaos, and to confer upon it anything approaching to those Municipal institutions which the selfishness of the City had withheld during the early growth of the suburbs, and had succeeded

* *Vide* "Hansard's Debates." Vol. 137, p. 709.

† *Vide* "Speech of Sir Benjamin Hall," Hansard. Vol. 137, p. 713.

in defeating at the time of the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act. The Act is essentially a parochial measure. It is based upon parochial organization, and was an endeavour to reconcile the various metropolitan governments existing at the time with as little change as might be.

The Act therefore provides that each of the twenty-three larger parishes shall constitute an unit in the new system of government, under the name of a "Vestry." It also provides that the smaller parishes shall be grouped together into separate districts, such districts being managed by District Boards, chosen from each parish. Of these bodies there are fourteen, each of which returns a member to the Metropolitan Board of Works. They contain amongst them fifty-five different parishes. Of these—

Whitechapel	contains	8
Westminster	„	2
Greenwich	„	3
Wandsworth	„	6
Hackney	„	2
St. Giles	„	2
Holborn	„	5
Strand	„	6
Fulham	„	2
Limehouse	„	4
Poplar	„	3
St. Saviour's	„	2
Plumstead and Lewisham .	„	7
Rotherhithe and St. Olave .	„	3

For the purposes of electing such member, the two District Boards of Plumstead and Lewisham respectively are united. The parish of Rotherhithe and the district of St. Olave are also united for the same purpose. The total

number of Vestries and District Boards, independently of the City, is thirty-eight.

The want of all uniformity either in principle or effect, in the divisions which were made of the several parishes and District Boards, is well illustrated by the map of the divisions as they now exist. A recent writer who has devoted much attention, and brought much special knowledge to bear upon this question, shows the anomaly of the existing divisions by many examples.* We quote one or two. "Plumstead is partly in the borough of Greenwich, partly in the county of Kent. The village of Charlton lies between the towns of Greenwich and Woolwich, as a sort of suburb to both. But instead of being affiliated to either, it is grouped with the villages of Eltham, Kidbrooke, Lee, and Plumstead, in what is termed the Plumstead District, which thus as a horse-shoe belt completely environs Woolwich, except on Thames-side. The Greenwich District is in two counties; Hatcham being in Surrey, Deptford and Greenwich in Kent. Lewisham (Kent) and Wandsworth (Surrey) Districts, and Hampstead (Middlesex) Parish are wholly outside borough boundaries. The Lewisham District falls under separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the hamlet of Penge being a chapelry of Battersea (one of six constituent parishes of the Wandsworth District), although it is divorced from Battersea by an intervening space of some miles, with not so much as a hair-line to connect them, while notwithstanding its inclusion in the Lewisham District, Penge is geographically separated from Lewisham by an intervening tongue of land (now filling with houses) belonging to the rural parish of Beckenham, which in its turn is under the far-away jurisdiction of the Bromley Guardians. A part of Chelsea Parish lies two miles away

* "The Government of London," by J. T. Dexter, p. 13, Stanford, 1875.

from all the rest, with Hyde Park and the parishes of Kensington and of Paddington between. Kensal, moreover, is most charmingly included in the Hans Town Ward of Chelsea, where the place of election for Vestrymen is three miles distant. The Westminster District is interlaced most skilfully with Kensington Parish in the High Street of the latter, and takes in one side (except one mansion) of Palace Gardens by a tongue jutting up between Kensington and St. George's, Hanover Square. Kensington owns houses and part of the sidewalk at Kensington Gore, where the roadway belongs to Westminster, and the greater portion of the Crown park which it bounds is in St. George's Hanover Square."

From these illustrations which might be multiplied, and even from the very contour of the districts themselves, it is abundantly clear that Sir Benjamin Hall's Act did not effect a division of the Metropolis which can prefer any claim to permanence on the ground either of uniformity or of convenience.

The Metropolis Management Act schedules the following places within the Metropolis as extra-parochial, viz. :—

*The Close of the Church of St. Peter	Lincoln's Inn.
The Charter House . .	Gray's Inn.
The Inner Temple . .	Staple Inn.
The Middle Temple . .	Furnival's Inn.

At the time of the passing of the Act these places were not rateable to the poor, and the only rates which could be levied upon them under the Act are those for Main Drainage purposes; but by the Act 25 & 26 Vict., c. 102, this provision is practically repealed, and they are now assessed to the poor, and precepts are issued to the bodies having authority in them.

* This appears to be now included in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

In the various estimates given where these extra-parochial districts are not alluded to, the Charter House, Gray's Inn, Staple Inn, and Lincoln's Inn are included in the Holborn District, and the Middle Temple in the Strand District, whilst the Inner Temple is regarded as belonging to the City of London.

Each of the districts is governed by a Vestry elected by the ratepayers. The provisions of the Act with respect to the constitution and management of these bodies still remain in force. The governing body consists of 18 elected members, where the number of rated householders does not exceed 1,000,

24	where over	1,000,	but not over	2,000,
36	,,	2,000	,,	3,000,
48	,,	3,000	,,	4,000,

and so on in the proportion of twelve additional members for every 1,000 rated householders, with the limitation that in no case is the number to exceed 120. The Incumbent and Churchwardens of the parish are *ex-officio* members of the Vestry. Parishes with more than 2,000 rated householders are to be divided into wards. The qualification of Vestrymen is fixed by the proportion of assessments in the given parish of £40 a year and upwards. If one-sixth of the total number of assessments within the parish exceed £40 a year, the qualification of a Vestryman consists in the occupation of a house within the parish rated to the poor at not less than £40 a year. If there is not one-sixth, then £25 a year.

The members of the Vestry are under the Act elected for three years, one-third going out every year. A ludicrously complete set of arrangements exist in the Act for the control and regulation of proceedings at elections (secs. 13-27). If the promoters of the measure ever anticipated a

series of exciting election contests similar to those which animate the English Municipal world once a year, they very soon found out their error. If there is a quiet unobtrusive election on the face of the earth, it is that for a Metropolitan Vestry. Every district in London could furnish examples of this. It is not long ago since a populous Metropolitan Vestry issued 3,000 notices to as many ratepayers, convening them to the election of the Vestry. When the election day came round, there were present one Vestry Clerk, one Churchwarden, one Rate Collector, and three Vestrymen. They duly elected the Vestry.

Members of District Boards are elected from the members of each Parish Vestry composing the district, in numbers varying according to the population and as specified in the Act.

Each Vestry and District Board is by the Act constituted a Body Corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal, with power to take and hold land for the purposes of the Act. The quorum is nine.

The seat of a Vestryman is vacated by bankruptcy, liquidation, or composition with creditors, or by being personally interested in any contract with the Vestry otherwise than as a shareholder in any contracting joint-stock company (in which case, however, he is not allowed to vote in the matter of such company's contracts). The penalty for breach of this latter provision is £50, which may be recovered by any one who chooses to sue for the same in any of the superior courts of law (sec. 54). Members are eligible for re-election. Due provision is made for the appointment and control of needful officers.

The powers and jurisdiction of the Vestries are clearly defined in the Constituting Act. All sewers which were at the time of the passing of the Act vested in any Commissions of Sewers (save and except main sewers), are by the Act

forthwith transferred to the Vestry or District Board in whose district they respectively lie, and full powers are given for the repair, construction, or control of all subordinate drains. Adequate powers are also given for investigating and, if needful, rectifying the sanitary condition of houses in the district, and also the power of compelling the owners of houses to construct drains into the common sewer, and builders to provide new buildings with proper drainage. Under the powers conferred by this Act, the Metropolitan Vestries have constructed between the years 1856 and 1874, more than 635 miles of new sewers.* The greatest length of such new sewerage was, as might have been expected, in the district of Wandsworth, viz., 155 miles; whilst St. Martin-in-the-Fields constructed only 1,000 yards. The total cost of the sewers so constructed was £1,731,474. The cost per mile varied enormously, ranging from about £1,300 in Mile End Old Town to more than £11,000 in Limehouse. The average cost was about £2,700 a mile. Wandsworth constructed its 155 miles for £259,383. Camberwell expended on 60 miles £120,000, whilst Lambeth expended on 61 miles £206,000. There probably are considerable differences in the construction in the various Vestries, but the discrepancies are most remarkable. The difference between the mileage is mainly traceable to the different conditions in which the districts were when taken over by the Vestries. Thus, Camberwell and Wandsworth were scarcely drained at all, except into open and offensive sewers, whereas their drainage system is now in excellent order. Lambeth is also now well sewered. The open Effra Sewer, running from Norwood to Vauxhall, has been covered in, and many of the old sewers reconstructed.

* This is exclusive of five Vestries that made no return, and which would probably swell the total to somewhere near 650 miles. The five Vestries made returns, however, as to the cost, and this is included in that total.

The sum of £82,260 was expended in drainage works in the year 1872-3. The large items of expenditure under this head are, as might be anticipated, to be found during the earlier years of Vestry rule, when the system of London drainage was being perfected; and the chief expenditure in future will be in new streets, and in repairs and renewals.

All the duties, powers, and authorities as to paving, watering, cleansing, and lighting, which previously to the passing of the Act were vested in Commissioners or other bodies on behalf of the public (excluding, of course, such as relate to the church or the relief of the poor), are now vested in the Vestries and District Boards respectively. Provision is made to ensure the validity of contracts existing at the time of the Act. Further powers are given as to the paving of streets, the control and surveyorship of highways, and other matters. The Vestry are empowered to compel the owners of courts and passages to pave and drain the same to their satisfaction; they have full control over the construction of vaults, arches, or cellars under the street, which can only be made with their consent.

The fullest provision is made for the regulation of all underground dwellings, which must be of a certain size and possessing certain accommodation. In default of possessing these requisites, the Vestries may impose considerable penalties in case of occupation. For the purpose of due examination powers of entry are given, enforceable, if need be, by an order from a justice of the peace. But no such orders are applied for. Probably, the number of underground dwellings has considerably lessened since the passing of the Act, but they continue to exist. The central misconception of the Act is that it would create Municipal Councils composed of men of good position, who would appreciate their responsibility to the ratepayers and to the Metropolis. This is very far from being the case; and thus,

when the foundation idea is unfulfilled, the inferences and expectations fail also. So that the excellent provisions of this and other Acts are only enforced when and how irresponsible bodies choose. Thus Clerkenwell, which is not as a whole an ill-managed Vestry, ignores this most essential provision as to underground dwellings, on the ground that, if it were carried out, "there would not be really sufficient accommodation for the people!"* St. Martin's-in-the-Fields cleared out twenty-one in the year 1873-4, but the number still remaining in this parish is supposed to be very large.

Provision is made for the paving of new streets, at the request and at the expense of the owners of the property. Where it is necessary for any purpose to break up or open the soil of a street, notice must be given to the Vestries, and it must also be done under their superintendence. Provision is made for the proper execution of such work, and also for notice being given to the various Companies in case of injury to a street from the rupture of the pipes beneath it.

The Vestries and District Boards have full power to water the streets, to sink wells in public places and to fix pumps, drinking fountains, &c. They are also empowered to cleanse footways, and to appoint sweepers for the purpose of keeping the parish crossings clean. They have also power to compel the removal of all projections which are annoying or dangerous to passengers in the street. They may also compel the erection of hoardings and of convenient footpaths, in case of repair to or alteration of houses. The license of the Vestry is requisite to the erection of such hoardings, and, when erected contrary to the satisfaction of the Vestry, they may be removed. The Vestries may also enforce due precautions against accident in any public place where building operations are being carried on.

* Returns of Vestries to M. B. W., 1870, p. 36.

The duties imposed by the Act as to these matters are discharged variously in various parishes. The cost of watering the streets we shall mention hereafter. Rotherhithe draws its water from wells; but we have never heard of the power of sinking new wells being put into force, or any pumps being fixed elsewhere. Several of the Vestries, including Wandsworth, St. George-in-the-East, Clerkenwell, Bermondsey, and St. Pancras, have either put up new fountains or subscribe to the maintenance of those already existing; but these are isolated instances, and in no case has the work been extensively or systematically done. The cleansing of footways is sometimes done by Vestries; but in winter, when the service is most required, the Vestries are in the constant habit of disregarding this duty, and of throwing it on each householder, under an old statute of George the Third. This method of proceeding is productive of great public annoyance, but is supposed to save the rates. So much for permissive legislation, when the permission to adopt it or ignore it rests with the Vestry. As for appointing "sweepers to keep the parish crossings clean," it may be safely referred to the experience of Londoners as to how many they have ever seen.* Sir Benjamin Hall's Act is most extensive and careful as regards the provisions it makes for matters of Municipal control; but London suffers from an absolute apathy which the framers of the measure never adequately realized, and is governed by bodies of men who are often elected, not to carry out either this or any other Act, but for certain personal reasons, and subject to no restriction save one, and that is that they shall undertake to keep down the rates.

The Vestries are required to appoint a sufficient number of persons for the purpose of sweeping and cleansing the

* Westminster District Board appears to have paid £60 in 1873-4 in crossing-sweepers' wages.

streets, and removing ashes, &c. All the materials so collected become the property of the Vestry. In the case of trade refuse, a charge may be made for the removal.

Every Vestry and District Board is required to cause the streets within the parish or district to be sufficiently lighted, and so to continue during such time as they shall think fit. They are empowered for this purpose to erect public lamps.

Every Vestry and District Board is required to appoint one or more legally qualified medical practitioners to inspect and report upon the sanitary condition of the parish or district, and "they shall pay to these Medical Officers of health such salary as they think fit."

Under the provisions of this clause Medical Officers have been appointed for the various Vestries and District Boards, but with very unequal results. In 1857 and 1866 returns of the officers of the various Vestries were made, from which it appeared that whilst some of the larger Vestries had made good appointments and paid their Medical Officers £400 and £350 per annum, there were others that clearly made no fair attempt to carry out the Act; another illustration of the misfortune attendant upon irresponsible and practically self-elective bodies. Thus the whole parish of St. John Hampstead, only provided £50 a year for a Medical Officer.* Wandsworth, with an enormous area,

* The salary of this officer has been since raised to £100 a year. He presents to the Vestry a most amusing report, in which he takes occasion to dilate on the "laws which bear upon health of mind and body;" the "instinct of man;" the "mellowness" of the parishioners when they "passed away;" "ætal dates;" "contagium;" Tallerman's Australian meat; Hampstead topography in 1811; "mortuary returns;" natural selection; bank holidays; early closing; "my partner, Dr. Gwynn;" "Cremation Societies claiming the right of speedy and decorous destruction of corpses by fire, and with limited liability;" "early funerals," illustrated by examples from the East and from France; "gymnasia," providing healthy amusements for "our folk" (as he tenderly terms the ratepayers); Professor Huxley on "healthy play" for women; "the state

provided seven, at salaries varying from £25 to £85, and in the current year this district has six at £50 a year each. It cannot be expected that the work will be properly done, or capable men obtained at such a price. The conduct of a large number of the Vestries indicates a wish to keep within the letter of the Act, but altogether to ignore its spirit. St. Marylebone is a parish that sets an example to the other

of gristle not bone," &c., &c. Besides all the above interesting questions we have the usual reports germane to his duty as Medical Officer, but the dull monotony of statistics is lit up with unwonted fire of comment. Before telling us the proportion of deaths at given ages, he says "Holding the view that if any human being is produced it should be worth while for it to live, mature, and in due course proceed to death, we may be pardoned for pausing to notice the following table." The table of diseases causing death is followed by this observation, "The preceding table headed 'diseases causing death,' furnishes ground for deep thought and earnest endeavour to all who do not adopt the fallacies of 'Kismet' or 'Fatalism.'"

He seems to be anxious to induce the Vestry to commence cremation, "a process harmful to none, rather than allowing it—the late mere shell or tabernacle of the soul and spirit we knew and loved—to meet a slow, sure, putrid, polluting decay in the grave, a process injurious to many among the living." This is followed by a page of disquisition on corpses and their "bones." How elevated, too, is the estimate he forms of his duties! "The duties, the legitimate influence of the Medical Officer of Health, range over all matters which relate to the laws of nature connecting man with the world around him, and with his well-being in it. With this view," he says, "besides the hackneyed talk of house room, pure air, food, and water, baths and wash-houses, I thought it right, as long ago as 1864, to direct your attention to the expediency of providing places for healthy recreation for our people, where the body may be invigorated, and the mind with its moral workings expanded." He tells the Vestry that he will renew his prayer for the baths and wash-houses, gymnasia, &c., "when you shall have built your stately hall for accommodating the increased number of your full-grown Vestry." But even then he seems somewhat to despair of complete "sanitation"—as he calls it—for "when the powers that be shall have done their possible, there will still remain a host of physical evils beyond their control, but not beyond the reach of an enlightened and well-disciplined community. Hereditary diseases, and organizations feeble from birth, are prominent among this lot." This excellent officer seems to find poetry in a cow house, and takes all the noxious odour away from sewer leakage, slaughter houses, and decaying corpses. And it is all done for thirty-eight shillings per week. He would certainly be worth £1,000 a year in the City, if indeed the Common Council did not elect him a Judge.

Vestries in many things, and it pays its Medical Officer £500 a year.

Some of the reports of these officers are exceedingly able and to the point, others are verbose and needlessly technical, whilst a third class are scarcely longer than a prescription. Dr. Conway Evans, the officer appointed for the Strand District, is an excellent illustration of the former, and the difficulty of dealing with the sale of unsound fruit at Covent Garden is very well discussed in his report. The Medical Officer of St. George the Martyr, Southwark, claims in his 1875 report that the district has "been lifted a stage higher in civilization." He launches out into much praise of the body that appoints him, and is somewhat despondent as he regards the "overhanging threat that the Vestries as now established shall be abolished." The work they have done is, however, "too deeply written to be effaced by the ebb and flow of events. The name of Vestries may perish, their work never."* The report of this officer is scarcely less excursive and amusing than the one quoted above. It is full of odd anecdotes, advocates cremation, and occupies more than one-half of the whole report of the district upon every question! The Medical Officer of St. Marylebone is the best paid in the Metropolis, and he presents his report in a most excellent book of some forty pages. The report of the officer of St. Mary, Islington, is nearly sixty pages in length. He sets out for the benefit of his patrons the story of "The Visions of Mirzah," and other interesting matter, the lighter dishes in a really excellent repast. We shall unfortunately, have no more of the excellent reports of Dr. Lankester, models of clearness and thought. They were lost upon the desert air of the St. James's Vestry, who set his sanitary recommendations at nought; and the doctor might turn in his grave if he knew that his successor was

* "Report of the Parish of St. George the Martyr, 1874-5," p. 9.

actually opposed to the Vaccination Acts. To appoint an anti-vaccinator to carry out these Acts is perversity indeed. As a rule, however, the Medical Officers do a very creditable amount of work for a small remuneration. Kensington has a good officer in Dr. Dudfield.

The Management Act provides that the Metropolitan Board of Works, as well as every Vestry and District Board, shall in the month of April in every year prepare a statement of all contracts entered into, moneys received and expended, rates levied, and debts and liabilities then existing, &c. The accounts of the Metropolitan Board are audited by a nominee of the Home Secretary. Those of the Vestries and District Boards by three persons elected by ballot, and not members of such Vestry or District Board. Provision is made for a complete audit and for the preparation of an abstract of the accounts.

It is also provided that every Vestry and District Board shall, in the month of June in every year, issue a printed account of the proceedings of the preceding year, setting forth the work done by the Vestry under each particular head of jurisdiction. This report is also to be delivered, during the month of June, to the Metropolitan Board of Works. The report of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which is to be presented to the Home Secretary and to Parliament, is generally ready about the month of June, but the proportion of the Vestries whose reports are ready at the time specified in the Act, is exceedingly small. In fact, it would be difficult to conceive a greater variety of practice in this matter, than exists in the London Vestries. A very few of the reports are ready within two months of the time specified in the Act: others are not published the same year. Some of the reports, as for example Marylebone, are constructed on an excellent and intelligible principle; others are confused and intricate to the last degree. Some publish

a large volume of their proceedings, as for example St. George's, Hanover Square, which contains 142 pages, but is by no means a business-like production; others are of the meagrest possible character: the report of Fulham for example, is complete in two pages; the report of the Medical Officer occupying five pages more, and a small sheet setting out the accounts. Probably no public body in existence, responsible to its constituents for the right expenditure of more than £60,000, renders an account of its stewardship in such a slovenly and inefficient way.

As for the appointment of auditors, the method adopted by the Act is not a satisfactory one, and ought not to have been suffered to remain so long; but the provision, such as it is, ought to be fairly carried out, and no auditor could be relied upon to carefully examine the parish accounts, unless he could either read or write, but there are instances on record of the appointment of ratepaying auditors who possessed neither qualification!

The accounts of St. Pancras are amongst the best of any of the Vestries; but, in addition to certain charities which they dispense, they are burdened with no less than sixteen paving trust accounts, with seventeen garden accounts, and with minor special accounts. There does not appear to be any salient reason why the squares and gardens should not be relegated to the surrounding houses, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament providing for Vestries taking them over. If it is then found that they are not properly kept, the Vestry or local authority might take them in hand and dedicate them to the public. To keep them as stewards for the householders merely of the particular district, is not as it seems to us the proper function of the local authority. The payments on the paving trust accounts in 1874-5 were £6,903, and on the gardens' account £1,078.

St. Marylebone publishes, for the benefit of its ratepayers,

an excellent pamphlet, containing the names and addresses of the various officers, clubs, surveyors, collectors, beadles, guardians, relieving officers, medical officers, registration rules, and registrars' addresses, vaccinators, dust contractors, analyst, inspector of weights and measures, &c. It also contains a description of the mortuary and the post-mortem house, of the Burial Board regulations, public bath and wash-house regulations, water supply, gas supply, fire brigade and engine stations, fire escape stations, and almshouses. A more useful manual could not be issued, although we are sorry to see it finishes up with quoting the provisions of the 35 Geo. III., c. 73, and the 57 Geo. III., c. 29, as to occupiers being liable under a penalty to cleanse the foot-paths. Surely, so well-managed a Vestry ought to do this under the provision for the purpose, in the Management Act.

The Vestries and District Boards are bound, under the Act, to nominate Inspectors of Nuisances, to superintend the work of the scavengers, and to receive and investigate public complaints. This clause was treated much in the same way as that which provided for the appointment of Medical Officers. The parish of St. Pancras, covering more than four square miles, appointed *one*, and gave him the munificent salary of 38*s.* per week! The number has been since increased, but the best of the Vestries seem to think £2 a week an ample salary, and some parishes only pay 25*s.* It may be readily imagined what a farce the inspection of nuisances is under this system, and how widely different from what Sir Benjamin Hall anticipated.

Evidence was given before Mr. Ayrton's Committee from Whitechapel, that "each vestryman was an unpaid sanitary inspector." The most forcible comment upon this evidence was afforded in the following year by the outbreak of cholera in the district. The Inspector of Nuisances for Chelsea

reports that one-third of the houses visited require notices in consequence of some infringement of sanitary regulations. Each of these notices requires to be made out in duplicate, and served on owner and occupier, and other visits are necessary before the work is completed. He "endeavours" to take each street in succession, but is obliged to deviate on receiving calls to other parts of the parish. His time is "greatly engrossed by superintending the dust carts, and nuisances occur much more rapidly" than the time in which they can be met, and "it often becomes necessary to postpone a visit to some street where it has been long due, to visit another at an earlier period, where experience has taught him that neglect is more certain to occur." With all these disadvantages we are not surprised to learn that "it takes two years to make a complete survey of the registered lodging-houses throughout the parish." It is quite clear that, let the poor man work as hard as he may, he cannot properly inspect the district. The City of London with a less acreage, employs *eleven* inspectors, at a cost of about £2,000 a year, to do the work performed by this one! And the inference drawn by the Vestry in their report from the acknowledged hopeless state of affairs, is not as might be expected to appoint another inspector, but that "sanitary requirements are not understood, as it is hoped that in time they will be!" Chelsea is by no means the worst of the Vestries, and it has, we believe, an excellent clerk; but this single matter indicates clearly how utterly unfit the average London Vestry is to govern, and what small guarantee we have that even the most vital parts of Sir Benjamin Hall's Act will be carried out.

Each District Board and Vestry may enter into all such contracts as they may think necessary, for the carrying out of the Act, so nevertheless that where the contract for work or materials exceeds in amount £10, it shall be put in

writing. Power is also given to purchase lands, &c., for the purposes of the Act.

Every Vestry and District Board shall from time to time by order under their common seal, require the overseers of the several parishes to levy upon such parishes, and to pay over to the Treasurer of such Vestry or Board such sum as they may require, for defraying the expenses of the execution of the Act, distinguishing in such order the various amounts required under each head of expenditure. This rate is to be collected by the overseers in the same manner and with the same powers as the poors' rate, with the exception that it is distinguished into the separate heads of expenditure with respect to which it is payable.

Under the Local Management Amendment Act (19 & 20 Vict., c. 112), the Vestry may be convened by notice sent by post to each member, three days before the time of such meeting; such notice being also fixed on or near the door of the building where the meeting is held.

By the 134th section of the principal Act, the Vestries and District Boards are constituted the local authorities under the Nuisance Removal Acts.* An Act was passed immediately after the passing of the Management Act, which repealed the Nuisance Removal Acts of 1848 and 1849, and provided more complete regulations as to sanitary inspection, &c. The 9th section provided for the compulsory appointment of sanitary inspectors with suitable salaries, but for some reason which is not apparent—unless it be the total neglect of the former provision by the Vestries—this useful clause was repealed by the 23 & 24 Vict., c. 77, s. 1; and sec. 9, which is the substitutionary clause, provides that the local authorities *may* appoint Inspectors of Nuisances, &c. The action of the Vestries in this matter is, therefore,

* The Acts now in force appear to be the 18 & 19 Vict., c. 121, and 23 & 24 Vict., c. 77.

now only controlled by sec. 133 of the principal Act, the effect of which we have already considered.

The provisions of the Nuisances Removal Acts are ample for their purpose, but they are disregarded in the same manner as those of the principal Act. Thus, the provisions of the 18 & 19 Vict., c. 121, s. 26, as to the inspection by the Sanitary Inspector of all food, and the imposition of a penalty where unfit for human consumption, is an excellent provision in itself, but the results are absurdly incommensurate with the provision and its requirements. It would seem, indeed, a matter of grave doubt whether some of the Vestries have really any knowledge of the existence of these powers, so completely do they ignore them. A considerable destruction of food, unfit for consumption, was made in the Holborn District in the year 1874-5.

The 27th section contains an excellent provision for the removal of noxious trades, where certified as such by the Medical Officer, or by two duly qualified practitioners. This has been largely utilized in Poplar, but most Vestries have given but little practical effect to it. So with the 29th section as to overcrowding, a provision notoriously disregarded.*

Under the amending Act, 23 & 24 Vict., c. 77, s. 12, the local authorities may provide carriages for the conveyance of infected persons. This is done in one or two Vestries, but more than nine-tenths of them take advantage of the permissive character of the legislation, and disregard it.† Paddington and St. Marylebone are amongst the parishes who have provided this accommodation.

* In an amusing report by the Sanitary Inspector for Mile End Old Town (Report for 1874, p. 11.), we read "The shocking overcrowding in West End houses during the season, greatly exceeds anything of the kind in the East End, and would be quite as probable a cause of fever as infected milk from the country; the train of other evils resulting from such a state is proverbial!!"

† The idea of Vestries as to Municipal functions is illustrated by the following paragraph from the 1873-4 Report of the Strand District, p. 22.

The Vestries and the Metropolitan Board have a power under the provisions of the principal Act, of making bye-laws for their internal regulation, and for the carrying out of the purposes of the Act.

There are also due provisions in the Act for the control of erections over the sewers; for the prevention of the choking of such sewers; for protecting the lamps and other property of the Vestries from damage; and for other purposes.

An appeal lies from the orders of the Vestries and Districts Boards to the Metropolitan Board of Works; and from any order made by Justices of the Peace, under the Act, to the Court of Quarter Sessions.

The provisions of the Act may, by Order in Council, be extended to parishes adjoining the Metropolis, with not less than 750 inhabitants rated to the poor. This power does not, however, appear to have been ever exercised.

An inspection of the table* will show the extraordinary disparity existing between the area, population, and representation of the various Vestries and District Boards. The number of Vestrymen at the present time is apparently about 2,200, but even this simple statistic is difficult to obtain, inasmuch as some of the Vestries do not report the number of their members at all, and the statistics of the Board of Works are quite unreliable.† In stating the acreage

"The occasion of the visit of the Shah of Persia to the Metropolis, and his purposed passing through the district, gave the Board an opportunity of exercising its Municipal functions in a demonstrative form; it, therefore, addressed a memorial of congratulation to the Shah on his visit to England, but no answer was returned till many months had elapsed, when the delay was explained by the Legation to have arisen from an oversight under the pressure of engagements." This vigorous Municipal body rules over 166 acres.

* See pp. 318-319.

† As an illustration of this, we may note that a map of the Metropolitan Board District, published under the authority of the Board in March 1875, states the number of Kensington Vestrymen at 84, whereas for a considerable period there have been 120.

of the several districts we have preferred to take the area stated in the official census of 1871, as being probably the most correct. It is, however, 3,000 acres less than the area set out by the Local Taxation Committee, which includes the portions of various parishes now covered by the river Thames.

Taking the representation of the Board of Works as it relates to the census population we find that each of the members for St. Pancras, St. Mary Islington, and Lambeth, represents at the Board of Works the interests of more than 100,000 people. The single member for Greenwich represents 100,600 ; Camberwell, 111,306 ; Poplar, 116,376 ; Bethnal Green, 120,104 ; Kensington, 120,299 ; Hackney, 124,951 ; and Wandsworth, 125,060. On the other hand, the single member for St. Martin-in-the-Fields represents only 21,238 ; each of the three City members, 24,896 ; St. Saviour's, 30,250 ; St. John, Hampstead, 32,281 ; St. James's, Westminster, 33,619 ; Woolwich, 35,557 ; Strand, 37,570 ; St. Olave, with Rotherhithe, 41,969 ; Holborn, 43,520 ; one of the members for St. George, Hanover Square, 44,838 ; and St. George-in-the-East, 48,052. Thus the first thirteen members quoted represent a population of 1,462,281, whilst the last thirteen only represent 443,582. Each of the former, therefore, represents 112,483, and each of the latter 34,121.

If representation is based upon population which, after weighing the various arguments for and against it, seems to be the fairest method, it will be thus seen that the representation of the Vestries at the Metropolitan Board would require considerable alteration, even if the present divisions were permitted to remain. The advocates of the City contend that the representation at the Metropolitan Board should be based upon rateable value. Applying this test to the statistics before us, we find that the member for Kensington represents a rateable value of £994,559 ; Paddington,

The following TABLE, *compiled from various sources, supplies a mass of has never been collectively*

	Members.	Street Mileage.	Area in Statute Acres, 1871.	Inhabited Houses, 1871.	Census Population, 1871.	Rated Householders, 1871.	Rateable Value, 1856.
							£
City of London	232	—	650	9,236	74,688	22,233	1,223,217
St. Marylebone	120	60¼	1,506	16,340	159,254	13,441	999,372
St. Pancras	120	80	2,672	24,103	221,465	23,739	706,384
Lambeth	120	86	3,941	29,129	208,342	29,247	490,255
St. George, Hanover Sq.	108	41½	1,119	10,566	89,677	9,191	893,976
St. Mary, Islington	120	87	3,107	27,079	213,778	28,952	437,000
Shoreditch	120	51	648	15,569	127,167	15,599	251,548
Paddington	72	42	1,251	11,847	96,813	10,141	430,000
Bethnal Green	60	43	755	15,899	120,104	15,449	104,420
Newington	72	34	632	12,678	88,722	12,772	190,000
Camberwell	84	52	4,450	17,772	111,306	17,928	210,000
St. James, Westminster	48	12½	162	3,217	33,619	3,515	411,396
Clerkenwell	72	20	380	6,834	65,380	7,668	215,168
Chelsea	60	24	796	8,987	71,089	8,858	216,692
Kensington	120	57½	2,190	15,735	120,299	13,798	242,284
St. Luke, Middlesex	48	15½	239	5,856	54,995	6,632	163,300
St. George, Southwark	52	23	284	6,910	56,077	7,251	124,660
Bermondsey	36	31½	626	10,629	80,429	10,611	131,660
St. George-in-the-East	36	17½	243	5,932	48,052	5,687	166,001
St. Martin-in-the-Fields	36	8½	286	2,083	21,238	1,811	250,000
Mile End Old Town	90	27	679	13,036	93,152	12,812	150,348
Woolwich	24	13⅓	1,126	4,651	35,557	3,879	93,000
Rotherhithe	24	11	753	3,932	27,096	3,954	64,000
St. John, Hampstead	60	32	2,248	4,348	32,281	4,208	77,024
Whitechapel	58	21	378	8,264	76,520	7,251	239,607
Westminster	57	27	815	6,491	66.050	6,227	256,061
Greenwich	84	62	3,426	16,171	100,600	16,153	239,170
Wandsworth	86	100	11,488	19,154	125,060	13,640	299,019
Hackney	57	70½	3,935	19,347	124 951	19,209	258,704
St. Giles	48	17	245	4,566	53,556	3,534	262,272
Holborn	49	11	167	3,820	43,520	3,072	215,987
Strand	49	10	167	3,240	37,570	3,288	271,524
Fulham	39	37	4,003	10,188	66,041	8,543	114,992
Limehouse	36	25	462	7,816	57,690	6,943	165,500
Poplar	48	47	2,335	16,262	116,376	16,479	218,256
St. Saviour's	49	8	203	3,726	30,250	3,310	161,000
Plumstead	37	53	10,394	8,202	52,380	8,440	104,930
Lewisham	27	45	6,544	8,074	49,727	7,888	138,100
St. Olave	28	6	124	1,768	14,873	1,933	96,746
Extra-Parochial Districts	—	—	61	186	1,246	1,225	—
	2,444	1,410	75,490	419,642*	3,266,987	416,511	11,283,663

* The Metropolitan Board of Works is responsible for the correctness or otherwise of this Return.

useful information relative and particular, as to London Vestries which published before.

Rateable Value, 1873.	Total Receipts from Rates, except Poor.	TOTAL Receipts.	Salaries and Collectors' Poundage.	Total Expenditure 1872-3.	Loans outstanding, June 1873.	Total Paving Expenditure, 1856-1875.	Total Sewers, Sanitary, Paving, &c., Improvements, 1856-1875.
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
2,530,868	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1,165,029	79,024	128,297	3,239	122,474	110,177	412,312	644,792
1,164,123	85,457	95,761	5,714	103,578†	170,338	127,069	394,731
982,953	83,617	100,467	2,709	111,311	89,834	119,260	338,490
1,376,602	69,431	75,162	2,349	74,363	36,107	253,785	307,735
1,038,727	71,298	86,569	5,190	95,920	29,988	105,278	198,155
445,490	36,557	44,160	2,458	41,394	62,217	119,094	140,533
968,340	59,586	63,727	3,730	63,744	—	32,010	187,559
277,349	28,114	30,221	2,083	31,234	60,400	104,300	131,455
325,368	31,975	46,138	1,671	47,584	29,617	44,241	122,574
508,368	54,863	71,562	3,384	69,689	67,950	45,000	254,611
526,670	29,487	30,011	2,038	34,855	5,605	118,510	136,597
256,004	16,694	20,603	1,938	21,618	19,174	46,180	96,109
344,357	27,325	37,119	1,800	37,196	13,987	93,314	116,295
994,559	59,080	73,400	3,166	75,465	20,311	113,963	222,456
239,794	14,702	27,238	1,515	26,878	28,549	49,386	83,406
187,368	21,737	27,820	1,792	27,301	22,500	71,575	79,888
297,184	20,825	39,678	1,056	41,523	34,091	43,034	74,948
184,224	13,639	17,424	1,149	15,046	17,633	26,204	66,302
329,835	14,884	14,906	1,061	14,620	—	57,059	69,223
275,295	24,744	25,534	1,093	23,490	4,905	60,641	96,608
90,595	13,108	16,679	1,015	15,380	23,233	21,415	29,051
138,709	11,572	22,621	1,388	22,082	21,970	41,562	66,676
268,778	23,919	25,565	1,376	27,723	26,830	20,255	64,444
324,122	30,541	68,404	1,755	81,519	52,096	78,484	179,792
506,237	33,001	39,143	1,300	39,240	1,000	127,050	220,414
413,116	41,964	63,719	2,859	66,5 8	126,233	69,762	189,238
737,052	87,748	91,862	2,979	87,796	176,383	67,000	343,758
620,724	19,350	48,439	2,903	49,032	43,797	31,875	66,851
307,225	21,235	22,423	1,461	21,860	6,746	92,848	211,915
245,981	13,527	14,813	1,155	15,470	1,000	43,364	65,893
326,250	18,261	19,908	733	19,396	1,000	55,405	84,353
306,446	35,698	48,572	975	44,712	56,769	22,000	95,600
261,983	21,337	67,691	1,241	40,743	63,897	97,988	245,057
465,655	39,679	46,534	3,165	45,844	40,416	79,103	129,447
250,290	17,503	18,871	1,395	17,330	1,800	54,516	59,766
260,696	26,215	40,390	1,657	40,486	57,841	32,007	101,765
407,639	33,041	46,864	1,437	42,872	25,048	26,398	71,608
159,432	10,415	14,419	1,187	11,674	1,500	35,149	82,122
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20,509,437	1,342,159	1,772,714	79,116	1,769,020	1,560,942	3,038,406	6,067,228

† This amount appears to be exclusive of a sum of £114,200, due Lady-day 1875, on the Estates and Enclosed Gardens Account, and borrowed under the authority of Acts prior to the Metropolis Management Act.

£968,340; each of the City representatives, £843,622; and the member for Wandsworth, £737,052. On the other hand, the member for Woolwich represents £90,595; St. George-in-the-East, £184,224; St. George, Southwark, £187,368; St. Luke, Middlesex, £239,794; Holborn, £245,981; and Clerkenwell, £256,004. The first six members represent an aggregate rateable value of £5,230,819, and the last six of £1,203,966; each member representing respectively £871,803 and £200,661.

Power is given in the Act for the Vestries and District Boards to borrow money on the credit of the rates, for the purpose of defraying expenses incurred by them in the execution of the Act. They have power for such purpose to mortgage the rates, but the consent of the Metropolitan Board of Works is requisite before such loan can be made. We have previously set out the extensive powers now possessed by the Metropolitan Board of lending money to the local bodies, and the extent to which this power has been exercised. This method of borrowing money has now superseded in large measure that contemplated by the Act.

The loans raised during the year 1872-3* on the security of the rates, amounted to £220,000. This sum was borrowed by sixteen Vestries. Marylebone borrowed £45,000; Limehouse, £44,500; Whitechapel, £36,000; Bermondsey, £15,700; Fulham and Rotherhithe, each £10,000; Lewisham, £9,500; Greenwich and Camberwell, each £8,000; Newington and St. Luke's, each £7,000; Plumstead,

* The returns of the Local Government Board of the receipts, expenditure, and liabilities of various public bodies throughout the country, are not published till two and a half years after the period to which they relate; but in some of the statements here made we have taken these authorized figures, as it is next to impossible to obtain reliable statistics that shall also be complete, from the various Vestry reports. It is a thousand pities that so complete a measure as the Act of 1855, did not also include a system of tabulated returns, which the Vestries might have been bound to make under a penalty.

£6,900; St. George's, Southwark, £5,500; St. George-in-the-East, £3,500; St. Olave, £2,200; and Hackney, £2,000.

The total outstanding loan account in June 1873 is shown above as £1,560,942, an amount that has been since considerably increased; but very creditable efforts are made by the different Vestries to repay the money they borrow. No less than thirty-three Vestries paid various sums in liquidation of loans in 1872-3. The total amount paid in loan liquidation and interest was £188,146, so that the net increase on the year's loans was but little over £30,000. Probably it would be correct to estimate the loan liability of the Vestries in 1875 at £1,800,000.

Between the years 1856 and 1875 the various Vestries and District Boards have borrowed, from sources other than the Metropolitan Board of Works, the sum of £1,834,297, of which sum £764,523 was borrowed for sewerage works, £802,672 for paving, and £267,102 for street and other improvements. A considerable portion of the sum thus borrowed has been repaid; but the power before alluded to, which has been possessed by the Metropolitan Board of Works since 1869, of lending money to these bodies from their own Consolidated Stock, has been largely exercised, and the amount now due from the Vestries to the Metropolitan Board, under these powers so exercised, is about equivalent to the amount of loans repaid by the Vestries.

The total income of the Vestries and District Boards from ordinary rates amounted during the year 1872-3, as shown in the foregoing table, to £1,342,159. In addition to this, special rates were levied in several cases to the amount of £36,514, making the total income from rates £1,378,673. During the years 1874 and 1875, the rates have been increased in the majority of the Vestries, whilst in one or two they are slightly less.

The income derived by these bodies from sources independent of rates, in the year under consideration, amounted to £393,524; of this sum £3,432 was derived from realized property. This is only possessed by eight Vestries, and St. George's, Hanover Square is credited with £2,166, or about two-thirds of the whole amount. The sum of £115,193 was received as payment on account of private works executed by the local authorities. No less than six of the Vestries derived no income whatever from this source. The largest items in this branch of the account are Greenwich £13,324, Lambeth £13,112, and Islington £12,558. Miscellaneous sources of income produced £54,099. Several of the parishes received no benefit under this head. The largest receipts are Hackney £6,989, Shoreditch £6,773, and Chelsea £6,765. The total income is swelled by the loans with which we have already dealt.

The total income of the Vestries will be seen to have been, in the year 1872-3, £1,772,714, and the expenditure £1,769,020, showing a credit balance on the whole account of £3,694. The very small proportion of the Vestry expenditure defrayed by loans, notwithstanding the works constantly executed on what might fairly be called capital account, are a very creditable feature, and present a marked contrast to the proceedings in the City. For example St. Pancras borrowed £23,000 for the purpose of erecting baths and wash-houses, and the sum is now repaid or nearly so; whilst the City, in 1842, borrowed £85,000 for the purpose of building the Royal Exchange, and in thirty-five years has only succeeded in paying off £3,500!

The amount expended in lighting and works connected therewith was £209,519. The various amounts under this head necessarily varied in a ratio, approximating to the street mileage of the various districts. In some of the outlying Vestries, the charges under this head have ma-

terially increased with the increase of population. Thus, whilst in the years 1856-74 the Strand, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and St. Luke's, Middlesex, have not added a single public lamp to the streets; and whilst St. Giles' Holborn, St. Olave, Whitechapel, Rotherhithe, St. George-in the-East, St. George Southwark, Clerkenwell, St. James's Westminster, Shoreditch, and St. George's Hanover Square have each added, in the nineteen years, less than 100 lamps; we find that Kensington has added no less than 2,275; St. Pancras, 1,867; Wandsworth, 1,459; Lambeth, 1,311; Islington, 1,246; and Lewisham, 1,175.

The amounts paid by different Vestries for the same gas vary extremely; but perhaps the Gas Companies are more directly responsible than the Vestries, as the former are by far the more powerful bodies of the two.

The total expenditure of the Vestries and District Boards of the Metropolis was, as we have seen, £1,769,020. Of this, the sum of £781,811 was expended in making and maintaining roads, streets, and paths, and for scavenging and watering the same. The various amounts expended by different Vestries under this head bore no sort of proportion either to the street mileage or to the rateable value of the district. Thus, Mile End Old Town, with a rateable value of £275,295 and 27 miles of streets, expended £9,842, or rather more than £364 per mile; whilst its neighbour, Limehouse, with only 25 miles of streets and a rateable value of £261,983, expended no less than £26,573, or an average of more than £1,000 per mile. The heaviest expenditure on this account, both in aggregate amount and in rate per mile, was in Marylebone. This parish expended £71,120, being at the rate of nearly £1,200 per mile; whilst Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, and some others expended about the same mileage rate as Mile End Old Town.

St. Marylebone is probably the best-managed Vestry in

the Metropolis. It had the advantage of the direct personal assistance of Sir Benjamin Hall, and although defective and behindhand in some things, it appears never to have lost the prestige and the influence which he gave it. It would, therefore, be extremely unjust to suppose that the heavy expenditure of this parish upon its roads, represents a sum which could be fairly saved to the ratepayers; and if we concede this, we shall be able to understand how inadequate the roadmaking of some of the Vestries is. Probably, London roads generally are now better made than they were twenty years ago, and they will bear comparison with some towns abroad.* But like everything else they illustrate by their excellence and by their deformity the lack of unity in government, and in many cases the absence of adequate scientific knowledge on the part of the surveyors. A few of the Vestries have adopted steam rollers, but most of the others still continue the old and expensive system. Sometimes, however, but less frequently than formerly, they do not roll the streets at all, but have rough granite blocks to be consolidated by the passing traffic, in the honest belief that it is the best and cheapest method.

The precepts of the Metropolitan Board in 1873 absorbed £196,289, leaving the net expenditure of the Vestries for that year £1,572,731.

The salaries and collectors' poundage paid by the whole thirty-nine Vestries was only £79,116, or an average of about £2,000 a year for each Vestry. The current expenditure of the Vestries being taken at £1,600,000, we find that this is about five per cent. on the expenditure. The current expenditure of the City is £767,000, and the amount paid

* "In comparison with the streets of American cities taken through the year, the general condition of those of London and its suburbs is excellent. They are infinitely better attended to as regards paving: they are better swept and better looked after in every way."— Chas. E. Pascoe in *Appleton's Journal*, New York, 1873, p. 234.

in salaries is about the same, so that the City per-centage is at least double that of the Vestries.

At the present time the number of officers employed varies to a considerable extent according to the size of the parish, but the proportion is by no means constant, and some of the Vestries are under-officered. St. Marylebone pays its Vestry Clerk £700 a year; St. Mary, Islington, pays £600 a year. The salary varies in other Vestries down to £200 a year. The other officers differ widely, according to the parish in which they are employed.

We are not able to set out the establishment cost of the Vestries and District Boards. Some Vestries charge items to this account which others do not include. Many Vestries make no return of it whatever, nor of any particulars from which it can be truly estimated. It is not, however, probable that there is much waste of money on this account. As a rule the Vestries are under-officered, and the officers are underpaid. If we estimated the fair establishment charges of the Vestries at £120,000, we should probably be about the mark. This sum would represent about eight per cent. of the total expenditure, which is nearly as much under a fair establishment charge as the enormous cost of the City is over it.

The total stationery bills of the parish of St. Pancras appear to have been in 1874-5 some £326. The City expended a larger sum than this, in providing the Aldermen and Common Councillors with pocket almanacs!

In the year 1872 the Board of Works published certain returns from the various Vestries and District Boards of the Metropolis, with respect to the works executed by them during the first fifteen years of their existence.

The returns were made in answer to thirteen comprehensive questions, and some of them are exceedingly valuable and creditable statements. Like everything else, through

the agency of which a comparison between the workings of the different Vestries is obtained, this return clearly indicates the wide difference in management existing between them. Some of the Vestries, as St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, Clerkenwell, Poplar, Plumstead, and some others, answered the questions in a full and intelligible manner, and gave an account of their work, creditable in itself, and indicating in one or two cases the existence of governing authorities of high excellence. Some of the other Vestries sent replies of the most meagre and unsatisfactory character. The worst example of this was the Vestry of Fulham, which returned no answer whatever to five of the questions, and with respect to the other eight, answered them in fewer words than those used in the questions themselves.

The first of these questions was as to the extent of sewerage works executed by the different Vestries, and their cost. The sixth question was as to the total amount expended in sewerage and paving, and the method in which it had been raised. We have set out in the accompanying table, returns with respect to these matters made up to 1874; and also returns with respect to the matters included in the fourth and fifth questions, as to the amount of paving executed, and the cost of other improvements. The seventh and eighth questions deal with the mileage of the several districts, which we have also tabulated according to a later return.

The ninth question stands thus: "How many miles of streets are watered in your district, and what is the cost per mile for water and cartage respectively?" About one-half of the Vestries returned a categorical answer. Of the remainder, some did not answer the question at all; others stated that it was done by contract, but did not set out the amount of the contract, nor work out the cost per mile.

When it is remembered that these returns were called

for by the Metropolitan Board, which may be regarded as the controlling influence of the Vestries,—if, indeed, such influence anywhere exists,—and that, moreover, they were called for with the express object of defending the Board and the Vestries from the attacks of those who pronounced them incapable and inefficient; and for the purpose of justifying their longer continuance by the excellence of their government, the way in which this and some other questions are answered is, indeed, remarkable. In many cases, those who prepare the answers appear either to have misunderstood the simplest question, or to have been too lazy or unwilling to ascertain facts which must have been within their own knowledge. The answers to some of the questions reflect but little credit on the intelligence of the Vestry Clerks.

The twenty-one Vestries that gave clear answers to this question as to the cost of street watering, enable us once again to estimate how widely different are the methods of procedure adopted, and the rates of expenditure which are to be found in the different Vestries. The cost per mile of the water itself was £55 in Lewisham; £50 in Greenwich; Plumstead, £45; and Wandsworth, £39. These were the highest reported amounts. The large parishes ranged between £20 and £40; but in Hackney the cost was £16; Mile End, £15; St. Luke's, £14; Limehouse, £13; Whitechapel, £11; and Rotherhithe (where it was obtained from wells within the parish), £8 14*s*.

Nor was the difference in the amount charged per mile for cartage less remarkable. The cost per mile was, in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, £70; Paddington, £67; Greenwich, £65; Marylebone, £59; and Hampstead, £54; whilst the same item was charged in Limehouse, £23; Rotherhithe, £22; St. Luke's, £20; and Mile End, £19. The total yearly cost per mile was in Greenwich, £115; Plumstead, £98; Paddington, £97; and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, £90;

whilst in Hackney it was only £42; in Whitechapel, £36; in St. Luke's and Mile End, £34; and in Rotherhithe, £30. The other districts that give returns at all, range between these extremes.

There are no existing data which enable us to judge how far these enormous differences may be set down to the efficiency or inefficiency of the work done, and how far to wise and unwise contracts. The example of Rotherhithe in using springs within its own borders might be well followed, as such water, though unfit for domestic purposes, is well fitted for street watering. Whatever be the explanation of the great discrepancies existing, they point forcibly to the absence of any general system or method in the performance by different Vestries of even the simplest Municipal functions.

In the performance of these Municipal duties, there is frequently a double neglect. A neglect in the Vestry to superintend it themselves, and a neglect in the contractors to do the work at all, if they can help it. When the fining of negligent contractors for dust removal, or for watering, or for street cleansing, is proposed at a Vestry, the offenders are sure to find some friends at court, and often get off scot free, pocketing the profit of their wrong doing.*

The answers to the tenth question, as to the number of lamps added since 1856, were on the lines of the increased street accommodation, and the most lamps had been put up, as we have seen, in the districts which have most extensively increased in population; but in some districts the lighting accommodation appears to have been quite inadequate to such requirements as did exist. Thus, of the five parishes comprising the Plumstead District, there were four, viz.,

* Bethnal Green fined five contractors for neglect in the year 1874-5. The total amount of these fines was only £32 10s., which would soon be recouped by further neglect, the smallness of the amount acting as a direct incentive to negligence.

Plumstead, Kidbrooke, Eltham, and Charlton, that had no lamps whatever, and one of the earliest works of the new Vestry was to supply such deficiency. Wandsworth District was also almost in total darkness in 1856.

The twelfth question was as to the price charged for the lighting and cleansing of the public lamps. Twenty-seven of the Vestries gave the price per lamp. The remainder either shirked the question or merely gave the aggregate lighting charge of the parish. The answers that were given served to bring into strong relief the different prices charged by various Gas Companies for the same gas, a subject with which we shall deal more at length in the next chapter. We find the same company charging different Vestries different prices for the same gas, and sometimes, as in the case of Greenwich, a Vestry supplied by three companies pays a different price to each for the same commodity. The price is regulated apparently not so much by the value of the article as by the strength or weakness of particular Vestries in their dealings with powerful and grasping Corporations. No less than *eighteen* different prices are charged for the same quantity of the same thing! These prices range from £3 10*s.* to £5. The prices are now probably somewhat less, but the difference and anomalies still exist.

The remaining questions are as to the condition of the various districts as to drainage, inspection, and sanitary improvements prior to 1856, and the condition in 1870, with the alterations which have been made in the interval. After making due allowance for the opportunity these questions afford for the self-laudation of the various Vestries, we find from the substantial facts set out in the various answers that the improvements have been most extensive. The chaotic condition of London government before the passing of Sir Benjamin Hall's Act has been already illustrated, and these questions enable the Vestries to show the great advan-

tages that have been conferred upon some districts by the passing of that measure, and of those which have succeeded it. But the Act of 1855, whilst establishing a complete system with many merits, provided no means of compelling the carrying of it out.

Perhaps the most satisfactory alteration, and the one which has had the most marked effect in lowering the death-rate of the Metropolis, is in the condition of local drainage. The carrying out of sewer drainage has only been rendered possible on a complete scale, by the perfection of the Main Drainage system. But whilst there is not now one-tenth of the London houses which are not drained into the Main Sewer, there probably was not in 1856 one-tenth that had the advantage of sewer drainage. In Rotherhithe, the Surveyor reported in 1856 the existence of some fifteen miles of open sewers and ditches. According to the first report of the Medical Officer in the same year, the very boundary of the parish "consisted of a long, black, filthy, open sewer." As the ditches discharged into the Thames, and as the district was a low-lying one, the sewage contained in them would be deposited, at a high tide, in the streets and houses. The low situation of Rotherhithe made its condition perhaps the most deplorable of any district, but Bermondsey, Chelsea, and Camberwell were not far behind.

Nearly the whole of London was drained into cesspools, and one of the most useful works performed by these Vestries has been the entire abolition and filling up of these nests of typhoid. The number of them was probably, in many cases, nearly equal to the number of the houses in the district. Hackney has filled up something like 6,000; Whitechapel, 4,000; Camberwell, 5,000; Poplar, 6,000; and other districts in like proportion. Neither, in 1856, were there in three districts out of four any regulations whatever as to the inspection and improvement of courts and dwellings. Most

of the parishes now provide for such inspection and improvement. Some of them do this by the appointment of inspectors paid for the purpose, in other parishes it is done through the action of the Works' Committee visiting the different districts. The excellence of this work is by no means confined to the large Vestries. For example, St. Olave, in the year 1873-4, provided for the quarterly lime-washing of every slaughter-house within its district, and for the half-yearly washing of the various cow-houses and bake-houses. Many houses were cleansed and disinfected, new drains constructed, repaired, and trapped, yards paved, trade accumulations and pigsties removed, &c., &c.; making a total of somewhere near 2,000 nuisances abated, or improvements effected, in that year alone. And several other Vestries present an equally creditable report. Poplar has drained under the direction of the Vestry something like 150 streets. Hackney has improved the ventilation of 1,396 houses, by making the top window-sashes moveable. It has also abated more than 35,000 nuisances. St. James's, Westminster, reported up to 1870 the removal of 24,373 nuisances. St. Pancras has carried out an equal number of improvements, and has completely renovated the districts of the parish which were so much in want of Municipal accommodation in 1856. Altogether this parish has expended more than a million sterling in sewerage, paving, and other improvements. St. Marylebone and Westminster have gone to the point of providing local hospital accommodation for inhabitants suffering from contagious diseases; and the former Vestry has carried its regard for the public convenience to the extent of expending £600 in the construction of street rests.

Westminster District Board, under the able direction of Mr. Barnard Holt, abated 3,192 nuisances in the year 1873-4, and other Vestries make similar report.

The questions put by the Metropolitan Board to the Vestries are good in themselves, but are far from exhaustive. It is possible that the master who put his questions for the purpose of showing off his pupils, only put such questions as he knew might receive some respectable answer. Be that as it may, there are many things omitted about which it would have been desirable to know something.

For example, by "The Public Libraries Act, 1855," local authorities are empowered, with the sanction of a majority of the ratepayers, to erect free libraries and museums, and to rate the inhabitants for the same. It would have been well to know how far the capital had carried out this excellent provision; and if it should be found that there was but one example (Westminster), then surely with the noble examples of provincial towns before our eyes, we should recognise the failure of our local governing institutions, and the result of attempts to enforce the Act in St. Pancras and in Bethnal Green would lead us to despair of our future.

Then, again, what about the "Baths and Wash-houses Act?" We believe that about one in six of the London Vestries have availed themselves of the powers given by this most beneficial Act. They have thus conferred an enormous boon upon the inhabitants of their districts. Paddington has recently opened an excellent establishment for the purposes of this Act. In the return under consideration, St. Pancras reported an expenditure under this head of £23,000, and in the year before the report was made, no less than 149,474 persons availed themselves of the baths, and 19,620 of the wash-houses. These figures enable some estimate to be formed of the usefulness and benefit of these institutions. It has also been shown that they can be worked at a profit.

The other Vestries who have put this Act in force in-

clude St. George's Hanover Square, St. Marylebone, St. James's Westminster, and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

Then, again, the "Workshops Regulation Act" is enforced by a few of the Vestries, but neglected by the many. In the former category are included St. Pancras, St. George's Hanover Square, Clerkenwell, Rotherhithe, Bethnal Green, Camberwell, Newington, and the Strand.

The regulation of lodging-houses is attended to by a few of the Vestries. Chelsea, Camberwell, Clerkenwell, and St. George's Hanover Square, report having paid attention to this.

"The Metropolis Local Management Amendment Act, 1862," provides* that Vestries shall have power to give notice to persons feeding or keeping swine in improper situations to remove them. This power has been availed of by several of the Vestries, and most of the London parishes are now completely free from this description of nuisance.

The same Act provides for the licensing† of cow-houses by Justices of the Peace, but with a discretion in the Vestry, to whom notice of their establishment must be given, to oppose them. Under this provision the number of cow-houses existing in some districts of the Metropolis has been largely lessened. Nineteen premises in Westminster were licensed as cow-houses in 1873-4; in Clerkenwell, 27; Lambeth, 99; Chelsea, 28; &c., &c.

The Artizans' Dwellings Act has led to inspection being made in St. Pancras, Clerkenwell, St. Luke's, and other districts. St. Marylebone has demolished some thirty houses under the powers given by this Act, as being unfit for human habitation, whilst many others have been put in repair. Holborn has applied it in twenty-six cases, and is anticipating a still larger benefit from the new Act of the session of 1875, through the agency of which it is expected that

* 25 & 26 Vict., c. 102, s. 91. † Sec. 93.

the rookeries surrounding Gray's Inn Lane will be swept away. It has been repeatedly asserted that the due operation of this excellent Act has been much retarded in some districts, especially in the East End, by the proprietors of the wretched dwellings getting elected on the Vestries and preventing its enforcement. However this may be, there are certainly the facts that the Act is a dead letter in much of East London, and that the owners of the property are sometimes vestrymen.

The establishment of mortuaries and of houses for post-mortem examinations, is a most necessary matter in crowded cities where corpses are kept for some days before interment, and that frequently in the same room where survivors eat and sleep. These essential establishments are, however, only to be found in very few of the districts of the Metropolis. St. Marylebone, Newington, Camberwell, Islington, Clerkenwell, Strand, St. George's-in-the-East, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Kensington, and St. Luke's, reported their erection, and it is believed one or two other Vestries intend to follow in the wake, but their existence in connection with London Vestries is still the exception. About the same number of Vestries have provided disinfecting chambers, and one or two provide vehicles for the conveyance of persons suffering from contagious diseases.

All the better-managed Vestries regularly disinfect the public places, and the courts, alleys, and sewers of the district, by flushing them in hot weather with carbolic at frequent intervals. They also enforce the cleansing and whitewashing of houses, and have weekly returns of nuisances.*

Burial grounds over which parishes have any control, have, in several cases, been put into healthy condition.

* Poplar, in 1873-4, supplied disinfectants free of cost in ninety-seven instances.

Thus Marylebone has had the vaults under seven churches filled up, and something like 2,000 coffins there, and in vaults under Paddington Street, imbedded in charcoal and earth, whilst the burial grounds themselves have been covered with fresh earth and planted.

Some of the Vestries regularly test the gas and water supplied to the parish. In St. Marylebone this is done daily. In some other Vestries it is done weekly, monthy, or at longer intervals, whilst in many it does not appear to be done at all. One London Vestry has the reputation of having appointed a Gas Inspector who was absolutely ignorant of Chemistry!

The conditions of the water supply have necessarily very much improved. Dr. Sutherland made a report to the General Board of Health, in 1852, with respect to part of the district now included under the jurisdiction of St. George's-in-the-East, that the crowding was excessive; the ventilation bad; the rooms and furniture dirty; the water supply in courts was from stand pipes, and was only given on intermittent days; that it was "muddy, yellow, repulsive, and unfit for domestic purposes." Some improvement has been effected in the other matters, but the water supply is now a daily one (except Sunday), and the water itself is good. There is much room left for improvement, and not the least step towards such improvement will be the concession of a constant water supply.

"The Adulteration Act, 1872," has been put in force by some Vestries, but not by all. The result is, however, much better than that of preceding Acts, and probably the character of much of the milk and bread in London has improved since the measure came into force. Greenwich has a public Analyst who in the year 1873-4 analyzed 211 articles, divided amongst water, milk, skim milk, coffee, butter, lard, arrowroot, tea, bread, mustard, pickles, vinegar,

soda-water, jam, pepper, spirits, sweetmeats, capers, sugar. Westminster reported the analysis of 170. The report from Poplar for 1875 contains two reports from its public Analyst. They are satisfactory in the main, and not the least so, as he says "the office of Analyst has many responsibilities," and a rigid examination "is more than ever imperative from the very searching cross-examination of the Analyst by some skilled counsel, which I find in my experience now nearly always occurs over (*sic*) a prosecution."* Analysts have also done more or less work in Bethnal Green and Clerkenwell, where 179 separate articles were analyzed, and elaborate rules for their guidance have been drawn up. Some of the Vestries appoint a special Analyst, who is in most instances only empowered to analyze substances brought to him on the payment of fees. Other Vestries, as St. Olave, join on the office of Analyst to that of Medical Officer.† The Rotherhithe Analyst appears to be paid by fees alone, but the Vestry have appointed an Inspector under the Act to whom they pay £30 per annum. How much he is expected to do for this heavy salary does not appear.

Chelsea, after a good deal of delay, has initiated a system under which samples for analysis are procured from each dealer in given articles, and then those found to be adulterated will be marked, and second samples taken from the same tradesmen. Under this system it is impossible to say how long a time will be taken in the work, but if it be at all analogous to lodging-house and sanitary inspection which takes two years to get round, the tradesmen of the district need not be disturbed by any anxiety.

The Act passed in 1863 for the regulation of Bakehouses, ought to be enforced by the Vestries. This Act provides

* "Report of Poplar Vestry, 1874-5," p. 48.

† In this district the Medical Officer receives £150 a year as Medical Officer; £50 a year as Analyst; and £30 as Gas Examiner.

that no person under 18 years of age shall be employed in a bakehouse between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m.; for lime-washing the passages, walls, &c.; for due ventilation; and for the prevention of persons sleeping on the same level as the bakehouse, except under certain conditions. The inspection of these establishments is duly made by the Medical Officers of about one-half of the Vestries. It does not, however, appear to be an agreeable duty.*

Under "The Sanitary Laws Amendment Act, 1874," power is given to the local authority to direct the destruction of infected articles of clothing or bedding, and to give compensation for the same. Greenwich reports having done this in two cases; Poplar, in twenty-two; and some other Vestries have taken action in the matter.

The reports of a certain number of the Vestries, whose districts are co-terminous with the boundaries of the parish, contain in addition to the ordinary matters of Vestry government, an account of the receipts and expenditure with respect to church establishment. St. Marylebone deals with an income and expenditure affecting seven churches, and amounting, during the year 1873-4, to £6,271. Other Vestries set out the Churchwardens' accounts, but deal with them as separate items. No sufficient reason appears to exist for this continued connection between the regulation of parochial matters and the discharge of the Municipal functions of the Vestry.

The various charities, the accounts of which are set forth in the reports of St. Pancras, Rotherhithe, St. George's Hanover Square, Camberwell, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Luke's Middlesex, St. George's-in-the-East, and St. Matthew Bethnal Green, seem also to belong to the parochial organization rather than to Vestries, as established under the Metropolitan Management Act.

* See "Report of Rotherhithe 1873-4," p. 23.

The present functions of the London Vestries are, therefore, as follows, viz. :—

Local Sewerage, Street Paving, Street Watering, Street Cleansing, Street Lighting, Control of Courts and Alleys, Underground Dwellings, of Cow-houses, of Slaughter-houses, of Bake-houses, of Hoardings, of Noxious Trades, Removal of Dust, Sanitary Inspection, Mortuaries, Baths and Washhouses, Public Libraries, Adulteration of Food and Drugs, Workshops' Regulation, Water and Gas Supply, Artizans' Dwellings, Lodging-houses, &c.

The Vestry jurisdiction as to lodging-houses is more or less concurrent with that of the police, and so in the control of Artizans' dwellings and slaughter-houses, it is not easy to say where the Vestry jurisdiction begins and the Board of Works jurisdiction ends.

With all their faults and defects—and they are many—the Vestries have done much for London. Any comparison drawn between our condition to-day and our condition twenty years ago in any single matter, under Vestry control, abundantly proves this. But the benefits have been very unequal. No Vestry has carried out all its powers as fully as they might be carried out, but some have done more than others, and even the Vestries chargeable with the most culpable neglect of many important powers and duties, have often selected one or two channels of improvement and carried them out thoroughly.

The marked and noticeable want of the London Vestries is a direct central control; not the control of an incapable and overworked Board, but of a body of intelligent men of broad conception and administrative power. Even as they exist now in their shapeless and disintegrate forms, the London Vestries with their accounts audited and their work reported on by the responsible inspectors of a responsible council, might be drilled into harmony, and such laws as

exist be uniformly enforced. Still more might we expect, that with the constitution of a central elective Municipal body, to which would be subordinated local bodies of which these Vestries have formed the germ, London might be governed on an uniform and effective basis; on a system which whilst never losing sight of the broad requirements of the whole metropolis, should also be able, through their aid, to regard the requirements of every locality.

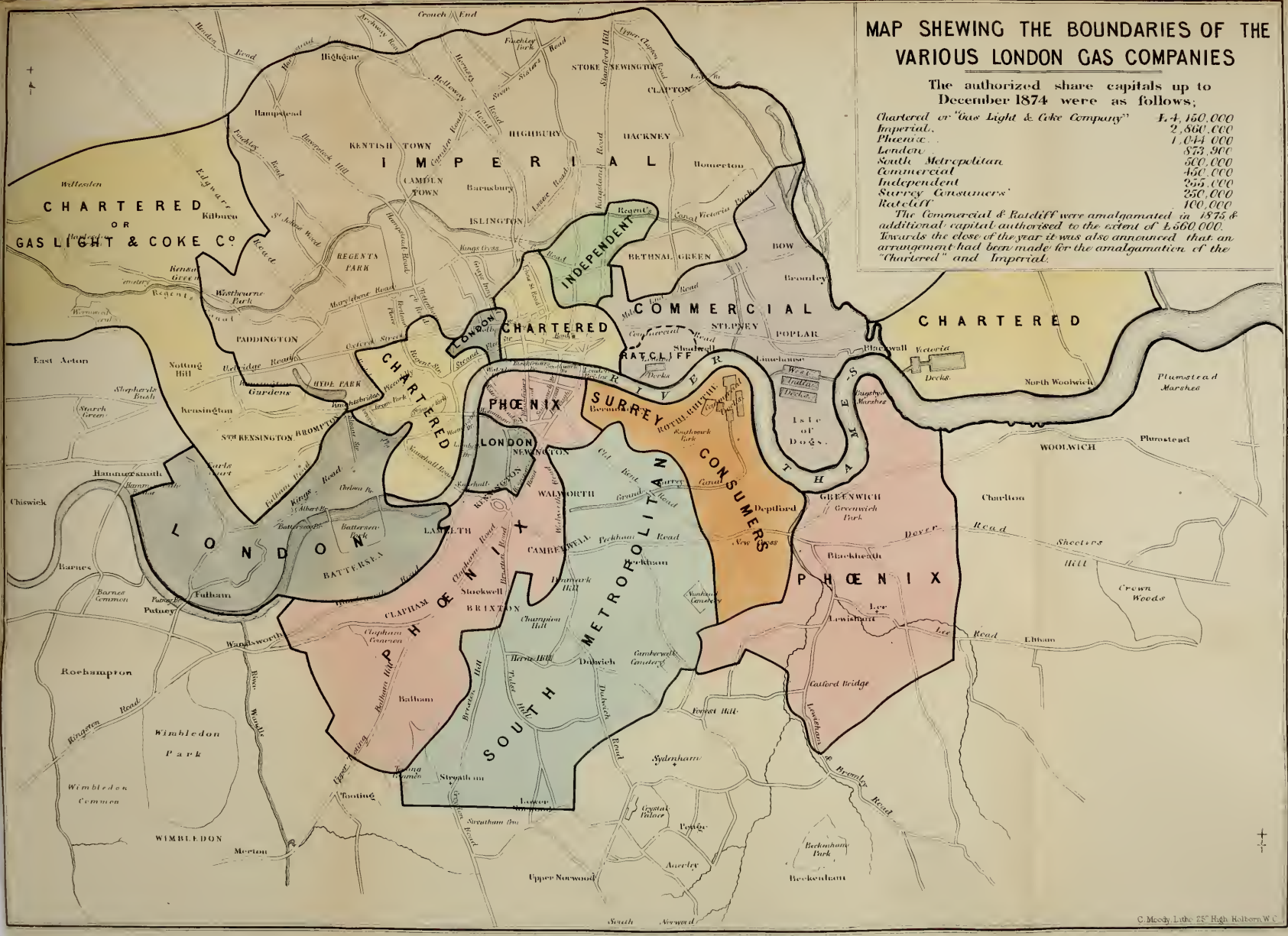
Chapter VIII.

THE GAS SUPPLY OF LONDON.

History of London Gas Supply before 1860, *with the Establishment of the Companies.—Effects of their Competition and Amalgamation.—The Gas Act of* 1860.—*Gas Bills of* 1866 *and* 1867.—*The City of London Gas Act,* 1868.—*Gas Bills of* 1869, 1872, *and* 1875.—*Inaction of the Metropolitan Board of Works.—Gas Committee in* 1875.—*Gas Statistics.*

At the time when the threatened approach of the Spanish Armada was rousing every English town to measures of precaution and defence, an Order of Council was promulgated whereby every London householder was enjoined, "*under penalty of death at the hands of the common hangman*," to suspend a lighted lamp before his door after sundown. The measure was as temporary as severe, and probably passed away with the danger. Before the days of Elizabeth the only lights in London streets on moonless nights were supplied by the cressets and lanterns hung from the long poles carried by the night-watch; and after the spasmodic legislation of the Armada period, the city relapsed into its old condition of darkness and danger.

Various more or less successful efforts at improvements in lighting were made by the Common Council in the course of the seventeenth century; but the first measure attended with even moderate results was an enactment under date 1716, whereby every London householder was required to suspend a light before his door from six to eleven p.m., on


MAP SHEWING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE VARIOUS LONDON GAS COMPANIES
The authorized share capitals up to December 1874 were as follows;
Chartered or "Gas Light & Coke Company" £4,150,000
Imperial, 2,860,000
Phœnix 1,044,000
London 873,900
South Metropolitan 500,000
Commercial 450,000
Independent 255,000
Surrey Consumers' 250,000
Ratcliff 100,000
The Commercial & Ratcliff were amalgamated in 1875 & additional capital authorised to the extent of £560,000. Towards the close of the year it was also announced that an arrangement had been made for the amalgamation of the "Chartered" and Imperial.
CHARTERED OR GAS LIGHT & COKE Co
IMPERIAL
INDEPENDENT
COMMERCIAL
RATCLIFF
CHARTERED
LONDON CHARTERED
PHŒNIX
SURREY CONSUMERS
LONDON
PHŒNIX
SOUTH METROPOLITAN
PHŒNIX
CHARTERED
RIVER THAMES
Isle of Dogs
Highgate
Hampstead
KENTISH TOWN
CAMDEN TOWN
HIGHBURY
STOKE NEWINGTON
CLAPTON
HACKNEY
Homerton
Barnsbury
ISLINGTON
BETHNAL GREEN
BOW
Bromley
REGENTS PARK
PADDINGTON
STEPNEY
POPLAR
Blackwall
North Woolwich
Plumstead Marshes
Victoria Docks
West India Docks
East Acton
Notting Hill
Kensington Gardens
HYDE PARK
KENSINGTON
BROMPTON
Shepherds Bush
Earls Court
Hammersmith
Chiswick
Kings Road
Chelsea
Battersea Park
LAMBETH
WALWORTH
CAMBERWELL
Peckham
Deptford
GREENWICH
Greenwich Park
WOOLWICH
Plumstead
Charlton
Dover Road
Shooters Hill
Crown Woods
Blackheath
Lee
Lewisham
Lee Road
Eltham
Barnes
Barnes Common
Putney
Fulham
BATTERSEA
CLAPHAM
BRIXTON
Stockwell
Clapham Common
Brixton Hill
Clapham Road
Champion Hill
Denmark Hill
Dulwich
Herne Hill
Camberwell Cemetery
Vauxhall Cemetery
Wandsworth
Roehampton
Wimbledon Park
Wimbledon Common
WIMBLEDON
Merton
Tooting
Streatham
Lower Norwood
Sydenham
Crystal Palace
Penge
Forest Hill
Catford Bridge
Lewisham & Bromley Road
Upper Norwood
Norwood
Beckenham Park
Beckenham
Ealing
Kingston Road
Upper Richmond Road
Balham
Tooting Common
C. Moody Lith. 25 High Holborn W.C.

Chapter VIII.

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all moonless nights, with sufficient cotton wick to burn five hours. A penalty of one shilling was imposed for neglect. There appears to have been no provision for artificial light after eleven p.m. Soon after this date a Company undertook, in consideration of a tax of six shillings per annum, levied upon every inhabited house within the City, to provide sufficient light in the streets from six p.m. till midnight. They appear to have paid £600 a year to the Corporation for this monopoly, and to have been permitted to extinguish the lamps when the moon was shining.

None of these measures, however, gave complete satisfaction to the citizens; and so, in 1736, an Act of Parliament was passed, authorizing the Corporation to erect lamps, and to keep them lighted every night from sundown to sunrise next morning. The funds were provided by a special tax, levied upon the ratepayers. Those rented at £10 per annum paid seven shillings a year; over £10 and under £20, twelve shillings; over £20 and under £30, fourteen shillings; over £30 and under £40, sixteen shillings; over £40 and under £50, eighteen shillings; over £50, twenty shillings. The result was an immense improvement on everything that had gone before, and London had for many years the reputation of being the best-lighted capital in Europe.

So matters continued until the application of Gas changed the whole character of street lighting.

The new production was first brought into general public use in London by an Act passed in 1810.* The preamble of this Act set out the object of the measure to be "the manufacture and distribution of inflammable air;" and the "Gas Light and Coke Company" was afterwards incorporated by charter. Power was given to the Company to contract with any parishes or other persons, willing or desirous to contract with them for the supply of inflammable

* 50 Geo. III. c. 163.

air, and its operation was confined to the "Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark." The capital of this Company was at that time £200,000. It was subsequently known as the "Chartered," and may be taken as the parent of the "Gas Light and Coke Company" of to-day.

In 1817 the "City of London Gas Company" appeared in the field, and the "Cities of London and Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark" were assigned as the district of its operation also; thus establishing the principle of competition at the very inception of London Gas supply.

In 1821 the "Imperial Gas Company" obtained the *exclusive* right of supply to certain specified districts. After this date other Companies were established in rapid succession—the "Ratcliff," the "Phœnix," the "Independent," the "Equitable," the "Great Central," the "South Metropolitan," and others. The "Surrey Consumers' Company" and the "Western" were not established till many years later, and the "Victoria Docks Company" obtained its Act in 1857.

As we have noted, the Act of the "Imperial Company," in 1821, was the first in which any concession of exclusive supply is made to a Gas Company, and, as we shall hereafter see, it was not of long duration. Two years later, in 1823, a report on the question of London Gas supply was made by Sir William Congreve to the then Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, and we find that by the limited light of the Gas legislation and experience then available, he had arrived at the very sensible conclusion that it would be well to limit particular Companies to the supply of particular districts. The Companies had already made some attempts to this end amongst themselves, and the conflict of the "City of London" and the "Chartered," in the streets of the City of London, of Westminster, and of Southwark, added emphasis to the

conviction. The suggestion came, in the first instance, from the Gas Companies themselves;* but Sir William Congreve did not adopt it without a controlling condition. He did not propose to deliver over the London Gas consumers bound hand and foot to the Gas Companies, but went on to add in his report a suggestion for the regulation of the prices of the Companies, and for the control of the whole being in the hands of the Government.

The Companies strongly objected to the latter part of the report. The first was acceptable enough, and was no doubt very palatable to them; but Government control over a rich monopoly is a thing they have always fought against, and their opposition to this just condition wrecked the whole measure, and the report was never carried into practical effect.

It therefore remained with Parliament to give London the only alternative assistance that lay in its power, and throw the Gas supply open to public competition. This was done most effectually. The "Equitable Company," which had commenced operations in West London in 1830, obtained Parliamentary powers to light the City of Westminster and the parish of Marylebone. The inhabitants of Westminster had thus three Companies willing and able to tender for their Gas supply; and Marylebone, which had hitherto been the special and exclusive child of the "Imperial," was forthwith wooed by another competitor.

Throughout London there was a great Gas War. Streets were torn up in all directions, and as many as twelve mains sometimes laid down in a single thoroughfare. The leakage from so many pipes was most serious, and the capital wasted enormous. Apart from these inherent disadvantages, the system, no doubt, gave the consumer benefits in price which

* Evidence of Mr. Geo. Lane before Committee of House of Commons, 1823.

he has not since enjoyed. The "Equitable," in Westminster, laid down its pipes, and supplied Gas 15 per cent. cheaper than the "Chartered" had done. The "Chartered" reduced their prices in the face of this competition, but elsewhere maintained them at the old rates. In 1834 the "Equitable" tendered to supply the lamps of the rich parish of St. James's Westminster. The contract of the "Chartered" with this parish to light the lamps was just expiring. The old price paid to the "Chartered" was £5 5*s.* per lamp; but to continue the monopoly, and to exclude the "Equitable," they offered to supply it at £3 10*s.*, and this offer was accepted. Competition here saved a large sum to the parish. So in Marylebone, in 1832, an offer by the "Equitable" to supply the parish at a reduction of 15 per cent. on the "Chartered" prices, brought the "Chartered" down 25 per cent.

In 1833 the parish of St. Bride's petitioned the Commissioners of Sewers to let the "Equitable" come into the City and supply Gas at 15 per cent. reduction upon the City price; but the "City of London Company" forestalled them by at once reducing their price 20 per cent., and an agitation in the East of the City caused the "Chartered" to reduce its prices there also.

Westminster and Marylebone were again wooed by the "London" Company, which obtained powers for the purpose in 1844, and the City of London was encroached on by the "Great Central." On the south side of the river the competition was equally severe. The "Phœnix," the "South Metropolitan," and the "City of London," all laid their pipes down in the same streets, and fought for the custom of the district with an energy and a recklessness worthy of the Railway Companies of a later date. And, when in 1848, the "Surrey Consumers" came and threw

down the gage to the tired combatants in transpontine London, it might be said that the subterranean disorder reached its climax. It was in this strife the late Sir John Thwaites rendered his first great public service, always gratefully remembered by the people of Southwark.

The consumers, apart from the nuisance of the street interference, could watch the Gas War with a certain amount of philosophy. But a change came over the scene when the Companies had done their worst to each other, and when they began to see that, after all, their interests were coincident, and that if they could only come to agreement between themselves they might fleece their common victim, the consumer, instead of each other. The more this idea was considered by them the more they liked it; so, in 1850, the "Chartered," the "London," and the "Equitable" applied to Parliament for an Act, enabling them to divide their districts. This application was unsuccessful.

In a letter to Lord Palmerston, in 1854, Viscount Ebrington observes: "Rival Companies will always be found to coalesce for the plunder, rather than compete for the cheap supply." So grand a conspiracy could not be defeated merely because it lacked the supporting smile of the Legislature; and in the next year, 1851, the "Phœnix," the "London," the "South Metropolitan," and the "Surrey Consumers" divided their jurisdiction, and agreed to confine themselves to allotted districts, and at the time asked no Parliamentary sanction.

It is instructive to notice the result. Before the establishment of the "Surrey Consumers," the price of Gas supplied by other Companies in South London was six shillings per 1,000 feet. The very shadow of the coming of that Company lowered it to four shillings.

After the districting was completed, and the new Com-

pany admitted to the spoliation, *the price was raised* to 4*s.* 6*d.** Surely this was the strongest possible commentary upon the necessity for Government supervision and control over monopoly, which had been recommended in Sir William Congreve's report.

But the Legislature refused to recognise the districting system, in the absence of due control; so an Act, applied for in 1855 by these Companies, to sanction the proceedings of 1851, failed.

In 1857 the Companies to the north of the Thames, however, came to the same conclusion which had been already acted upon in the south—that union was desirable even if Parliamentary sanction could not be obtained. Such an union, and the allotment of districts to each Company, was forthwith made, and the effect was soon manifest. We have already noted how the coalition in 1851 of the Companies south of the Thames produced its natural result in the raising of the price of Gas, and the same result soon followed the coalition of the Companies north of the Thames in 1857. We have noted, too, that Parliament, first in 1850, and again in 1855, distinctly refused to recognise arrangements, which, however beneficial they might be to the Companies, were so clearly fraught with prejudice to the public.

But the condition of London in 1857 brought matters to a crisis. The parish of Marylebone asked for tenders to light its public lamps, and instead of three tenders being sent in as usual, received only one, and that one at an advance on the old rate. The "Equitable" declined to tender at all, and in a similar manner, and from a similar cause, the "London" Company declined to tender for the lighting of Westminster. So the districting by the Com-

* See Evidence of Dr. Chalice before the House of Commons' Committee, June 17th, 1858.

panies was accompanied, in the north of the Thames, also by a rise in price. A Gas convention had sate in judgment on London, and issued its decrees. No matter how many pipes filled the street opposite to a tradesman's door, he would only in future obtain his supply from those of one Company. Companies differed widely in their prices. The same Company would charge one parish 20 per cent. more than another for the same Gas, and with equal facility for supply And so it fell out, that parishes subdivided by the Gasarchy paid different prices to different Companies for the same quality of Gas. Thus the Westminster Board of Works, with three available Companies within its limits, was compelled to recognise the arbitrary divisions they established, and to pay three different prices for the same ten-candle Gas. The "Chartered" charged Westminster, where its works were situate, £4 14*s.* for each public lamp, and Marylebone only £4. In like manner the illuminating power of the article supplied became a cause of constant complaint, and the amount supplied to public lamps was in many cases far less, and in some not one-half, of the amount contracted and paid for; whilst arbitrary clauses were inserted in parish contracts, so that detection was difficult.

Being, therefore, without competition, the London Gas Companies were free. Few of them were under the controlling powers of "The Gas Works Clauses Act, 1847," and neither in price, quality, nor anything else, were they effectively controlled.

The Vestries were at this time the only bodies through which the ratepayers had a direct voice, and at the suggestion of the suffering parishes, delegates from these bodies were appointed to consider the Gas question. They met repeatedly during the later months of 1857 and the beginning of 1858. They had conferences with the authorities of

the Gas Companies, with the metropolitan members, and the Home Secretary, and presented petitions to Parliament. Eventually a Parliamentary committee was appointed, on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Byng (since Lord Enfield), one of the members for Middlesex. This committee consisted of five metropolitan members, five members nominated by the Gas Companies, and five members nominated by the Government. The committee began its sittings on the 10th of June, 1858, and heard evidence during that and the succeeding month, when they adjourned their proceedings and declared their intention of recommending to the House of Commons a re-appointment of the committee in 1859. The delegates of the vestries, meantime, had been endeavouring to find some common basis upon which the Companies and themselves could agree. In the report of the managers to the delegates, at the close of the 1858 campaign, they say (see p. 47 of the Report) :—

"Numerous suggestions for a compromise were made, but the managers regret to have to report that on behalf of the Gas Companies *every effort was made to exact an exorbitant maximum, and to paralyze the future efforts of consumers in dealing with this necessity of life, and that every endeavour honourably to terminate this strife was met by a series of attempted exactions, deeply to be regretted.*

How effectually they *have* paralyzed the efforts of the consumers, we shall hereafter show.

The delegates did some good work in the ascertainment of the actual condition of things, and the preparation of evidence. It appeared that the price of the Gas supplied in different parishes varied from £3 1*s.* 6*d.* up to £6 16*s.* for each public lamp; and that, whilst the amount actually subscribed for was more than 20,000 feet per lamp per annum, there was very much less actually supplied, and in one case only about half.

The vials of the Companies' wrath were poured out upon the delegates. Current pamphlets of the period, written by those interested in the Companies, denounce them in no measured terms. We are asked whether the "Imperial Parliament is going to be led by the nose by the parochial Bumbles of the metropolis?" A proposition to reduce the price of the Gas when 8 per cent. had been earned, is "simple robbery;" and all interference with "private property," "most audacious."

A committee of the House was appointed in March 1859, pursuant to the recommendation of the committee of 1858. This committee, with the Hon. Mr. Byng as chairman, had many meetings with respect to the question. They agreed upon certain propositions as the basis of a new Act.

On the 30th of June a "Metropolis Gas Regulation Bill" was introduced, on the motion of the delegates. Sir John Shelley, the Hon. Mr. Byng, Mr. Locke, and Mr. Ayrton were its sponsors. It embodied the very moderate propositions of the committee, but for technical reasons connected with the forms of the House, had to be abandoned during this session.

The needful notices were, however, given in the month of November in this year; and so, with the same members' names behind it, a Bill was introduced in 1860. This Bill represented the result of more than two years' unwearied labour on the part of the delegates, and efforts had been made in it to meet the more moderate of the demands of the Companies. Mr. Sotheron-Estcourt was the chairman of the committee on the Bill. Twenty-six petitions had been presented against it.

As introduced, the Bill

Incorporated "The Gas Works Clauses Act, 1847,"

Legalized districting,

Regulated the price (4*s.* being a maximum for 18-candle Gas),

and made other regulating provisions.

After hearing evidence, the committee announced some conclusions at which they had arrived:—

That there ought to be permanent inspectors appointed to see the Act carried into effect;

That there should be districting, subject to triennial revision by the Home Office;

Also various other matters as to price, distribution, &c., somewhat indefinite.

A considerable amount of evidence as to price and illuminating power was given, and very moderate resolutions were arrived at by the committee, but as the exorbitant claims of the Companies were not admitted, these bodies withdrew from appearance, hoping, as their counsel, Serjeant Wrangham said, "that before another tribunal more correct judgment would be exercised than by the present committee." The committee, however, went on with their work, and reported in favour of clauses whereby a reduction should take place in the price, when upon the report of the Inspectors appointed by the Home Secretary, 8 per cent. had been paid, and an advance when only 6 per cent.

The committee passed the Bill, June 25th. An enormous number of petitions were presented against it, and eventually it was recommitted. Recommittal under such circumstances could have but one result. The provision for the appointment of permanent Inspectors to investigate and report upon the working of the Companies was the great safeguard of the public. The Companies saw in it a control to which they were unwilling to submit, and they got the clause altered so that they should only be appointed when

complaints arose.* The difficulties connected with this method of redress have made what was a valuable provision in the public interest a mere nullity, and the penalty, if recovered, would practically be paid by the ratepayers. The committee also allowed their own very reasonable propositions as to dividend to go, and the very ineffectual provisions of "The Gas Works Clauses Act, 1847," were substituted.

As we shall have cause hereafter to deal with the dividend clauses of this Act as incorporated, and the arguments based upon them, we shall here set them out at length. It may be premised that the Act was passed "to consolidate into one Act the provisions usually contained in Gas Acts, and to ensure uniformity in such provisions." † Its adoption was to be optional in any Gas Act passed after 1847, and the incorporation of it by the Metropolis Gas Act of 1860, except where inconsistent, put the metropolis under its provisions as to dividends, most of the Companies having been established prior to 1847, and being under no legislative control in that respect.

The dividend clauses are the following:—

"30. The profits of the undertaking to be divided amongst the undertakers in any year shall not exceed the prescribed rate, or where no rate is prescribed, they shall not exceed the rate of ten pounds in the hundred by the year, on the paid up capital in the undertaking, which in such case shall be deemed the prescribed rate, unless a larger dividend be at any time necessary to make up the

* They were then to be appointed by the Home Secretary. If their complaint, which is limited to "quantity" or "quality," prove good, the Home Secretary is to order the Companies "to remove the grounds of complaint," and in default a penalty not exceeding £50. *Vide* 23 & 24 Vict. c. 125, ss. 7—13.

† See preamble, 10 Vict. c. 15.

deficiency of any previous dividend which shall have fallen short of the said yearly rate.

31. "If the clear profits of the undertaking in any year amount to no larger sum than is sufficient, after making up the deficiency in any previous year, as aforesaid, to make a dividend at the prescribed rate, the excess beyond the sum necessary for such purposes shall from time to time be invested in the same or like securities, in order that the same may accumulate at compound interest, until the fund so formed amount to the prescribed sum; or if no sum be prescribed, a sum equal to one-tenth of the nominal capital of the undertakers, which sum shall form a reserved fund, to answer any deficiency that may at any time happen in the amount of divisible profits, or to meet any extraordinary claim or demand, which may at any time arise against the undertakers, and if such fund be at any time reduced it may hereafter be again restored to the said sum, and so from time to time as often as such reduction shall happen.

"32. Provided always that no sum of money shall be taken from the said fund for the purpose of meeting any extraordinary claim, unless it be first certified in England or Ireland by the justices, and in Scotland by the sheriff, that the sum so proposed to be taken is required for the purpose of meeting an extraordinary claim within the meaning of this or the special Act.

"33. When such fund shall, by accumulation or otherwise, amount to the prescribed sum, or one-tenth of the nominal capital of the Company, as the case may be, the interests and the dividends thereon shall be no longer invested, but applied to any of the general purposes of the undertaking to which the profits thereof are applicable.

"34. If profits be less than the prescribed rate, a sum may be taken from the reserved fund to supply deficiency.

"36. If profits be more than the amount prescribed, a rateable reduction to be made in the supply of Gas."

This is incorporated in the Act of 1860, except that clause 31 is controlled by section 2 of the Act, whereby a Company is debarred from making up deficient back revenues for more than six years.

As we think, and subsequent experience endorses the conclusion, it was unwise on the part of the promoters not to withdraw their emasculated Bill.

Nobody questioned that the committee was fairly chosen; that they were in a position to form competent opinions, and that they had done their duty. When the Bill was re-committed, it was a very unusual course; no counsel were heard before the committee, and very soon it was remodelled on the basis of the Companies' proposals. Although in some respects an improvement upon the *status quo ante*, yet it represented neither the conclusions of the delegates, nor the matured judgment of the committee themselves.

Something was, however, gained for the public. Certain forms of accounts were prescribed to be annually rendered by the Companies, and open to public inspection; but as we shall hereafter see, when we come to deal with the question of share capital, no investigation was made of past accounts, or verification of capital upon which dividend was payable.

Districting was recognised, and thus Parliamentary sanction was given to monopoly, as a citizen must either take the Gas of one particular Company, at its then price, or obtain light some other way. The ratification by Parliament of the districting system was an immense boon to the Companies. It amounted to a practical guarantee of a monopoly; and as the Bill ultimately left the House, there is no doubt (as the committee of 1866 afterwards reported)

that the equivalent extracted from the Companies was inadequate.

The only controlling provision is in clause 6 of the Act of 1860. This clause specifies, by reference to maps, the districts of the various Companies. It gives a power to the Home Secretary to alter the boundaries of the districts triennially, either on the application of the Companies concerned, or on the application of the local authority, or on the requisition of twenty consumers within the particular district; but in either of the last two cases, proof must be given to his satisfaction of the inability or failure of the Company concerned to fulfil the conditions of the Act; in this case he may also, if he think fit, empower some other Company to supply the district. It limits each Company to its prescribed district, and forbids the supply of Gas for sale within such limits, by other person or Company, "*unless authorized by Parliament so to do.*"

It would, of course, be at any time in the power of Parliament to reverse one Act by another; but the distinct option thus left may be taken as a notice to the Companies, and will effectually answer much of the claim now made for vested rights, as we shall see hereafter.

There are also compulsory powers of supply for places within the Companies' districts, and arrangements for meter rent, in which, as in the rest, the Company gets a good deal the better of the public.*

They are also bound to light all public lamps, but not any street where the lamps are at a greater distance than seventy-five† yards. This is a hard provision in suburban districts, and Local Boards are allowed no power to manufacture their own.

It provides for a certain supply of Gas,‡ but makes no provision as to the pressure.

* 23 & 24 Vict. c. 125, s. 14. † s. 22. ‡ Sec. 24.

Section 25 limits the illuminating power of common Gas to twelve sperm candles, and cannel Gas to twenty candles, and has important provisions for testing the purity of the Gas.

The payment of the debts of outgoing by incoming tenants, as a condition of Gas supply, was also abolished.*

Section 40 prescribes the price of Gas which is to remain at its then price, if at or above 4*s.* 6*d.* per 1,000 feet, unless there are circumstances warranting an advance. In case of an advance notice was to be given to the authorities, and in case they dissent from it, arbitration may take place. But no Company to charge more than 5*s.* 6*d.* for common Gas, and 7*s.* 6*d.* for cannel Gas.

The Metropolitan Board of Works had to pay the cost of the Act. Perhaps this was immaterial, as in either case it would practically be paid by the ratepayers.

One or two reductions in price followed the passing of the Act, and the raising of the illuminating standard to twelve candles, which was two higher than had previously been deemed sufficient, was a considerable gain.

And how did this Act, professedly passed in the Consumers' interests, affect the Companies?

The net profits of the Companies supplying the City, after payment of all charges, including management, manufacture, and distribution, were—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
"The Chartered" in 1861 .	50,186	16	3
" " 1862 .	71,613	5	9
" " 1863 .	78,661	8	1
"City of London" in 1861 .	21,950	5	11
" " 1862 .	28,418	1	10
" " 1863 .	28,878	12	5
"Great Central" in 1861 .	15,494	8	0
" " 1862 .	31,025	16	0
" " 1863 .	42,275	2	0

* Sec. 39.

Or nearly £150,000 in 1863 in these three Companies alone.

Let us take four other Companies as an illustration of the vast bonus which that Act conferred upon the Companies.

"London" £50 shares were worth £30 in 1859; £80 in 1865.

"Commercial" £25 shares were worth £27 in 1859; £42 in 1865.

"Independent" £40 shares were worth £50 in 1859; £70 in 1865.

"Phœnix" £60 shares were worth £63 in 1859; £85 in 1865.

The six years which followed the passing of the Metropolis Gas Act, were a period of peace and prosperity to the Companies. Some minor Gas Bills were introduced, notably one in 1863 by the Government, at the instance of the Board of Works, to remedy some of the defects of the Act of 1860, but it excited a good deal of opposition and was ultimately withdrawn. The Companies were benefiting in every way, and the manner in which they took advantage of their position, is well set forth in a pamphlet by a well-known citizen, under date 1864.*

"The Gas Companies are now paying 10 per cent. on the declared capital, and also paying dividends to their shareholders for past years, when the dividends have not amounted to 10 per cent. They are appropriating the surplus profit by way of extravagant outlay in building, increase of salaries, and in every way possible, but the way which would be in accordance with the spirit of the Act of Parliament, and conduce to the interests of the ratepayers and consumers, viz., a reduction in price."

* "Address to the Consumers of Gas in the City of London." By E. Dresser Rogers, 1864.

Thus the Act of 1860 worked well for the Companies. Their higher prices were justified by higher dividends. In 1866 the nominal capital of the Companies was £5,863,130, and, upon this, in that year no less than £530,357 was distributed in the form of dividend. In the year 1859 no Company had been able to declare a 10 per cent. dividend. In 1866 *every one* of the thirteen Companies had either reached or were close upon it. There was neither unity in price, nor were the old inequalities removed. For example, the "Imperial" charged to its private consumers 4*s.*, to the parish of Marylebone, 2*s.* 11½*d.*, and to the parish of Clerkenwell, 3*s.* 7*d.*, *all for the same Gas.* The back dividend clause soon got into good working order; for example, it was said that the "Phœnix Company"* divided 40 per cent. and had a good balance over, in 1864.

The Companies' defence of their monopoly had been conducted regardless of expense. It was calculated that in the ten years ending 1866, they spent £80,000 in the contest.† We say *they* spent, as they actually distributed it, but in reality much of the money ought to have been employed in lowering the price of Gas, and so may be said to have been ratepayers' money.

The City of London considered itself especially hardly used by the Companies. In 1849 the "Great Central" had offered to execute a deed, binding themselves to supply Gas at 4*s.*, and to reduce it to 3*s.* 6*d.*, and 3*s.* when they had realized 10 per cent. But on the passing of the Act of 1860 they raised their price to 4*s.* 6*d.*

It could not therefore be wondered at that the Corporation of London introduced a Bill in 1866 for the purpose of raising £500,000, and for obtaining the necessary powers to

* "Spencer on Gas Pipe Leakage and Metropolitan Subways." Napier, 1865.

† "Municipal Finance and the Gas and Water Supply of London." R. H. Patterson. Blackwood.

enable them to provide suitable works "for the manufacture and supply of Gas for the City of London, and the liberties thereof," so as to meet the increased demand which had arisen; to secure its being supplied, and to ensure proper quality and illuminating power. The Bill proposed 3*s.* per 1,000 feet as the maximum price, and, as might be expected, the Companies were terrified. If it were shown to be feasible to manufacture Gas at that price, where would the other Companies be? In the Companies' organ the Bill was denounced as "a violation of the principles of fair dealing, which regulate the conduct of citizens generally, and an attempt to destroy vested interests bestowed on the Companies by Act of Parliament, without compensation." The Bill was referred to a select committee, with power to enquire into the operation and results of "The Gas Metropolis Act, 1860."

A committee of thirteen members, with Sir John Trollope as chairman, conducted the investigation, the whole expense of which was borne by the Corporation of London. And certainly credit is due to the Corporation for its public spirit. Mr. Crawford moved the second reading of the Bill in a studiously moderate speech, in which he demonstrated clearly that by the manipulation of the accounts of the Companies, the provisions for the reduction of price were often inoperative, and that the Corporation had failed to bring the Companies to reason. A debate followed, in which Mr. Ayrton congratulated the City on having "passed from gastronomy to Gas," and eventually the second reading of the Bill passed by 219 against 193. The committee reported that the result of their examination of witnesses from other towns was, that the illuminating power and quality of the Gas supplied to them was higher, and the price cheaper, than in London. That the light varied from

fourteen to thirty candles; whereas in London it was fixed at twelve for common Gas, and twenty for cannel.

They reported the effect of the Act of 1860 to have been, that every Company paid 10 per cent. now, whereas none did in the year pending the passing of the Act, and that many had, in addition, paid back dividends and accumulated reserves.

They reported that, in their opinion, the minimum illuminating power should be increased, and the maximum price reduced; and in favour of an elected board, to test the quality—the Companies to provide a place and materials.

They reported in favour of reducing the back dividend clauses to three years.

They reported in favour of a continuance of districting, but that all facilities should be afforded by Parliament for amalgamation, or the disposal of the Companies' property to some body representing the consumers, on such terms as may be agreed on, and as Parliament may see fit to impose.

They reported that the mode of recovering penalties against Gas Companies was inoperative.

That "The Gas Act, 1860," should be amended to carry out these ideas.

The evidence given to the committee most fully bore out their report.

A Bill had also been introduced for the purpose of amending "The Gas Act, 1860," and empowering the Metropolitan Board and other local authorities to levy rates, and purchase Gas works and plant. The measure would, of course, have been inoperative, except upon the action of ratepayers then being fleeced by the Companies; but it is desirable to put upon record that the Board of Works "could not, on behalf of the ratepayers, assent to this mode

of dealing with the question, and therefore *petitioned against it.*" *

They also petitioned against the Corporation Bill.

In November 1866, a deputation waited upon Sir Stafford Northcote, the President of the Board of Trade, to ask him to introduce a Bill in pursuance of the recommendations of Sir John Trollope's committee. Sir Stafford Northcote acceded to the proposition, and such a Bill was promoted by him in 1867, and a projected Bill, in the interests of the City, was withdrawn. This bill of the Board of Trade provided for the repeal of the dividend clauses of the Act of 1860, and the formation of a Metropolitan Gas Board, to test the quality. The highest price was to be 3*s.* 6*d.* per thousand feet for fourteen-candle Gas, and the dividend was to be limited to 7 per cent. where this maximum was charged, and a sliding scale for increase of dividend when there was a lessening of price. The Metropolitan Board of Works and the Commissioners of Sewers had also a power to enter into agreement for purchase.

The most strenuous opposition was offered to the measure. It was styled a "confiscation of property," and a "Republican Bill brought in by a Conservative Government." One of the Gas Company pamphleteers says: "The first act of the Republican Government of France was the confiscation, to a great extent, of the property of the nobility and other landed proprietors. Is it wise for the Government of this country to be guided by the French Republic? Are they prepared for the consequences?" "The grossest ignorance" was one of the smallest offences of the Government. "Landed proprietors will be called upon to submit their title deeds to the inspection of a select committee;" and even the *Times* gave some support to the cry.† In a letter

* Report of the Metropolitan Board of Works, p. 54.
† Article, April 13th, 1867.

from Mr. Beck, the chairman of the "Chartered Company," under date 29th of April, 1867, to the Board of Trade, the same wide allegations as to "breaking faith with all shareholders, representing more than 500 millions of capital," invested in joint-stock undertakings, is repeated. But in his reply, Sir Stafford Northcote refuses to admit that the Bill involves any breach of faith; still less, that "it affects any other class of Companies. If the Companies," he goes on to say, "refuse to accede to the conditions which, upon full inquiry, may be thought necessary, in order to mitigate the inconvenience of their monopoly, it may become a question for Parliament, whether it is right that they should be left in possession of it, but that is a question for the future." When people, who assure us they know, assert a thing very strongly, they over-persuade people who are not quite sure; and so, when the Bill was sent to Mr. Cardwell's select committee, it was robbed of its fair proportions; the clause affecting dividends was struck out, the maximum price and illuminating power were both left blank, and the clauses for optional purchase were omitted.

As to the power of interfering with price and illuminating power, which was now the only important point left, the committee say, "a compulsory and unconditional interference with the prices already conceded to the producer is not the weapon by which Parliament is accustomed to secure the rights of the consumer. *The legitimate weapon to be resorted to for that purpose is the enactment of an independent supply.*"

This sentence of Mr. Cardwell's committee contains the affirmance of an undoubted truth, and if ever a truly representative body of men should succeed in acquiring power to manufacture Gas in London, the ratepayers will for the first time be able to estimate how much they have been overtaxed in this commodity.

The Committee go on to report that the Act of 1860 had "been very favourable to the producer," and that in its provisions the "consumer was practically unrepresented:" that no one connected with the Companies had any interest in reducing the expenditure, and that amalgamation might take place with advantage. The Companies had insisted before the committee upon 10 per cent. as their maximum dividend, and offered to have 4*s.* per 1,000 feet as their maximum price, and fourteen candles the illuminating power. The Committee were not satisfied with this offer, but expressed themselves willing to yield a considerable dividend if due opportunity were given for inspection and revision of price: otherwise they would "report to the House their opinion that powers for the supply of Gas ought to be conceded to the local authorities of the metropolis." Finally, after the intervention of the Board of Trade they did report in favour of periodical arbitration, under which a price should be fixed, calculated to yield to the Companies, with due care and management, a dividend attaining as near as may be, to 10 per cent. per annum. This scheme which was so large a concession, and which has since proved so lucrative to the Companies, *they at that time rejected.*

If the Bill of 1867 had passed even in its emasculated condition, London would still have been the gainer in several ways. Back dividends would be no longer payable; amalgamation would have been provided for; there would have been a good audit of accounts, and we should have had purity of Gas ensured. It can scarcely be said that the committee go too far when they say—"To these advantages the consumer is entitled, and we recommend that nothing less should be required as the conditions of any settlement that shall leave in the hands of the Companies exclusively the future supply of the metropolis. They very justly

charge the Companies with having rejected reasonable terms, and say that it would be unjust to the consumer that he should continue subject to monopoly without a due control of it." They further add, that "unless terms satisfactory for the consumers can be arranged with the Companies, the Board of Trade should abstain from the introduction of any other measure like 'The Metropolis Gas Bill, 1867.' Unless the Companies are prepared during the recess to consent to such an arrangement, your committee think that every facility should be afforded to the local authorities for the introduction of an independent supply."

The committee "recommended" and "invited" the Corporation of the City and the Metropolitan Board of Works to present competing schemes before the session of 1868. They had already in their report clearly indicated the rights of the consumer, and were anxious to see them enforced. The action of the two metropolitan authorities was widely different. The City Corporation forthwith appointed a committee, gave the requisite notices in November, and appeared with the London Corporation Gas Bill, before the House in the session of 1868. The Metropolitan Board also "considered" the question. Deputation after deputation waited upon them in the autumn from the delegates of vestries, and ratepayers urging them to seize this golden opportunity for settling a vexed question. But incredible to relate, after seven weeks of vacillation and delay, they rejected the invitation of the House of Commons; they ignored the wish of the vestries who had sent them, and of the ratepayers that by a figure of speech they were supposed to represent, and *decided that they would not introduce a Bill.* To emphasize their invitation, the Committee of the House had signified their intention of considering the Gas Companies' Bills favourably,

if no opposing ones were sent in. The action of the Metropolitan Board of Works was therefore a flagrant betrayal of the public trust. Probably, as the *Parochial Critic* at that time observed, "a more wanton neglect of their interests was never charged or proved against any body presuming to protect them. The Board has deliberately, apparently by preconcerted design, helped the Gas Companies to maintain their monopoly against the express wish of Parliament."* It was alleged at the time that there were large Gas interests at the Board restraining its action, but we prefer to regard their conduct, or rather misconduct, as in all probability due rather to incompetence than to venality.

Meantime, a public-spirited citizen essayed to do the needful work, and Mr. Beal gave the November notices. The Metropolis Gas Bill was drafted, and another opportunity was afforded to the Board of Works to prove whether they had any sense of the responsibilities of their position. The Bill was offered to them to take up in the beginning of December 1867. They referred it to the Gas committee to "consider." This consideration went on, and finally, after five months, on the 25th of April, 1868, *the Board reported against it!* Meantime, the Bill had been introduced. Mr. Morrison, Mr. Locke, and Mr. Gorst had put their names on the back, and it was read a second time, and referred to a committee, along with the Corporation Gas Bill, and the Gas Light and Coke Company's Bill. This committee expressed their intention of passing the Cor-

* The deluded ratepayer can readily excuse the more vigorous language of the same paper, when it goes on to say—"It is time we stirred ourselves to overturn this dumb idol, and establish an effective real municipality in its place, elected direct from the ratepayers, instead of being filtered through the vestries—the prey or dupe apparently by turns of every class of jobbers who thrive on their ignorance, their neglect, or their ludicrous vanity."

poration Gas Bill, unless the Companies agreed to settle the Metropolis Gas Bill clauses on the basis of the recommendations of the committee of 1867. After some delay, the Companies supplying the area covered by the Corporation Gas Bill agreed to do so. The others were not called upon to do so; the reason for this being clearly set forth in the statement of the committee: "The Corporation of the City, by coming before us with their Bill, have enabled us to give effect to our views with respect to the City. The Metropolitan Board of Works are not before us with any Bill of their own. The scope of the Metropolis Gas Act Amendment Bill is now limited to the supply of the City, and we do not think it will be expedient to prejudice in any way the future proceedings of Parliament with respect to other metropolitan districts." The counsel of the Metropolitan Board were therefore sent about their business, and it is owing to the grave *lâches* of the authorities at Spring Gardens that a golden opportunity was lost.* At the instance, however, of the Board, the provisions of the Act were extended to the whole area supplied by the Gas Light and Coke Company, which body had, as we have seen, a measure of its own before the House.

"The City of London Gas Act, 1868," is based, therefore, upon the Bill of Mr. Beal and the delegates of the vestries; the City Corporation Gas Bill having been with-

* It is somewhat edifying to read what the Metropolitan Board say about the matter in their report: "The proceedings in Parliament in the session of 1868 resulted in the passing of the City of London Gas Act, a measure which conferred important advantages on the consumers of Gas within the City, by providing for a reduction of the price, and an improvement of the quality of the Gas, and placing the Companies under certain conditions and restrictions which were deemed just and necessary in the interests of the consumers." A complaint is made that these advantages were not conceded to the suburbs! And this is the Board's account of the measure they reported against!! See Report M.B.W., 1868-9, pp. 39, 40, *et seq.*

drawn on the announcement of the resolution of the committee.

The provisions of this Act, which only affected Companies supplying the City, were shortly as follows:—

The illuminating power of Gas supplied was to be sixteen candles, and the maximum price 3*s.* 9*d.* per 1,000 feet; where cannel Gas of twenty candles was supplied, a proportionate increase of price. But these prices may be modified by application to the Board of Trade; no such application to be made before January 1871. If such application be made, then the Board of Trade may appoint Commissioners in the month of January in any year, who shall have power to fix such an illuminating power, and such a price, as shall be calculated to yield to the Company, with due care and management, a dividend as near as may be, but in no case exceeding, 10 per cent. per annum. They shall take into account any saving which, in their opinion, might have been effected by amalgamation; and they shall not, in any case, fix an illuminating power lower, or a price higher, than the minimum power and maximum price prescribed by Act of 1860. (See sec. 68.)

A right of purchase of the works of the Companies supplying the City was given to the Corporation, to be exercised at any time within three years.

Back dividends were no longer to be payable.

Arrangements are made for amalgamation; and schemes for the purpose, confirmed by Her Majesty in Council, to have the force of an Act of Parliament.

The old "reserve fund" to be replaced by an "insurance fund" of half the amount created by contributions of 1 per cent., when a 10 per cent. dividend was declared."

Board of Trade referees to test the quality, and auditor of the Board of Trade to investigate the accounts.

Penalties were to be defrayed out of divisible profits.

Such is "The City of London Gas Act, 1868." As we have seen, the provision for purchase is only available during three years, and as it was further fettered with the condition of obtaining the consent of all other London Gas Companies "*or purchasing their works,*" it was never carried out. The Companies insisting on this limitation, is the strongest possible proof of their fear of public competition with "unwatered" capital. The Corporation of the City, however, made an attempt to purchase the works of the Company supplying them, but it was unsuccessful. The City offered to guarantee to the shareholders a 6 per cent. dividend. The 6 per cent. guarantee of the Corporation *would have been worth in the market 25 per cent. premium upon the value of their shares*,* yet the Company refused the offer, and talked loudly of "confiscation." Probably the shareholders who—when the Companies make one of their *ad misericordiam* appeals—we are told are chiefly trustees, clergymen, and women, never had an opportunity of voting upon the question with a knowledge of the facts.

It was computed that in 1870, the first year of the new scale, the saving to the City of London alone was £82,500, and in the outlying district of the "Gas Light and Coke Company," £60,000 more. But what was the effect on the Companies concerned? After the passing of the Act the "Gas Light and Coke Company's" shares rose from £47 to £56; the "City of London," £22 to £25; the "Great Central," from £13 to £15.

The Referees appointed by the Board of Trade to fix the method of testing the quality of Gas, and to represent the consumers' interest, were: Mr. Evans (the engineer of the "Gas Light and Coke Company") Mr. Patterson, and Mr. Pierce. In 1872 the two latter gentlemen published a

* Speech of Mr. Bontems, in Court of Common Council, November 26th, 1868.

report, reflecting upon the method of purification employed by the "Gas Light and Coke Company," but this seems to have aroused the ire of their co-Referee, Mr. Evans, who had resigned his post as Referee; and it would seem from his published reply that the appointment of Referees had not been conducive to the public advantage anticipated.*

Bills were introduced into Parliament in 1869, asking for an enormous increase of capital for three Companies. The "Imperial," with a capital of £2,139,250, proposed to increase it to £3,358,000. The "South Metropolitan" to advance from £250,000 to £625,000, and the "Great Central" from £266,000 to £391,000. The "Imperial" were put upon terms, and eventually many of the clauses of the City of London Gas Act were applied to this Company, and the price was fixed at 3*s.* 9*d.*, with an illuminating power of fourteen candles. The "South Metropolitan" gave up the right to back dividends, and fixed a maximum price lower than 3*s.* 9*d.*

The provision of the Act of 1868 as to the amalgamation of the Gas Companies soon bore fruit. The first scheme sanctioned was one for the amalgamation of the "City of London Gas Company" with the "Gas Light and Coke Company." Then the "Great Central" amalgamated with the "United Company;" so that at the end of 1870 the City was supplied only by one Company, the "Gas Light and Coke Company," with an aggregate capital of £2,150,000, and a large area outside the Corporation limits. The "Victoria Docks Company" was purchased by

* The public had been hoodwinked into the belief that the Gas Referee clauses of the Act of 1868 were likely to prove a protection to them. Mr. Evans writes—"My colleagues, Messrs. Patterson and Pierce, were absolutely ignorant of all matters connected with the purification, testing, and supply of Gas in any shape:" and we are then told how these ungrateful gentlemen who now call his method of purification in question, owe all their knowledge of the subject to his instruction, and to the courtesy of Gas Directors!—*Journal of Gas Lighting*, September 24th, 1872, p. 801.

the same Company, so that the number of Companies supplying London was reduced from fourteen to eleven. When the "Great Central" consented to end its separate existence, it took care to provide a good thing for its shareholders on account of the Higgs' defalcations. The loss to the Company had been £56,290 19*s.* 5*d.* Of this the "United Company" were to pay £15,000 in the first year, and £5,000 a year afterwards. We believe that in consequence of the view of this transaction taken by the Commissioners, and of the Order in Council approving the scheme, the London ratepayers have been paying these defalcations in addition to the customary dividend!!

The "Equitable" and the "Western" amalgamated with the "Gas Light and Coke Company" next, and so the London Companies were reduced to nine. It is somewhat edifying to read the terms of these amalgamations. Whatever the object may have been, the result was clear to fill the directorial pocket. Let us take an example from the scheme amalgamating the "Western." For the first year the fees of the directors of the "United Company" are not to exceed £10,000, and by gradual yearly reductions to arrive at their minimum of £6,000 a year in 1882! By clause 26 any director within three months giving notice of his intention to retire from the direction, shall receive a sum equal to the amount of fees received by him during the three preceding years, so that if he has enjoyed say, £750 a year for his attendance at the Board, he may receive £2,250 on condition of retiring! And this is part of the "current expenditure," and so is saddled on the ratepayer.

In November 1870, negotiations for the introduction of a comprehensive Gas measure for London were initiated by the Board of Trade, in conferences with a deputation from the ratepayers, and one from the Metropolitan Board

of Works; but the Metropolitan Board, though promised the support of Government, *again declined to "undertake the responsibility of introducing a measure,"* and so the Board of Trade gave the notices in November. No Bill was, however, introduced in 1871 in pursuance of them. Here, again, we see a Government office asking the Metropolitan Board to act as a representative London body in a matter concerning the whole Metropolis, and we find it declining to do so.

In 1872 an unsuccessful attempt was made to amalgamate the "Phœnix," supplying Gas at 3*s.* 9*d.*, and with a large amount of useless capital, with the "South Metropolitan Company," supplying Gas at 3*s.* 2*d.* The Bill was thrown out, being opposed by the Board of Works and by ratepayers, as contrary to the consumers' interest. The result of this failure was that the "South Metropolitan" lowered its price to 3*s.* In the same year the "Gas Light and Coke Company" brought in a Bill to raise additional share capital to the extent of a million sterling, and to increase their power of borrowing.

A somewhat feeble opposition to the measure was offered by the Metropolitan Board of Works, on the ground that the amount asked for was nearly twice as much as was wanted, and they also endeavoured to persuade the committee that any new capital should only bear 7 per cent. interest, as it would easily be raised at par at that rate. But Mr. Denison opposed these measures on behalf of the Company, admitting that a million was asked for in order that the Company "might not have to come again so soon;" and as to the 10 per cent., Mr. Browne, the deputy-governor of the Company, told the committee that they "were entitled to the same dividend on this as on the other."

When the Council for the Metropolitan Board of Works showed that, at present prices, this would be practically

giving the Company £600,000 of ratepayers' money; that the "Imperial" had been limited in this way, and asking "what is the claim to more than par?" the answer is, "Because we *want* the 10 per cent. We have raised the other capital upon these terms, with the consent of Parliament, and we now object to that Act of Parliament being changed. We also gave the consumers the prospect of a very great reduction by-and-by, which we hope to give!!" Subsequently to this, they raised the price for common Gas form 3*s.* 9*d.* to 5*s.* per 1,000 feet. So the Bill passed. Londoners are charged with £30,000 a year more, simply because the Companies "want" it; and they have got so much money now that the public will probably have no opportunity of putting any more safe restrictions on them unless they obtain the extensions to be asked for in subsequent Sessions.

The authorized capital of the "Chartered" was thus raised to £4,150,000, and its borrowing power to £913,000. The Company also obtained power to apply the proceeds of the sale of surplus land to the erection of new works; repealing clause 59 of the Act of 1868, whereby they would have been compelled to apply it to the reduction of capital. This Company shares, with all London Gas Companies, a strong dislike to the reduction of capital that pays so well.

In 1873 the "Gas Light and Coke Company" brought forward a bill enabling them to purchase collieries and ships, and for other matters. This was ultimately confined to an expenditure of £150,000 on ships; and when the Company is charging higher for Gas than 3*s.* 9*d.* per 1,000 feet, it may only declare 7 per cent. on this capital. A Bill of the "Imperial" Company, asking for leave to amalgamate, was thrown out, probably in consequence of the opposition of the "Gas Light and Coke Company," whose

extensive works at Beckton are made, as they say, on a scale to accommodate future amalgamation.

We have seen that in consequence of the inertia of the Metropolitan Board, only three Companies—the "Gas Light and Coke Company," the "Imperial," and the "South Metropolitan"—are under the provisions of the Act of 1868; the remaining six—the "Commercial," the "Independent," the "Ratcliff," the "London," the "Phœnix," and the "Surrey Consumers'"—being only subject to the Act of 1860. The "Gas Light and Coke," the "Imperial," and the "South Metropolitan," supply Gas under the Acts of 1868 and 1869, at maximum prices of 3*s.* 9*d.*, 3*s.* 9*d.*, and 3*s.* 6*d.* per 1,000 feet respectively, and illuminating powers of sixteen, fourteen, and fourteen candles respectively. But as we have seen, if the Companies are unable to declare a dividend of 10 per cent., at these prices, they may apply to the Board of Trade, at the beginning of any year, for a revision of price, and the Board of Trade must, upon each requisition, appoint Commissioners to investigate the affairs of the Companies, and fix such price and illuminating power as may be calculated, "with due care and management," to yield 10 per cent. to the Company. The price is not, however, to be higher, or the illuminating power lower, than the limit of 1860 (5*s.* 6*d.* for common Gas and twelve candles).

This clause first came into operation, upon the application of the "Gas Light and Coke Company," in January 1873. In the application, they state that the price of coal has been such that they could not declare 10 per cent.

Mr. F. S. Reilly, Dr. Wm. Odling, and Wm. P. Pattison, were appointed Commissioners to act under this clause.*

* On the 22nd of May, 1873, Sir Charles Dilke asked, in the House of Commons, whether the legal Commissioners appointed by the Board of Trade to report upon the increased price of Gas demanded by the "Gas

The Corporation of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works were represented before them. The Company asked an increase of 1*s.* per 1,000 feet; and after hearing both sides, the Commissioners advanced the price of common Gas from 3*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* 4*d.* per 1,000 feet, cannel Gas being advanced proportionately. In 1873, therefore, there was a difference of 1*s.* 4*d.* per 1,000 feet between the prices charged for sixteen-candle Gas by the "Gas Light and Coke Company," and fourteen-candle Gas by the "South Metropolitan." The former Company was applying to advance beyond its maximum price; the latter was considerably under it. But the year 1874 was to see this difference greatly increased.

In November 1873, the Metropolitan Board again received notice of the intention of the "Gas Light and Coke Company" and the "Imperial," to apply for an advance in price. For six days, commencing March 12th, 1874, the same three Commissioners conducted the enquiry, under the Act of 1868, and the result of it was that the price of cannel Gas as supplied by the "Gas Light and Coke Company," was fixed at 6*s.* 3*d.* per 1,000 feet, and the price of common Gas, at 5*s.* per 1,000 feet, and so it remained during 1873, the rate being $3\frac{3}{4}d.$ a candle.

In the latter part of the year an important letter was written from the Board of Trade, by Mr. T. H. Farrer to Mr. James Beal, upon the Gas Question. The writer,

Light and Coke Company" had been, in several Parliamentary sessions, Parliamentary draughtsmen and counsel to the "Gas Light and Coke Company?" To this most important question, Mr. Chichester Fortescue replied, that he had "not enquired" whether Mr. Reilly was so. He said his character stood "too high to be impugned. and that he had been also employed by the Corporation of the City, the Metropolitan Board of Works, and Her Majesty's Government." Nobody pretends that Mr. Reilly would act corruptly, but the public would prefer not having an ex-counsel of the Gas Companies sitting as a judge over their interests. Another of the Commissioners was, if we mistake not, a witness on behalf of the Companies before Mr. Cardwell's Committee.

speaking presumably from inspiration, says—"There can be no doubt that the present condition of the Gas supply in London calls for the serious consideration of those concerned in its management. It is obvious that the legislation of 1868 and of subsequent years has not produced satisfaction." The writer goes on to say, that "probably the only solution of the long-pending disputes between the Companies and the consumers is to be found in a fair purchase on the part of the latter of the property and works of the former." There is no doubt that this is the true basis of action, and as we hereafter show, the Companies have distinctly challenged us to adopt it. The present system of districting produces "absurd extravagance," is "without any plan," and the places of manufacture too numerous, "situate at random," and without reference to the places they have to supply. Amalgamation is strongly recommended on the ground of economy in both manufacture, direction, and distribution. It is somewhat doubtful from the past, whether it has produced these results, and it has the disadvantage of rendering rectification of capital almost impossible. Seeing the creation of a municipality able to deal with the whole is "imminent," we can endure our troubles a little longer, especially as in 1875 the price was reduced by Companies gorged with the high rate of 1874. To compel citizens to take over the "property" of a Company by adopting its capital—probably double in amount to its assets —and swelled by numerous sums that are wrongly charged to capital account, would be an act of very doubtful justice.

We shall hereafter deal with the methods of Gas control that are possible to us, and likely to be possible in the future, and sweep away a few of the fallacies as to the "vested rights" of the Companies which are hurled at the heads of all Gas reformers.

The session of 1875 witnessed the unwonted spectacle

of the Metropolitan Board of Works and the Corporation of London acting together upon the gas question. Early in the session, three Bills were submitted to Parliament with the authority of these bodies. The first Bill provided for the purchase of the undertakings of the Gas Companies upon certain terms therein contained. The second measure, if carried, would have given to the Corporation and the Board of Works power to manufacture and supply gas independently of the Gas Companies. This measure was professedly introduced in pursuance of the recommendation of the Committee of 1867. The length of its gestation at Spring Gardens was therefore in theory eight years, but in practice was probably not as many weeks. Both these Bills were withdrawn before the session was far advanced; that for the purchase because it was conceived that it would not have the support of the Government, and that for the manufacture because it appears to have been introduced only to frighten the Companies. We do not propose to discuss the policy which dictated the introduction of these Bills, but content ourselves with observing that the cost incurred in such introduction falls upon the long-suffering Metropolitan ratepayer. This obvious result was, however, emphasized on the public mind by the question being put in the House of Commons to the Chairman of the Board.*

The third Bill contained the conditions which the Metropolitan Board and the Corporation were desirous of imposing upon the Companies, if their monopoly were allowed to continue. The measure provided for the fixing of a

* Colonel Makyns asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, whether it was the fact that the costs of a private Bill, the Metropolis Gas (New Works), introduced by the Board and withdrawn before the second reading, amounted to several thousand pounds: and if he would state the amount, and out of what funds the costs were to be defrayed. Colonel Hogg said it was impossible to give the amount of the costs. They would be "charged as Law and Parliamentary expenses in the usual manner."

certain price, viz., 3*s.* 9*d.* per 1,000 feet, as that at which a well-managed Gas Company ought to supply gas and still be able to pay its highest dividend. Provision was made for a reduction of dividend in case of an increase of price; the illuminating power to be sixteen candles. There were also provisions for testing the gas at any time, and in any place, and the audit of the Companies was made more complete.

The Bill was read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee. This Committee continued its sittings during twenty days, and had the advantage of the written suggestions of the Board of Trade. In consequence of these suggestions, and as a result of the consideration of the question, the Committee arrived at the conclusion that if the Company's dividends were reduced at a rate proportionate to the increase of price over the initial amount, they should also be permitted to declare an increased dividend in case of reduction of price. The promoters of the Bill therefore agreed to modify it in this respect, and the Committee subsequently declared the preamble of the Bill proved, the illuminating power remaining at sixteen candles, and the initial price at 3*s.* 9*d.*

All the Gas Companies of the Metropolis petitioned against the Bill, and upon the Committee declaring the preamble proved, withdrew from further appearance before it. But they were by no means united in their opposition, for whilst the officials of the South Metropolitan gave evidence in favour of the sliding scale, the Commercial Gas Company actually adopted the provisions of the Bill in a measure introduced for amalgamation with the Ratcliff. After the Gas Bill had passed the Select Committee, it was reported to the House of Commons; but notwithstanding every attempt being made by the promoters of the measure to bring it forward, it never arrived at the stage of dis-

cussion in Committee. Thus another investigation by a Committee of the House of Commons must be regarded as having been futile, unless the Government in the session of 1876 accept its conclusions.

An Amalgamation Bill was introduced in the same session by the Phœnix Gas Company, authorizing it to unite its undertaking with those of other Companies south of the river. The progress of this Bill was stopped for want of compliance with standing orders. A Bill of the Gas Light and Coke Company, providing for the sale of its undertaking, failed before the House of Lords on similar grounds. A Bill for the increase of the share capital of the Imperial Gas Company by £1,300,000, and the loan capital by £538,000, was withdrawn when the Committee intimated that they would require the Company to adopt the new regulations just settled.

The Bill introduced by the Commercial Gas Company provided for amalgamation with the Ratcliff Company, and for the raising of additional share capital to the amount of £450,000, and the loan capital to the amount of £112,500. When the Bill ultimately passed the Committee, it embodied the resolutions at which the Select Committee had arrived, including the sliding scale of dividend, and authorized the raising of £560,000, one-half in shares, with a maximum dividend of 7 per cent., and one-half by way of loan, bearing interest not exceeding 5 per cent. It was edifying to notice the opposition of the Companies to this measure, which they saw might be drawn into a very unsatisfactory precedent. It has, however, now become law. It enunciates a new principle in London Gas legislation, and for the first time it becomes the interest of a large Company to supply gas at the lowest possible rate. The capital of the two Companies was only £550,000, and as it will now be nearly doubled, the proportion of watered

capital cannot be large, and if the Company be well managed, we may perhaps learn at what rate gas can be profitably made in the Metropolis.

The annexed tables set forth a number of particulars with respect to the various Gas Companies, made up to September 29th, 1874. They point to one or two remarkable differences in the management and working of the Companies. They are also useful as enabling us to form an idea as to the money which must be paid in case of any Municipal purchase, and as to the costs of management, which would not be likely, under any ordinary circumstances, to exceed those which are now charged. The enormous proportion of the capital which carries the highest rate of dividend will be noticed, for whilst £7,246,800 belong to this class, there is not a single million borrowed at the ordinary market rate of interest, at which it might be obtained. The reserve fund has been very largely depleted for the purpose of making the 1873 dividends up to seven per cent. The Gas Light and Coke Company keep open, what they are pleased to style, a "Defalcation Account," which is credited with £5,000 a year for the purpose of recouping it under its amalgamation arrangement with the Central Gas Company for the appropriations of Mr. Higgs. As London gas consumers are called upon to pay for the defalcations of servants chosen by gas directors, it is only equitable that such consumers should be furnished with some guarantee, either of the honesty of the servants, or of the intelligence of the directors. At present, the public has no assurance of either.

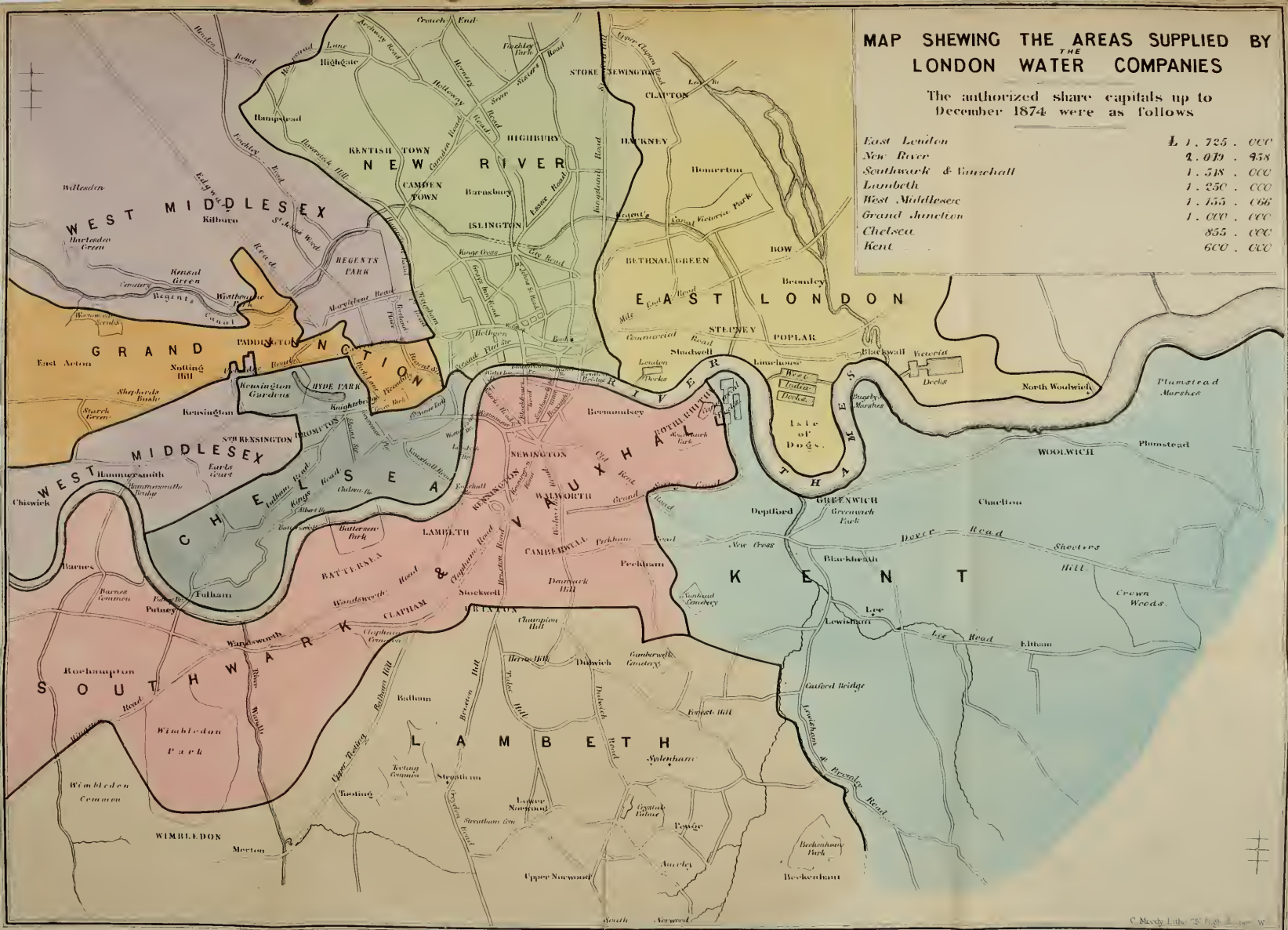
An idea of the gross anomalies existing, so far as the gas districts are concerned, will be obtained from the map set out. It speaks for itself, and shows the monstrous waste and absurdity of the present system better than any words could do.

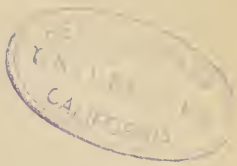
Name of Company.	Amount of Authorized Capital.	Paid-up Capital.	Amount on which 10 per Cent. is payable.	Amount on which 7½ per Cent. is payable.	Amount on which 7 per Cent. is payable.	Amount on which 6 per Cent. is payable.	Amount on which 5 per Cent. is payable.	Amount on which 4 per Cent. is payable.	Total Authorized Loans.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
The Gas Light and Coke .	4,150,000	3,150,000	3,300,000	..	..	..	750,000	100,000	1,063,500
Imperial	2,860,000	2,729,955	1,560,000	..	1,300,000	..	..	..	498,000
South Metropolitan .	500,000	384,751	500,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commercial	450,000	450,000	450,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Independent . . .	255,000	228,000	165,000	60,000	..	..	30,000	..	25,500
The London	873,900	732,580	381,800	..	..	492,100	..	..	191,667
The Phœnix	1,044,000	882,000	540,000	360,000	..	..	144,000	..	200,000
The Ratcliff	100,000	100,000	100,000	..	..	..	..	..	20,000
Surrey Consumers . .	250,000	230,000	250,000	..	..	..	..	..	60,000
£	10,482,900	8,887,286	7,246,800	420,000	1,300,000	992,100	924,000	100,000	2,058,667

Name of Company.	Total Amount of Loans issued.	10 per Cent.	5 per Cent.	4⅝ per Cent.	4½ per Cent.	4¼ per Cent.	4⅛ per Cent.	4 per Cent.	Amount of Unissued Loans.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
The Gas Light and Coke .	813,500	..	14,255	300,000	481,795	14,450	..	3,000	250,000
Imperial	496,750	130,000	150	..	188,300	152,000	20,000	6,300	1,250
South Metropolitan . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Commercial	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Independent	25,500	..	13,200	..	12,300	..	..	..	..
The London	142,792	..	75,332	..	67,460	..	..	..	48,875
The Phœnix	175,000	..	175,000	..	..	..	..	..	25,000
The Ratcliff	15,670	..	15,670	..	..	..	..	..	4,330
Surrey Consumers . .	60,000	..	59,000	..	1,000	..	..	..	..
£	1,729,212	130,000	352,607	300,000	750,855	166,450	20,000	9,300	329,455

Name of Company.	Cost of Coals.	Repairs and Maintenance.	Total Costs of Manufacture.	Costs of Distribution.	Management.	Directors' Fees.	Total Salaries.	Total Expenditure.	Contract for Public Lighting.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
The Gas Light and Coke .	607,759	85,590	795,061	64,445	28,211	5,000	23,714	953,993	73,763
Imperial	515,107	65,920	671,420	36,311	27,695	4,000	27,162	776,404	94,478
South Metropolitan . .	86,010	4,927	111,682	9,190	5,711	1,190	5,477	135,001	13,455
Commercial	112,995	19,127	152,000	6,913	6,512	3,000	5,042	173,754	15,947
Independent	76,698	8,213	96,911	5,488	5,121	1,700	3,815	112,221	6,285
The London	138,844	19,415	184,269	9,347	10,604	1,800	9,218	232,370	21,987
The Phœnix	163,442	32,449	219,079	15,649	9,039	2,000	9,248	261,994	25,157
The Ratcliff	23,051	2,557	30,613	2,031	2,262	800	2,283	37,205	3,794
Surrey Consumers . .	49,795	10,716	70,002	4,708	4,297	1,500	2,876	84,324	13,431
£	1,773,701	248,914	2,331,037	154,082	93,452	20,990	89,835	2,767,266	268,297

Name of Company.	Total Gas Sales.	Residual Products.	Total Income.	Tons of Coal Carbonized.	Gas Sold for Public Lights.	Gas Sold for Private Lights.	Total Gas Sold.	Gas made, but not accounted for.	Reserve Fund.	Number of Public Lamps.
	£	£	£		Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	Feet.	£	
The Gas Light and Coke .	1,091,506	233,251	1,340,088	471,416	237,268	3,929,740	4,167,008	450,989	..	15,090
Imperial	853,761	184,565	1,056,818	423,814	347,679	3,257,086	3,604,765	337,965	977	16,973
South Metropolitan . .	115,439	47,566	163,307	83,766	75,432	681,190	756,622	50,504	20,000	3,606
Commercial	165,405	43,712	209,280	93,526	84,865	739,145	824,010	95,476	14,808	3,796
Independent	91,308	34,095	128,369	58,309	29,500	485,453	514,953	45,080	18,806	1,507
The London	230,993	64,582	302,107	110,403	92,515	919,881	1,012,396	110,360	12,174	4,831
The Phœnix	245,512	65,452	344,027	139,929	120,648	1,146,314	1,266,962	91,372	47,107	5,497
The Ratcliff	36,846	12,144	49,580	20,595	19,108	176,276	195,384	10,426	5,047	870
Surrey Consumers . .	84,630	22,823	109,622	43,238	67,580	313,774	381,354	43,996	..	1,949
£	2,914,800	708,190	3,703,198	1,444,996	1,074,595	11,648,859	12,723,454	1,236,068	118,919	54,119


MAP SHEWING THE AREAS SUPPLIED BY THE LONDON WATER COMPANIES
The authorized share capitals up to December 1874 were as follows
East London £1.725.000
New River 1.019.958
Southwark & Vauxhall 1.518.000
Lambeth 1.250.000
West Middlesex 1.155.066
Grand Junction 1.000.000
Chelsea 855.000
Kent 600.000
NEW RIVER
EAST LONDON
GRAND JUNCTION
WEST MIDDLESEX
CHELSEA
SOUTHWARK & VAUXHALL
LAMBETH
KENT
RIVER THAMES
Isle of Dogs
Hampstead
Highgate
KENTISH TOWN
HIGHBURY
STOKE NEWINGTON
CLAPTON
HACKNEY
Homerton
CAMDEN TOWN
Barnsbury
ISLINGTON
REGENTS PARK
BETHNAL GREEN
BOW
Bromley
STEPNEY
POPLAR
Limehouse
Blackwall
North Woolwich
Plumstead Marshes
Plumstead
WOOLWICH
Charlton
GREENWICH
Greenwich Park
Deptford
Blackheath
Shooters Hill
Crown Woods
Lee
Lewisham
Eltham
Kidbrooke
Hither Green
Catford Bridge
Forest Hill
Sydenham
Penge
Anerley
Beckenham
Beckenham Park
Upper Norwood
South Norwood
Crystal Palace
Dulwich
Dulwich Wood
Champion Hill
Herne Hill
Camberwell Cemetery
Brixton
Stockwell
Clapham
Clapham Common
Wandsworth
Balham
Tooting
Tooting Common
Streatham
Streatham Common
Upper Tooting
Lower Norwood
Rosing
WIMBLEDON
Merton
Wimbledon Common
Wimbledon Park
Roehampton
Putney
Barnes
Barnes Common
Fulham
Chiswick
Hammersmith
Earls Court
Kensington
Kensington Gardens
Hyde Park
Knightsbridge
Notting Hill
East Acton
Paddington
Bayswater
Westbourne Green
Kensal Green
Willesden
Kilburn
St. Johns Wood
Regents Canal
Edgware Road
Finchley Road
Hampstead Road
Euston Road
Pentonville Road
City Road
Kings Cross
Caledonian Road
Holloway
Archway Road
Crouch End
Hornsey
Stroud Green
Finsbury Park
Seven Sisters Road
Lea
Lea Bridge Road
Victoria Park
Regents Canal
Commercial Road
Mile End Road
Whitechapel Road
Leadenhall Street
Fenchurch Street
Cannon Street
Blackfriars Bridge
Waterloo Bridge
Westminster Bridge
Vauxhall Bridge
Chelsea Bridge
Battersea Bridge
Albert Bridge
Battersea Park
Clapham Road
Kennington Road
Kennington Park
Walworth
Camberwell
Peckham
Deptford Bridge
New Cross
Dover Road
Old Kent Road
Grand Surrey Canal
Rotherhithe
Bermondsey
Newington
Lambeth
Millbank
Chelsea Reach
Thames Ditton
Hammersmith Bridge
Putney Bridge
Wandsworth Bridge
Wandsworth River
Wandle
Thames
Lea
Ravensbourne
Deptford Creek
Greenwich Reach
Limehouse Reach
Blackwall Reach
Victoria Docks
West India Docks
London Docks
Regents Canal Dock
Hollow Wall
Dagenham Marshes
Erith Marshes
Crayford Marshes
Dartford Creek
Dartford
Erith
Crayford
Bexley
Bexley Heath
Woolwich Arsenal
Woolwich Dockyard
Woolwich Common
Charlton Park
Greenwich Park
Blackheath
Lewisham
Sydenham Hill
Forest Hill
Dulwich Common
Dulwich College
Herne Hill
Champion Hill
Brixton
Stockwell
Clapham Common
Balham
Tooting Common
Streatham Common
Upper Tooting
Lower Norwood
Crystal Palace
Penge
Anerley
Beckenham
Beckenham Park
Upper Norwood
South Norwood
Wimbledon Common
Wimbledon Park
Merton
Roehampton
Putney
Barnes
Barnes Common
Fulham
Chiswick
Hammersmith
Earls Court
Kensington
Kensington Gardens
Hyde Park
Knightsbridge
Notting Hill
East Acton
Paddington
Bayswater
Westbourne Green
Kensal Green
Willesden
Kilburn
St. Johns Wood
Regents Park
Regents Canal
Edgware Road
Finchley Road
Hampstead
Highgate



Chapter IX.

THE WATER SUPPLY OF LONDON.

Supply to Old London.—London Bridge Waterworks.—Origin of New River Company and other Companies.—Character of Supply before 1852.—*The Metropolis Water Act,* 1852.—*The Metropolis Water Act,* 1871.—*Sources, Nature, and Extent of Supply.—System of Constant Supply.—Capital Revenue and Expenditure of London Water Companies.*

Surface wells and conduits provided the water supply of old London. The latter have been long since dried up, and the very springs that supplied them seem to have ceased to flow. The former have continued their existence to the present day, but with constantly lessening numbers, as the unwholesome character of their waters has become more manifest with the perfection of the underground drainage system.*

In the thirteenth century the City authorities completed

* In 1866 the number of these surface wells and of public pumps was thirty-five. In 1875 only four of such pumps remain, viz., Aldgate, Bartholomew Lane, Crutched Friars, and Fann Street. A careful analysis of the water was made by the City Medical Officer of Health, and it showed in all cases the presence of various solids, of chlorine, and of free ammonia—in something like ten times the quantity found in the water supplied by the Water Companies. Probably, therefore, the days of these institutions are numbered. Even the enemies of the City were wont to regard Aldgate Pump with somewhat of reverent affection, as a public servant incorruptible and beyond reproach. Can it be that surrounding influences have at last proved too much for it? And where shall truth be found in the City now that it has departed even from the bottom of its oldest well? For particulars of the analysis, see *Report of Dr. Sedgwick Saunders to the Commissioners of Sewers,* October 1875.

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* In 1866 the number of these surface wells and of public pumps was thirty-five. In 1875 only four of such pumps remain, viz., Aldgate, Bartholomew Lane, Crutched Friars, and Fann Street. A careful analysis of the water was made by the City Medical Officer of Health, and it showed in all cases the presence of various solids, of chlorine, and of free ammonia—in something like ten times the quantity found in the water supplied by the Water Companies. Probably, therefore, the days of these institutions are numbered. Even the enemies of the City were wont to regard Aldgate Pump with somewhat of reverent affection, as a public servant incorruptible and beyond reproach. Can it be that surrounding influences have at last proved too much for it? And where shall truth be found in the City now that it has departed even from the bottom of its oldest well? For particulars of the analysis, see *Report of Dr. Sedgwick Saunders to the Commissioners of Sewers,* October 1875.

an important conduit, conveying water from a number of springs in the neighbourhood of what is now known as Regent's Circus. These springs appear, previously to this time, to have discharged themselves into a streamlet, known as the Tye-bourne, which ran from St. John's Wood to the river. Some of the reservoirs in which the waters were collected were recently discovered, in the course of certain building operations, near Oxford Street.

Other conduits were subsequently constructed from other parts of the suburbs, but in the year 1581 a far more ambitious attempt at water supply was made by one Peter Morroys, a Dutchman, whose name has been handed down as the founder of the London Bridge Waterworks. Morroys utilized the tide as it rushed under old London Bridge, and by an ingenious arrangement of water-wheels and pumps forced the water of the river into the adjoining houses. For not less than 200 years did this device remain in use, and through its agency many of the citizens received their only supply.

But from the very year of the erection of the London Bridge Waterworks it was obvious that however useful it might prove for adjacent owners it would be quite insufficient for the supply of the whole City, and a notable attempt to grapple with this deficiency was made some twenty-five years later, in 1606. By an Act of Parliament, passed in that year, the Corporation of the City were empowered to take water for the supply of the citizens, from the neighbourhood of Ware. But the days of corporate enterprise were not yet, and the power was accordingly assigned in 1609, to Hugh Myddleton. The work proved laborious and difficult, and the City, for whose benefit it would enure, declined to afford any pecuniary aid to the enterprise. In Myddleton's extremity, however, the king proved a good friend, and gave him both money and patronage, receiving in return one half interest in the concern. Under these

auspices the work prospered, and in 1613 it was completed, and the Clerkenwell reservoirs full. The only agency employed was gravitation, and the stream was not inaptly known as the "*New River.*" The supply was larger in amount and better in quality than anything which had preceded it, and it continued for one hundred years as the only satisfactory water supply. It is true that the wheels of Morroys still continued to revolve, and that another pumping station had been established at Charing Cross, but neither of them could be regarded as in any sense rivalling the New River.

The "*Chelsea Waterworks*" were established in 1723. The water supplied by them was pumped from the river near to Chelsea.

South London, besides wells and other minor contrivances, had been mainly supplied by water-wheels working under London Bridge, on the south side, but in 1783 this supply was largely augmented by the establishment of the "*Lambeth Waterworks,*" a Company that commenced to pump its supplies from the Thames, opposite to Charing Cross.

In 1805 the "*Vauxhall Waterworks*" Company was established, with a pumping station near Vauxhall Bridge.

In 1806 the "*West Middlesex*" Company established a station near Hammersmith, for the supply of the western districts of London, and, in the same year, the "*East London Waterworks*" set up a pumping station on the river Lee, at Bow.

The "*Kent Waterworks*" Company was incorporated in 1810. The original source of supply was the river Ravensbourne, at Deptford. But this was abandoned in 1862, and the supply from wells sunk into the chalk, first begun in 1857, forms now the only one of this Company.

In 1811 the "*Grand Junction Waterworks*" Company

began to supply the north-western districts with water from the Grand Junction Canal, but, nine years later, had to supplement this by water taken from the Thames, near Chelsea Hospital.

The "*Southwark Waterworks*" Company came into existence in 1822, and the various works at the southern end of London Bridge were combined in this undertaking.

As Company after Company received their charter of incorporation no step was taken either by Parliament or by the City to protect the interests of the public. The Corporation of the City neither applied for any measure themselves nor endeavoured to regulate the terms on which charters were granted to others. Both the rate to be charged and the district to be supplied were left in large measure to the discretion of the Companies. If they pumped their supplies from a sewer outfall, there was no one to say them nay; if they supplied no water at all, there was no power to compel them to do so. In a certain way, and in some districts, these evils were met—as far as the public were concerned—by competition. People who lived in London sixty years ago tell us how fierce that competition was. New companies invaded the districts of old ones, and streets were torn up from end to end, upon the grant of every fresh charter. And the rivalry extended even to the workmen employed, and the fighting in the trenches, sometimes, almost assumed the proportions of a riot. The discomfiture of their rivals and not the payment of dividends, engrossed the attention of those who directed these Companies. In the early years of the Companies the rivalry was confined to the north of the Thames, but as in gas, so in water, the lessons of Companies north of the river were quite lost upon those on the south, and so from 1834 to 1842 the same disastrous state of things which had afflicted North London twenty years previously, was trans-

ferred to the South. Three sets of pipes in the same street, with their enormous waste, soon brought the competitors to the verge of bankruptcy. In a memorial from two of these Companies to the Sanitary Commissioners, they, themselves, admit the result to be "inconvenient to the public, and disastrous to the Companies."

These water wars were very inconvenient to the travelling public; but, like many other evils, they had their compensations, and probably the consumers generally had more Thames water for their money than they have ever got since. But whether in gas or in water the history is invariably the same, and the precedent set by the Water Companies north of the Thames before 1820 has been exactly followed by Water Companies south of the Thames, and by Gas Companies north and south. After a great war of supremacy then comes exhaustion, then agreement to confine themselves to separate districts, and then combination against public interest. So in 1820, with monopoly and combination, came an immediate advance in price, in some instances as much as twenty-five per cent. This was followed by complaint on the part of the public, and in 1821 a Select Committee of the House of Commons considered the question, and reported in favour of a Parliamentary control of the rates, but nothing satisfactory resulted.

In 1828 a Royal Commission, consisting of Mr. Telford, Professor Brande, and Dr. Roget, was appointed to inquire into the "description, quality, and salubrity" of the water supplied by the London Water Companies. From the report of the Commissioners it appeared that Thames water pure and simple was a fairly good article; but that Thames water, with the refuse of a city superadded, was very much otherwise. Sand-filtration was advocated for the removal of extraneous matter, and the Companies were recommended to seek other sources of supply than the metropolitan river.

This latter proposition seems seriously to have alarmed the Companies, as indicating possible competition from some new source, and they accordingly addressed themselves to improving existing methods of supply. The Chelsea Company also adopted the suggestion as to filtration, and the others quickly followed. The Grand Junction removed their intake to Brentford; the East London went higher up the Lee; the Southwark and Vauxhall Companies united, and removed their pumping station to Battersea. These measures, no doubt, tended greatly to the general improvement of the supply; but they were not deemed sufficiently satisfactory to render the recommendation of the Commission nugatory, and upon the question of supply Mr. Telford reported to the House of Commons in favour of the utilization of the rivers Verulam and Wandle; but this report was not acted on. In other respects, too, it was clear that the supply was not all that could be desired. Notwithstanding the removal of the intakes and the employment of filtration, it was found that the water supplied by the Thames Companies was rapidly becoming worse. Substances were being poured into the stream that no filtration could deal with. Mechanical impurities were removeable, but chemical impurities remained unaffected by sand or gravel. Moreover, the habits of the riparian population were changing, and a regular system of drainage was fast supplanting the old cesspools. The increase of sewage discharge was very great, and as the flux and reflux of the tide circulated the sewage deposits, and the introduction of steam traffic still further disturbed them, the result was found to be a condition of the water totally unfit for any kind of domestic use. The Lambeth Company were especially affected by this state of things, and in 1848 they began the construction of new works at Kingston above the tidal limit, and ten miles from their Brixton reservoirs.

But it did not affect the Lambeth Company alone. In 1850, six of the Companies, viz., the Chelsea, Grand Junction, Southwark, Lambeth, West Middlesex, and South London, were supplied exclusively from the Thames. From estimates made at the time it was supposed that "a mass of impurity equal to 48,000 tons, condensed and increased by tidal agitation," was taken *daily* from the Thames and supplied to the inhabitants.* The surveying officers who reported upon the Lambeth supply in 1848, at the time of their application to take water at Thames Ditton, say: "The river at this point"—the point of the Company's Lambeth intake—"holds in suspension, or in suspension and solution, all the drainage of the Metropolis. . . . When we visited the works of the Company we found a heap of filth had that day been taken from the suction-pipe, and the superintendent said it required a daily cleansing to the same extent." But the establishment of the new works did not mean the abandonment of the old, and the old pumping station continued in use for some years.

In 1851 another Commission investigated the quality of London water as supplied from the Thames. In their report they affirmed the wholesome quality of this water if unadulterated with extraneous matter. They recommended that the Companies' supply should, however, be taken from the river above Teddington Lock.

In the same year a Government Bill was introduced, providing for the amalgamation of the Companies; but it was not carried through.

But the question was put into a practical shape by the Water Act of 1852,† which, whilst leaving to the Companies their jurisdiction and their constitution, provided that

* *Supply of Water to the Metropolis.* Executive Committee of the Parochial Water Supply Association, p. 9. London: Renshaw, 1850.

† 15 & 16 Vict., c. 84.

no Company should take from the Thames or its tributaries at any point within the tidal limit. * Provision was made for the covering of storage reservoirs and aqueducts where within the metropolitan area.† There are also additional stipulations as to filtration,‡ and for a constant supply where demanded by four-fifths of the inhabitants, and where certain conditions had been fulfilled.§ These stipulations and provisions were enforced by cumulative penalties.

It is estimated that not less than half a million sterling was expended by the Companies in the execution of works necessitated by this Act. The good effect of the Act was manifest, and in a chemical report upon the quality of the water, made to the Government by Professor Hofmann and Mr. Lindley Blyth in 1856, it is stated that the organic matter in solution in the water was considerably less than at any former period.

The efforts which have been made to purify the sources of London water supply have been constant. Royal Commissions reported in favour of it in 1810, 1821, 1827, 1828, 1834, 1840, and 1845. The legislation of 1852 was most effective to this end. But besides restrictions imposed upon the Companies themselves, efforts have been made in other ways. By an Act of Parliament passed in 1866‖ the jurisdiction of the Thames Conservancy Board was extended to Cricklade in Wiltshire, and the Board were empowered to give notice to parties fouling the river with sewage or other matter to discontinue such acts. Penal remedies were provided in case of disobedience, and power was also given to clear the surface of the river from all offensive matter.¶

* 15 & 16 Vict., c. 84, sec. 1. † Secs. 2, 3. ‡ Sec. 4. § Secs. 15, 22.
‖ 29 & 30 Vict., c. 89.
¶ See *infra*, chap. 10, *tit.* "Thames Conservancy Board."

Another Act, passed in 1867,* was for the purpose of aiding localities affected by the former measure in the land distribution of their sewage product.

In the same year the Royal Commission on River Pollution recommended measures for the improvement of the river Lee. A Committee of the House of Commons in this year made valuable recommendations as to purification. They had before them the Bill of the East London Company, whereby that Company proposed to tap the Thames at Sunbury. Evidence had been given which was nearly conclusive, to the effect that the disastrous outbreak of cholera in 1866 was due to the bad quality of the water supplied to the infected districts, and the Committee reported upon the quality of the London supply generally. They reported in favour of the sound qualities of both Thames and Lee water *when pure;* and they proposed certain measures for the purification of both rivers. They reported in favour of consolidation of the Companies, and of a constant supply under certain conditions. The water supplied by the Kent Company from the chalk was declared to be good.

An Act, passed in 1868,† enacted similar provisions for the Lee to those that had been made for the Thames by the Act of 1866, and penal remedies were provided for pollution by sewage or other foreign matter.

How far these Acts have resulted, or how far any Acts of Parliament are likely to result, in the absolute purification of the metropolitan rivers, so as to make them wholesome and fit for domestic consumption, is a moot point, and one upon which analytical "doctors" are by no means agreed. In the debate on "The Metropolis Water Act, 1871," a resolution was moved by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, and

* 30 & 31 Vict., c. 113.

† 31 & 32 Vict., c. 154. See *infra.* chap. 10, *tit.* "Lee Conservancy Board."

seconded by Dr. Lyon Playfair, to the effect "That in the opinion of this House the water supplied to householders in London should be derived from pure sources, and should be delivered on the constant system."* In the able speeches by which this resolution was supported a most pronounced attack was made upon what were regarded as the inherent evils of the waters, both of the Thames and the Lee. The close connection between cholera outbreaks and the supply of sewage-tainted water was strongly urged, and the facts of the cholera outbreak of 1866, which was mainly confined to districts supplied with tainted water, strongly dwelt upon. Mr. Shuttleworth argued with much force against the theory that, either by the action of the air or by any other process, water with which sewage has once come into contact can be purified. And certainly the Report of the Royal Commission on the Pollution of Rivers is strongly in favour of the view of the question taken by Mr. Shuttleworth. They say: "No process has yet been devised of cleansing surface water once contaminated with sewage, so as to make it fit for drinking;" and again: "The use for domestic purposes of river water to which sewage (even after deodorisation or employment in irrigation) gains access ought to be avoided . . . . for we have proved in our first report that no possible length of flow in any British river affords any guarantee that such sewage or organic matters have been oxidised and destroyed."† With this opinion both Dr. Frankland and Sir Benjamin Brodie entirely concurred. It is estimated that not less than one million persons live on the Thames basin and drain into the river, to say nothing of the vast quantity of organic matter, swept from the surface in flood-time, supplied to the public

* "House of Commons Debates," May 23, 1871.

† See Reports of Commissioners. First Report, p. 106; Third Report, p. 54.

often after very imperfect filtration, as in the case of the Chelsea Company in November and December 1874.*

The question is a most important one, and will form an important ingredient in future legislation on the supply. Whether any measures taken will be effective may depend more upon the question whether the supply is in the hands of trading Companies, or of a Central Body, than upon any other. No public body would be permitted for any length of time to distribute water in which the germs of cholera and of typhoid fever were proved to be constantly present.† What sources will have to be utilized it is no part of our present province to discuss. There can be no question that the chalk formations supplying the Kent Company provide an excellent water, and if they are softened by the well-known process of Dr. Clark (the patent for which has now expired), seem to fulfil every due requisite.‡ There is authority for the opinion that a supply sufficient for the whole Metropolis can be obtained from this source; but the whole question will have to be deferred till some body comes into existence with power to act fully upon any conclusions at which it may arrive. It is not to be expected that trading Companies will display more patriotism or public spirit than is consonant with their own interests; but the London Water Companies are by no means the worst of the private associations who supply our wants to their own profit, and we have no grave scandal amongst us to-day

* This Company was the only one whose water was reported as having been "very turbid" during 1874. *Vide* Report of Analysis, by Professor Frankland, of Water of Metropolitan Companies, printed in Appendix to "Local Government Board Report, 1874-5," p. 267.

† During 1874 living organisms were found in the water supply of every Company, except that of the Kent Company and the West Middlesex. See Report of Professor Frankland, quoted above.

‡ The degrees of hardness of the various supplies vary from 19·3 parts (of carbonate of lime or its equivalent), in 100,000, in the Chelsea and East London Companies, to 28·1 in the Kent Company's supply.

analogous to that set out in a Parliamentary paper of 1856, and quoted by Dr. Playfair, where the medical officer of the Privy Council reported of a Company in 1854 as "purveying the filthiest stuff ever drunk by a civilized community . . contaminated with the outscourings of the Metropolis, and containing unmistakeable molecules of excrement."* The Chelsea Company did not supply their constituents with nectar during the Autumn floods of 1874; but at any rate it was better than this.

The temperature of the water supplied from the rivers Thames and Lee varied extremely in 1874. The lowest temperature of the Thames water delivered was 36° Fahrenheit, and the highest 70° Fahrenheit. The lowest temperature of the Lee water delivered was 38° Fahrenheit, and the highest 68° Fahrenheit. On the other hand, the Kent Company's water preserved a nearly equable temperature,—the lowest being 51° Fahrenheit, and the highest 59° Fahrenheit. The obvious advantages of this equality of temperature need no illustration.

The weight of solid impurity calculated on the mean of the twelve months of 1874 varied from 26 parts per 100,000 in the New River to 40 parts in the Kent Company; but the nature of the impurities differed widely. Thus the organic carbon in the Kent supply was ·057, and organic nitrogen ·012, being less than any other Company. The Chelsea Company, on the other hand, supplied ·211 of organic carbon and ·039 of organic nitrogen for every 100,000 parts. This Company was the worst of all, and in the month of December 1874, it "supplied foul water in an unfiltered condition, and contaminated with fæcal matter."† At one time during the year this Company was supplying more than seven times as much organic matter

* "Hansard's Debates," vol. 206, p. 1222.

† Report of Dr. Frankland quoted above, p. 265.

as the Kent Company. The fact that both the Thames and the Lee are at their source as pure as the Kent water points to the remedy for the evil. The animal and vegetable life which pollute the river supply is absolutely non-existent in that taken from the chalk. It is satisfactory to notice that the character of the Lee water is still improving.

As far as *quantity* is concerned, there seems no doubt that existing sources fulfil actual requirements. It is estimated that the daily flow past Teddington Lock is never less than 350,000,000 gallons, and rarely below 400,000,000 gallons.* This is more than four times the quantity now taken from the river at that point, and probably as the river is tidal, double the present quantity might be taken without in any way interfering with the navigation. In flood-time the flow sometimes reaches 20,000 to 25,000 million gallons a day, and this raised the *average* daily flow to something like 900,000,000 gallons.† The Royal Commission were of the opinion that if needful there might be taken daily from present sources, without prejudicially affecting them—from the Thames, 220,000,000 gallons; from the Lee, 50,000,000 gallons; from the chalk, 30,000,000 gallons; making a total of 300,000,000 gallons, or three times the present supply; and the Companies need expend comparatively little upon further appliances, in order to send 180,000,000 gallons through their pipes daily. The opinion of the Commission upon quality may be worth quoting. They say: "When efficient measures are adopted for excluding sewage and other pollutions from the Thames and the Lee and their tributaries, and for ensuring perfect filtration, water taken from the present sources will be perfectly wholesome, and of suitable quality for the supply of the Metropolis."‡

The amount of water which the several Companies may

* "Report of Royal Commission on Water Supply, 1869," p. 54.

† *Ibid.*, p. 55. Evidence of Mr. Hawksley.

‡ Report, p. 102.

take from the Thames is restricted; but no restrictions exist upon the amount which may be taken from the Lee, or the other sources of metropolitan supply. The actual limit as regards the Thames is 110,000,000 gallons.

The Waterworks Clauses Act* endorses the system of a *constant supply*, but as its adoption was optional, this Act has never been incorporated by any of the London Companies. As we have seen, the Act of 1852 made some stipulations on the lines of this previous measure, in making provision for a constant supply, when four-fifths of the inhabitants of a given district have the requisite appliances, and make due application for it. And even amongst the Companies themselves the benefits were not entirely ignored. Two of them had for many years benefited extensively in their management, by the guidance of Sir William Clay, and in an excellent pamphlet upon this question published in 1847, he says, "I am satisfied of the great superiority of the continuous system as applicable to London . . . . I have within the last few years considerably changed my opinion as to the application of the continuous system in London. I am more favourable now than formerly to such an experiment."† In 1850 the Board of Health investigated the matter, so far as it affected the Metropolis, and reported strongly in favour of a constant supply. They support their opinion by a good deal of experience collected from other towns, conclusively showing less waste and less expense in storage appliances, than existed in London.

The provision in the Act of 1852, as to four-fifths of the inhabitants, was of no use, except as endorsing the principle of constant supply. In practice its effect was simply *nil.* No written requisition for such supply was ever sent in, and no section of the inhabitants offered to open their houses to the inspection of any of the Company's servants, "any day

* 10 Vict., c. 17, s. 35. † Page 47.

between 9 and 4," so that the condition of their cisterns and ball taps might be verified. The old intermittent system with its supply of an hour or two on week-days, and nothing on Sundays, went on the same as ever.

The Committee of the House of Commons, which sat upon the East London Water Bill in 1867, also, as we have seen, reported generally upon the working of "The Metropolis Water Act, 1852." They reported against the existing storage system and in favour of a constant supply, with due precautions against waste.*

An effort was made in 1871 to carry the recommendations of this Committee into actual practice. The first Bill that was introduced provided for "a constant supply of water at high pressure: the placing of the Companies under the control of the Metropolitan Board of Works, with power to the latter to make regulations, &c., and also power to purchase and acquire the interests of the Companies, compulsorily or by agreement, and to undertake the supply of water themselves." The measure did not pass, and we may dismiss it with the statement that it provided, in case of purchase, that the estimate of value should be based upon the net profits declared during the six years, immediately preceding such purchase. The Bill was withdrawn in May 1871, and another Bill introduced. The object of the new measure, as set forth in the preamble, was to "amend 'The Metropolis Water Act, 1852,' and to make further provision to secure for the Metropolis, and to certain places in the neighbourhood thereof, a constant supply of pure and wholesome water."† The reason of the old measure being withdrawn is stated by the Board of Works, to "be in consequence of representations made to the Home Office by the Water Companies."‡

* Report on East London Water Bill, p. 67. See also Report of Board of Health under provisions of Act of 1852, pp. 96-97.

† 34 & 35 Vict., c. 113. ‡ Report for 1871, p. 38.

"The Metropolis Water Act, 1871," and "The Metropolis Water Act, 1852," are now the two Acts which control the London water supply. Clause 6 of the Act of 1871 provides that every Company shall deliver a supply of water on Sundays, and this is the chief benefit the Act has conferred.

Clause 7 provides that every Company *may*, after the expiration of eight months from the passing of the Act, and if required, *shall* keep a constant supply in the whole, or part of their district, subject, however, to certain limitations. It is upon these "limitations" that the Act has been wrecked.

Under clause 8 the Board of Works or the Corporation of the City, may apply to any Company for a constant supply in a given district, or any Company may propose to either of these bodies to give it. Reference may be made to the Board of Trade in case of difficulty.

But under clause 10 no Company can be compelled to give a constant supply, if it can show that one-fifth of the houses, in the district applied for, are deficient in the requisite fittings. But the metropolitan authority may give notice to every householder, in any district, to provide fittings, and, in case of default, may provide them at his expense.

By clause 11 the Board of Trade may require a constant supply to be given, in cases where the metropolitan authority refuses.

Clauses 17-25 deal with the regulations to be made by the Companies, and which are to be subject to confirmation or alteration by the Board of Trade. Power is given (clause 30) to the agents of any Company giving a constant supply, to enter any premises within the district, and examine the fittings, and there are further provisions as to penalties on Companies or consumers.

In accordance with the provisions of the Act, the Companies framed "Regulations," and, in February 1872, forwarded copies of them to the Metropolitan Board of Works and to the Corporation of the City. The Metropolitan Board of Works deliberated upon them, and came to the conclusion that their enforcement "was calculated to cause so much expense, trouble, and vexation to consumers as practically to render the constant supply subject to such regulations worse than the present system."*

The "Regulations" were then referred to the Board of Trade, and an Act being passed enabling that body to delegate its authority to Commissioners, Lord Methuen, Mr. Rawlinson, and Captain Tyler were appointed to investigate the question. The Metropolitan Board, the City Corporation, and the Water Companies were represented before them by counsel. The result was seen in the amended regulations of August 1872. These new regulations are far less stringent than those prepared by the Companies; but the Metropolitan Board—the reason of whose action is often difficult to fathom—say in their report that they are so "stringent as to render it extremely improbable that the system of constant supply provided for by the Act of Parliament can ever be brought into general operation whilst such regulations are in force."† Thus all the efforts of the Legislature and of the Board of Trade are rendered nugatory by this petulant body at Spring Gardens, who seem never to have forgiven the withdrawal of the former measure. So far as we have been able to ascertain, the Board *have never given a single company notice to provide a constant supply.*

So high-handed a proceeding at the hands of a body assuming in any sense to protect public interests clearly required confirmation, and the Board appear to have been

* "Report M. B. W.," 1872, p. 62.
† "Report M. B. W.," 1872, p. 63.

especially anxious to obtain such confirmation, in case their remarkable policy should be called in question. For this purpose they revert to the bodies that elected them, and send copies of the "regulations" to all the metropolitan vestries, with a request for their opinion upon them. The cue of the Board was too manifest for the vestries not to know it, and so "many of them adopt the view of the Board as to the restrictive character of the regulations;" and many—sublime confidence—"are disposed to leave it to the Board to take whatever course may appear to it best in the interests of the inhabitants of the Metropolis generally." * The magnanimity of the vestries was quite superfluous, as they had no option of interference in the matter, for the Metropolitan Board was by the Act constituted the "Metropolitan Authority." What by a figure of speech is called the "judgment" of the Metropolitan Board was then exercised upon the question, and they came to the conclusion that it was "desirable at present to refrain from exercising the power given by the Act of calling upon the Companies to give a constant supply."†

But, strange to say, the patriotism which was so notably wanting in Spring Gardens has been developed by some of the Companies. First, the East London Company tried the experiment of constant supply in Bethnal Green, and so well satisfied were they with it that it has been since extended to Spitalfields, Shoreditch, Whitechapel, and elsewhere. The Kent Company have also tried it in Rotherhithe, Deptford, Plumstead, Woolwich, and Charlton.

Meantime, the Board of Works, or rather the Board of Inaction, were "instituting inquiries as to the inconvenience and cost" of this system. Not inquiries as to the advantages and benefits, but "inconvenience" and "cost." The words

* "Report M. B. W.," 1872, pp. 63, 64.
† "Report M. B. W.," 1873, p. 67.

thus used in their report for 1873 sufficiently indicate how the Board of Works regard this public requirement which has been advocated by Commissions and Committees for the last 50 years, and the benefits of which are illustrated by towns all over the kingdom. The consumer here is absolutely helpless. He may hope something from the public spirit of the Companies, but nothing from the "metropolitan authority."*

The Report of the Metropolitan Water Examiner for 1874 gives the number of houses in the Kent Company's district with constant supply, on December 31st, 1874, at 5,450. The New River Company have afforded constant supply in certain poor districts. The East London Company, foremost in the good work, are gradually bringing the whole of their district under the system. The Southwark and Vauxhall Company are reported as increasing their engine power, with the ultimate object of providing constant supply. The West Middlesex give it to some houses, and will extend it as called upon. The Grand Junction Company has also taken it in hand. The Lambeth Company give constant supply in certain poor districts. There are between 3,000 and 4,000 miles of mains laid down in London, and on December 31st, 1874, there were 666 miles of these constantly charged. All this time the Board of Works are "considering" the question. When the day of reckoning comes, we are sure that the supineness and *crassa negligentia* of this remarkable body will not be forgotten. It also seems to us that Londoners ought not to forget in that day that it is solely to the enterprise of some of the Water Companies

* The Report of the Board for 1874 states (p. 59) that a Committee of the Board have had before it the results of a careful house to house inquiry in the districts where a constant supply existed. The object of the inquiry was to ascertain whether the new method of supply was more satisfactory than the old, and what amount of inconvenience and burden the regulations caused. But we are not told the result of the inquiry.

that the boon of constant supply has been so largely granted. The virtues of these trading Companies are not their strongest points, and, therefore, when we do find them, they ought to receive the fullest acknowledgment.

The use of hydrants instead of fire plugs, is a natural sequence from a system of pipes constantly charged. At the close of 1874 there were 2,531 such hydrants in existence, or about four to every mile of fully charged mains. Under section 32 of the Water Act of 1871, it is provided that any Company giving a constant supply in any part of its district, may give notice to the Board of Works to specify what hydrants or fire plugs it requires, and if the Board do not supply such information within two months, the Company may provide them, and charge the Board with the cost. The Kent Company notified the Board in September 1873, and the Board required in the district thirty plugs, and four hydrants. These latter have been tested; but, notwithstanding the various reports of competent people in their favour (including the Water Examiner's reports for 1873 and for 1874*), the Board, in 1875, report themselves as being still considering the matter. The East London Company, as far back as 1873, pointed out to the Board the desirability of providing hydrants over the 70 miles of their mains which were constantly charged, but still the "consideration" goes on. It is difficult to see how any benefit can accrue to the members of the Board from this constant delay, otherwise we might be tempted to suppose, from the relations stated to exist between some of the Board and some of the Companies, that there was some jobbery afoot. The probable reason seems to be the petulance and ill-temper of the Board, who, because they have not been allowed to have their own way,

* See also Report of City Gas and Water Committee, presented July 30th, 1874, p. 12.

are determined, just like naughty children, to be as obstinate and obstructive as possible.*

The present water supply of London is provided by eight Companies, viz. :—The New River Company, the Chelsea Company, the West Middlesex Company, the Grand Junction Company, the East London Company, on the North side of the Thames; and on the South—The Lambeth Company, the Southwark and Vauxhall Company, and the Kent Company. The districts differ very widely in conformation and in area, and are intermingled in some cases in such a manner as considerably to increase the necessary cost of distribution as will be readily seen in the accompanying plan of the Companies' areas.

The New River Company supplies Central London Its district is bounded by Charing Cross, the Haymarket, Tottenham Court Road, and Hampstead Road on the west; by the Thames on the south ; and the Tower and Stamford Hill on the east.

The Chelsea Company supplies Chelsea, Knightsbridge, Pimlico, Belgravia, and some parts of Westminster.

The West Middlesex supplies part of Fulham, Hammersmith, Kensington, and Brompton, and also a large territory, north of Oxford Street, between Tottenham Court Road and Edgware Road.

* The whole question of Metropolitan Water Supply, in its relation to Fire Prevention, is thoroughly and exhaustively discussed in a Return to an Order of the House of Commons, moved for by Colonel Beresford (House of Commons Papers, No. 408).—"Copy of a letter dated 14th May, 1874, from the Secretary of the Society of Arts to the President of the Local Government Board, with a Report from a Special Committee of that Society on the best means of preventing fires, and of obtaining a constant supply of water in the Metropolis, and the evidence thereon : of letters from the Secretary of the Society of Arts, dated 23rd May, and 3rd June, 1874, relative thereto." The supply of water for fire extinguishment does not present difficulties as to quantity, inasmuch as the total amount of water thrown by the engines in 1874 was only about one-seventh of a single day's supply.

The East London Company supply all the district north of the Thames and east of the New River Company's line.

The Grand Junction Company supplies a very irregularly shaped district, including portions of the parish of St. George north of Piccadilly, parts of Marylebone, most of Paddington, and a small portion of Westminster.

The Lambeth Company supplies a district reaching from the Thames on the north to Croydon on the south.

The Southwark and Vauxhall Company supply the borough of Southwark, and as far as Rotherhithe on the east side of the Lambeth Company; and Clapham, Battersea, and parts of Lambeth on the west side of the Lambeth Company.

The Kent Company supply the south-eastern district, including Dartford, Greenwich, Woolwich, and southward as far as Bromley and Chiselhurst.

The New River Company take their supplies from springs in Hertfordshire, near Hertford and Ware, and from the river Lea in the same district.

The Chelsea Company take their water from the Thames, at Ditton.

The West Middlesex from the Thames above Hampton.

The East London from the Lee, near Walthamstow, and from the Thames at Sunbury.

The Grand Junction from the Thames above Hampton.

The Lambeth Company from the Thames, at Molesey.

The Southwark and Vauxhall from the Thames above Hampton.

The Kent Company from wells sunk into the chalk. Of these there are three at Deptford; two at Charlton; one at Plumstead; one at Bromley; one at Crayford; the depths varying from 120 feet at Crayford to 420 feet at Plumstead.

The Government offices and some other places in West-

minster, and the fountains in Trafalgar Square are supplied from Government wells near Charing Cross.

In 1874 there were forty-three subsiding and storage reservoirs for unfiltered water, covering 367 acres, with a capacity of 916,550,000 gallons, and thirty-two covered reservoirs for storing filtered water, with a capacity of 99,687,000 gallons. The highest reservoir is at Hampstead, 447 feet above the river level, and the lowest at Old Ford, 12½ feet above high-water mark. The Kent Company, in 1875, are reported as constructing a new covered reservoir at New Cross, with a capacity of 1,750,000 gallons. The New River Company have completed another reservoir at Southgate. The Southwark and Vauxhall reservoirs at Nunhead, with a capacity of 18,000,000 gallons, are reported as completed; also the Grand Junction reservoir at Kilburn, with a capacity of 6,000,000 gallons. The subsiding reservoirs of the Lambeth Company, with a capacity of 125,000,000 gallons, are also completed. The Chelsea Company are also improving their filter system. The East London Company have more than half the total reservoir area; their subsiding reservoirs having a capacity of 605,000,000 gallons. The consequence is, that the water is stored from two to three weeks before being filtered; and we find Professor Frankland reporting that in August 1874 "the evidence of previous sewage contamination had been entirely removed:" a most notable fact, when we remember that the Lee is the most highly charged with organic impurity of any metropolitan supply. The utmost credit in this, as in other ways, is due to the East London Company. They have more than redeemed their faults in 1866, and in 1875 they deserve well of the London public.

The total actual daily supply is somewhere about 120,000,000 gallons, of which more than one-half is taken from the Thames. The number of houses supplied in 1874

was 506,985, of which 52,265 (since increased) were on constant supply. The estimated population within the Water Companies' districts was 3,621,538. It appears from the investigation conducted in 1874 by the Society of Arts, that the daily water waste amounts to some 36,000,000 gallons, involving an annual money loss of more than £100,000.

By section 37 of the Water Act of 1871, the Board of Trade were required to prescribe a form of account for the various Water Companies. This duty was transferred to the Local Government Board by the 35 and 36 Vict., c. 79. The accounts of the Companies are to be audited as provided in the Act, and such auditor is required, as soon as may be, to ascertain and certify the amount of share and loan capital respectively. The amount of the capital of the various Companies, taken from the duly certified accounts issued by the Local Government Board in 1875, are set out in the accompanying table.

The auditor appointed under the Act duly examined the accounts of the various Companies, and reported that although exhibiting great diversity in method, they were in the main correct. The method of dealing with various items of capital account, and the final principles upon which they have been settled, are set out in the able report of the auditor to the Local Government Board, under date January 1874.* This report is useful, as indicating one way of settling the vexed question of Gas Companies' capital.

It will be seen from the annexed table that the total amount of authorized share capital of the London Water Companies is £10,123,024, and of loan capital £2,838,750, making a total authorized share and loan capital of

* Printed in Report of Local Government Board, 1873-4 (Appendix, p. 472-4).

LONDON WATER COMPANIES' INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

NAME OF COMPANY.	CURRENT INCOME.		CURRENT EXPENDITURE.				
	Total Income in Year 1873-4.	Proportion of Income derived from Water Rents.	Total Expenditure in Year 1873-4.	Dividend and Interest Account.	Maintenance Account.	Management.	Directors' Fees (included in Management).
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Chelsea	82,156	81,267	78,852	49,296	22,279	7,277	810
East London	175,636	171,775	169,931	97,943	58,626	13,362	2,128
Grand Junction . .	118,305	118,183	113,498	68,125	36,796	8,577	810
Kent	70,041	68,183	65,525	37,539	22,563	5,423	1,518
Lambeth . . .	120,180	117,871	112,322	64,211	41,777	6,334	1,213
New River	328,157	318,150	307,895	183,202	94,017	30,676	5,520
Southwark and Vauxhall . .	134,651	134,651	129,174	73,439	45,785	9,950	1,012
West Middlesex . . .	136,265	135,629	131,479	88,728	32,907	9,844	1,823
Total	1,165,391	1,145,709	1,108,676	662,483	354,750	91,443	14,834

2 C

LONDON WATER COMPANIES' SHARE AND LOAN CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

NAME OF COMPANY.	Total Authorized Share and Loan Capital.	Authorized Share Capital, including Preference Shares.	Authorized Loan Capital, including Debenture Stock.	Share Capital paid up.	Loan Capital paid up.	Subscribed Share Capital on which 10 per cent. is payable.	Subscribed Share Capital limited to 7½ per cent.	Preference Stock carrying 5 per cent.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Chelsea	1,068,750	855,000	213,750	707,940	170,000	615,600	—	92,340
East London	2,020,000	1,725,000	295,000	1,625,560	250,000	1,624,710	—	—
Grand Junction	1,250,000	1,000,000	250,000	911,175	222,700	757,175	154,000	—
Kent	750,000	600,000	150,000	547,960	42,000	297,960	—	—
Lambeth	1,398,000	1,250,000	248,000	891,580	235,950	585,380	306,200	—
New River	3,019,958	2,019,958	1,000,000	1,699,558	979,957	—	—	—
Southwark and Vauxhall	2,000,000	1,518,000	482,000	1,263,420	372,540	705,660	126,500	431,260
West Middlesex	1,355,066	1,155,066	200,000	909,974	—	909,974	—	—
Total	12,961,774	10,123,024	2,838,750	8,557,167	2,273,147	5,496,459	586,700	523,600

NAME OF COMPANY.	Preference Stock carrying 4 per cent.	Subscribed Share Capital on which there is no dividend limit.	Subscribed Loan Capital carrying 4¾ per cent.	Subscribed Loan Capital carrying 4½ per cent.	Loan Capital carrying 4¼ per cent.	Loan Capital carrying 4 per cent.	Total Capital Expenditure to 1874.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Chelsea	—	—	—	140,100	24,600	5,300	896,611
East London	850	—	—	250,000	—	—	1,883,133
Grand Junction	—	—	20,000	144,200	53,500	5,000	1,091,623
Kent	—	250,000	—	42,000	—	—	509,529
Lambeth	—	—	—	230,900	4,800	250	1,094,721
New River	—	1,699,558	—	—	—	979,957	2,702,304
Southwark and Vauxhall	—	—	60,000	289,040	21,500	2,000	1,663,869
West Middlesex	—	—	—	—	—	—	896,926
Total	850	1,949,558	80,000	1,096,240	104,400	992,507	10,738,716

£12,961,774. The amount paid up is somewhat less, being of share capital £8,557,167, and of loan capital £2,273,147, making a total of £10,830,314.

Notwithstanding the accounts of the Companies being sent in on a specified method, there is room for considerable improvement in the form adopted. The capital accounts are by no means clearly set out by all the Companies. The various items in the preceding Tables are calculated from the statistics set out in the accounts published by the Local Government Board in 1875.*

* Return to order of House of Commons, 1875, No. 69.

Chapter X.

VARIOUS JURISDICTIONS.

The Corporation of Westminster.

History and Constitution of the Corporation.—Its present Functions and Powers.

The London Police.

The Constitution and Powers of the Metropolitan and City Police.—Their Duties, and the Method in which they are performed.—Income and Expenditure.—Statistics of the Force.—Metropolitan Police Courts.

The London School Board.

Constitution and Powers of the Board.—Method of Work.—The Work of the Board for five Years.—Income and Expenditure of the Board.—Educational Statistics.

The Thames Conservancy Board.

Constitution of the Board.—Income and Expenditure.—Work for seventeen Years.

The Lee Conservancy Board.

Constitution.—Income and Expenditure.—Work for five Years.

The "Corporation of Westminster."

The "Corporation of Westminster" (as it is inaccurately termed) dates back its origin to the days of King Edward the Confessor. When a refugee in Normandy, Edward registered a vow that if God would free him from his distress he would make a pilgrimage to Rome, and there

visit the relics of Saint Peter. But, after ascending the throne of England, he was dissuaded from his intention, and the Pope relieved him from his vow on condition of his expending as much money as the pilgrimage would have cost, in works of charity, or in raising a shrine to St. Peter, in England. At this time there existed on the banks of the Thames a monastery, which had suffered much at the hands of the Danes, and, whilst the king was in doubt as to the best method of fulfilling the papal conditions, one of the monks of the ruined monastery had an opportune vision, in which St. Peter appeared to him and revealed his wish that the king should repair the ravages of the Danes, rebuild the edifice, and endow it with revenues adequate to its maintenance, so that it might become the House of God and the Gate of Heaven.

The enterprise of the monk received its reward, and the king, accepting the vision as a direct revelation from St. Peter, rebuilt the monastery, endowed it with various lands, and provided that the lands so given should be free for ever from the jurisdiction of the bishop, and from every other jurisdiction but its own.*

The first charter granted by King Edward is set forth by Stow in the following terms.† "Edward, king, greets William, Bishop, and Leofstane and Æliffe, Portreeves, and all my Burgesses of London friendly, and I tell you that I have thus given and granted to Christ and St. Peter, the holy Apostle at Westminster, full freedom over all the land that belongeth to that holy place, &c."

From the date of this charter down to 1539, the abbot and monks of the revived monastery appear to have exercised complete direct personal control over much of the

* Maitland's History of London, folio edition 1739, p. 687, and Cf. Neal's History of Westminster Abbey, vol. i. p. 19, *et seq.*

† Survey of London.

surrounding district. King Edward granted other charters, including a Charter of Sanctuary. In consequence of this latter grant, Maitland says that Westminster "became not only an asylum for bankrupts, &c., but likewise a refuge for traitors, murderers, and thieves, and the most abandoned miscreants, who were suffered to live there in impunity and open defiance of justice, to the great reproach of the pretended confessor."* The king appears to have exhausted his munificence upon the endowment of the church, but the whole of these grants were made to the church as a religious organization, and the temporal jurisdiction was only an additional honour.†

* Maitland's History of London, p. 687. The Charter of Sanctuary under which these evils arose, is sufficiently interesting to quote. "Edward, by the grace of God, King of Englishmen, I make it to be known to all generations of the world after me, that, by special commandment of our holy Father, Pope Leo, I have renewed and honoured the holy church of the blessed Apostle St. Peter of Westminster; and I order and establish for ever, that what person of what condition or estate soever he may be, from whencever he come, or for what offence or cause it be, either for his refuge into the said holy place, be assured of his life, liberty, and limbs. And over this I forbid, under pain of everlasting damnation, that no minister of mine or of my successors intermeddle them with any the goods, lands, or possessions of the said persons taking the said Sanctuary. For I have taken their goods and livelode into my special protection. And, therefore, I grant to every and each of them, inasmuch as my terrestrial power may suffice, all manner of freedom of joyous liberty. And whoever presumes or doth contrary to this my grant, I will he lose his name, worship, dignity, and powers, and that with the great traitor Judas, that betrayed our Saviour, he be in the everlasting fire of hell. And I will and ordain that this my grant endure as long as there remaineth in England either love or dread of Christian name."

† Had this been otherwise we might have been interested to enquire what has become of the valuable relics bequeathed by the king to this church, a collection probably larger in number and more varied in character than were ever given to any English church before or since. We might be pardoned for wishing to know the fate of the parts of the sacred manger; of the holy table; of our Lord's seat in the temple; of the wilderness where he fasted; of the sponge, lance, and scourge; of part of the Cross and one of its nails; of the vestments of the Virgin Mary, of her hair, shoes, and bed; of her girdle; and of the window where she stood when the angel saluted her; of the bones, beard, and fingers of St. Paul, St. Philip, and of a host of other saints; and of half the jaw and three teeth of St. Anastasia.—See *Dart's Westmonasterium*, vol. i. p. 37.

William the Conqueror was crowned in the church, and he granted to it sixteen confirmatory charters.

Nothing further in any way affecting the secular government of the monastery appears to have taken place till 1257, when Henry the Second granted to the abbot and convent of Westminster a market and fair. This charter provides for the holding of one market at Touthull every Monday, and one fair on the eve following St. Mary Magdalen.

Henry the Third granted two fairs to the abbot and convent, of sixteen days each. This was altered by Edward the First to one fair of thirty-two days, and Maitland says this was afterwards abolished "by the potent and irresistible arguments of the citizens of London, which never failed when their kings wanted money."

Under the "Ordinance of the Staples" passed in 1353, Westminster is included in the list of towns where the staple or market of wool, leather, &c., should be perpetually held.

In the year 1756, a claim was made by the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Peter at Westminster to certain sums of sums of money, liberties, and franchises arising out of the county of Middlesex. The claim is fully set out in a document found amongst the records of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's office in the Exchequer, amongst the common business of Hilary Term in the 29th year of the reign of King George the Second. This claim sets out the title of the Dean and Chapter to the various matters claimed, and it recites a charter, granted 17 Rich. II., whereby that king confirmed to the abbot and convent of the church of Westminster and their successors all manner of liberties for ever: the goods and chattels of outlawed tenants: all fines levied for trespasses, extortions, maintenance, and other crimes; and all forfeitures and treasure trove upon their lands or against their tenants.

It also recites a charter, 21 Rich. II., granting and confirming the duties of sheriff to the high bailiff of the convent within its jurisdiction.

In 1447, we find Henry the Sixth granting to the "inhabitants and community of the town of Westminster," the waste water from the Royal Conduit.

At the suppression of the monasteries, Westminster was found to be by far the richest religious foundation in the kingdom. Henry the Eighth appears to have changed the monastery into a college of secular canons, under the government of a dean. But in 1541, the king converted it into a bishopric, with a bishop, a dean, and twelve prebendaries, and for a diocese the whole county of Middlesex except Fulham. From that time Westminster has been known as a *City*. The bishopric was dissolved by Edward the Sixth, but the title of "City" (which seems to follow the appointment of a bishop) remained, and has ever since that time attached, although it is in the case of Westminster, a pure title of courtesy. On the accession of Elizabeth, Westminster, which had been put under a dean by King Edward and restored to the monks by Queen Mary, was, by letters patent, erected into a college, under the government of a dean, canons, and prebendaries. The queen confirmed to the college so constituted, all privileges and customs of the old convent or monastery as fully as they existed before the suppression.

These letters patent were confirmed Aug. 3rd, 2 James I., upon the supplication of the dean of the collegiate church, and "considering that in the said church divine service and the true worship of God were continually celebrated and administered to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the sincere instruction and comfort of his people," and also recollecting the many monuments in the abbey, including that of his "most dear great grandfather, King Henry

the Seventh, most powerful and most prudent amongst the kings of his time." All the privileges and customs and liberties of the old monastery were fully confirmed, and the rights of the Dean and Chapter, over nearly all the present City of Westminster except the precinct of the Savoy. Full power is given to appoint a coroner and a clerk of the market, and to have a prison for offenders, and this in addition to their rights in respect of the full return of all manner of writs, the levying of fines, and the exercise of general manorial rights over the whole district. The powers granted under this charter, if ever exercised, appear to have fallen largely into desuetude. The arms at present borne by the City of Westminster seem to have been granted in 1601.

As has been noted, Westminster appears to have remained under the direct personal government of the Abbots and Monks of Westminster, from the time of Edward the Confessor to the date of the dissolution of the monasteries. After the control had been re-vested in the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate Church by the letters patent of Elizabeth, a private Act of Parliament was passed with respect to the government of the City, which may be regarded as the foundation of such part of Westminster Civic Government as has survived to our day.

This Act passed in 1585 (27 Eliz., cap. 31), recites that "forasmoche as by erection and newe buyldynge of dyvers houses, &c., and by the partinge and dyvidynge of dyvers Tenements within the Cyttie or Boroughe of Westmynster and the liberties of the same, The people thereof are greatelie encreased and being for the most parte withowte Trade or mysterie are become poore, and many of them gyven whollie to Vyce and Idlenes, lyvinge in contempte of all maner of officers within the saide Cyttie for that their power to correcte and reforme them is not so sufficient in Lawe as in

that behalfe weare meete and requysite: Be it therefore ordeyned by the Quene's moaste excellent Ma^tie, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authoritie of the same. That the said Cittie or Boroughe of Westminster, the Liberties, Territories, and Precincts of the same shall be and for ever thereafter contynewe severed and divided as yt hathe been accustomed into xij severall Dyvisions to be called or known by the name of Wardes."

After this provision for the continuance of a Ward division, which was apparently pre-existent, the Act goes on to provide that, "for the better ordering and governing of the people inhabiting and being within the said Wards, and for repressinge and rootinge out of Vice theare used," the Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, or the High Steward or his deputy, should, upon every Thursday in Easter week, nominate and elect twelve sufficient persons being "Merchaunts, Artificers, or persons usinge any Trade of buyeing or sellinge within the saide Cyttie or Boroughe," or such other inhabitants as shall be "willinge thereunto," to be called by the name of "Burgeses;" and each of the twelve Wards is to be under the government of one of these officers. The Burgesses appear to have continued in office from year to year, and not to have been removed "excepte for some offence or mysgovernement by them or any of them comytted, and unlesse for cawse reasonable proved." The penalty on a nominated Burgess refusing to accept the "saide Rome," was a fine of £10 to the use of the poor.

Provision is made for the appointment of twelve other similar persons as Assistant Burgesses, for the purpose of aiding the Burgesses in their government. The penalty for non-acceptance of the office was £6.

The twelve Burgesses and twelve assistants were empowered to rule over the several Wards, and each Burgess

and his assistant might by virtue of the Act, "doe and deale in everie thinge and things as Aldermens Deputies in the Cittie of London lawfullie doe or maye doe." Two of the Burgesses were to be nominated as Chief Burgesses.

The power of the body so constituted, is provided for in sec. 5 as follows, viz. :—"And for due Reformation of the Inconvenyences and Disordres whiche shall or maye happen within the said Cyttie, Boroughe, or Libertie. Be it ordeyned by the authoritie of this present Parliament, That, as well the saide Deane or his Successors, the Highe Stewarde aforesaide or his Deputie, as also the saide twoe Chief Burgeses, the other Tenne Burgeses, or any fowre or three of them whereof the saide Deane, Highe Stewarde, or his Deputie, or one of the saide twoe Chief Burgeses, to be one from tyme to tyme for ever hereafter to be appoynted during theire said office, shall and maye by vertue of this Acte within the saide Cyttie or Boroughe, and the Liberties thereof, heare, examyne, determyne, and punyshe, accordinge to the Lawes of this Realme, or the lawdable and lawfull Custome of the Cyttie of London, all matters of Incontynences, Common Scolds, and of Inmates and Common Annoyances, and likewise that they shall have authoritie to commytt to prison suche persons as within the saide Cyttie shall offende against the Peace. And thereof shall gyve notice within xxiiij^{tie} howres after to somme Justice of the Peace within the Countie of Middlesex."

Power is given to the Dean and Burgesses to make orders for the good government of the inhabitants; and, in case there be default made in the nomination of Burgesses, power is given to two Justices of the Peace to make such nomination. Due reservation is made of the rights of the Collegiate Church of Westminster and its precincts, of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of certain persons exercising special jurisdictions within the City, as the Mayor, Society, and

Clerk of the Staple; the Bailiff of the Liberties, the Town Clerk; the Clerk of the Market, the Searcher of the Sanctuary, &c.

There is very little available information with regard to the effect of this measure, or as to the nature, extent, or character of Westminster government which succeeded its enactment, and no further Act of Parliament appears to have been passed with respect to it for more than 150 years. At length, by the 29 Geo. II., c. 25, passed in 1756, the existence of the City was recognised, and provision made for the appointment of a sufficient number of constables for the service of the City and Liberty of Westminster, and for the compelling of proper persons to take upon themselves the offices of jurymen, and to present nuisances and other offences within the City and Liberty.

This Act distinctly recites the statute of Elizabeth, and states that certain defects have attended its working; that the public ways and passages are greatly obstructed, and that many other annoyances and offences are daily committed within the said City and Borough. It also declares that, in consequence of a great increase of the buildings in the City, and of some irregularity in the appointment of City constables, there was not a sufficient number of such officers for the service of the City.

It would, therefore, seem that the provisions of the statute of Elizabeth, with respect to the government of the different wards of the City by duly nominated burgesses, had not proved completely satisfactory; and, by the Act now under consideration, it is provided that the Dean of the Collegiate Church of Westminster, or the High Steward of the City and Liberty or his lawful deputy, should at a Court Leet, to be held once every year, appoint eighty able and fit persons, being artificers or using the trade of buying or selling within the City, but not being ale-house-keepers,

to be constables of the City of Westminster. The constables so appointed were to be chosen from the various parishes in the manner set forth in the Act. Provision was made for the empannelling of a Leet Jury by the High Bailiff, in pursuance of the precept of the Dean, the High Steward, or his Deputy. The Jury so empannelled were empowered to present proper persons to serve the office of constable. Any one refusing to serve on the Leet Jury might be fined forty shillings; and any one presented as a constable was bound either to serve or find a deputy, under a penalty of £8. The appointment of High Constable rested with the Dean, High Steward, or his Deputy, and the penalty of non-acceptance was £20.

By the Metropolitan Police Act, 2 & 3 Vict., c. 47, that part of this Act which relates to the appointment of constables was repealed, and the City of Westminster is brought within the general police arrangements of the metropolis.

The nuisances within the City are dealt with by section 10 of the Act of 1756, which provides for the empannelling of an Annoyance Jury. The oath of the jurors sufficiently indicates the character of the work they were expected to perform,—"I do swear that I will diligently enquire and make true presentment to this court of all such public annoyances and offences as shall be committed within Westminster during the time of my continuance in the office whereunto I am now appointed, and that I will present no person or thing through hatred or malice, nor leave any unpresented through love, favour, or affection." The jurors so appointed were bound to accept the office under a penalty of forty shillings, and a fine of similar amount was imposed on those who subjected them during the discharge of their duties to insult or annoyance. In the execution of this duty they were authorized to enter any house, shop, or warehouse within the City or Liberty, in the occupation of any one

dealing by weight or measure; to examine the weights, balances, or measures, and, if defective, to destroy the same, and fine the proprietors in any sum not exceeding forty shillings. A power of distress and imprisonment was given for the recovery of these fines. Some of the fines were payable within fourteen days to the overseers of the poor, and applicable for the same purposes as the Poors' Rate; but those fines which were imposed by the Annoyance Jury were divisible in equal proportions to the High Bailiff and Court of Burgesses.

This Act is again explained and amended by the 31 Geo. III., c. 17. This statute deals specially with the repair of pavements. These are to be repaired by the churchwardens of parishes when opposite certain public buildings, and private owners are required to repair those opposite to their own houses. The oversight of pavements is vested in the Annoyance Jury, who have also power to give notice to remove obstructions, and in default to inflict fines. The license of the Court of Burgesses is requisite to the erection of hoardings and other obstructions. Power is given to seal and stamp weights and measures, and to destroy those found unsealed. The fines are payable partly to the officers of the Corporation.

A number of amending and explaining Acts were passed in the same reign, affecting the cleaning, paving, and lighting of various districts within the extended area of the City.*

The provisions already set out for the appointment of Annoyance Jurors were repealed by the 24 & 25 Vict., c. 78, and from and after the 29th of September, 1861, they ceased

* See the Statutes, 3 Geo. III., c. 23; 4 Geo. III., c. 39; 5 Geo. III., c. 13; 11 Geo. III., c. 22; 11 Geo. III., c. 51; 22 Geo. III., c. 84; 23 Geo. III., c. 42; 23 Geo. III., c. 43; 23 Geo. III., c. 89; 23 Geo. III., c. 90; 29 Geo. III., c. 75; 30 Geo. III., c. 53.; 47 Geo. III., c. 38; 50 Geo. III., c. 84.

to exist. By section 3, the Dean, or the High Steward, or his Deputy, may, as circumstances require, call a meeting of Burgesses of the City of Westminster, at which must be present one chief Burgess, four minor Burgesses, and either the Dean, the High Steward, or his Deputy.

The Court so convened is empowered to appoint one or more Inspector of Measures. These officers are to receive reasonable remuneration for the discharge of their duties, and to hold office during the pleasure of the court. The Inspectors take an oath of office, and are empowered to enter shops and houses, seize defective scales, weights, and measures, and bring the same before the Court of Burgesses. The Court has power to fine offenders, and the fines so inflicted were formerly divided between the High Bailiff and the Court. The present Inspector receives one-half the fees. The last authentic information with respect to the "Corporation" was furnished by an unpublished return from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and from the Court of Burgesses, in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Commons, dated March 8th, 1869.

From this return, it appears that the "Corporation" consists of the following officers:—the Dean of Westminster "without a salary," the High Steward "without a salary," the Deputy High Steward £200, the Town Clerk £100, the High Constable £80, the Inspector £100, the Crier and Mace-bearer £25, the Summoning Officer £10. In addition to these officers there are 16 Burgesses, and 16 Assistant Burgesses, appointed annually in Easter Week; two of the Burgesses being nominated as Chief Burgesses. The office of High Steward is generally held by some distinguished noble. The appointment is made by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and in the reign of Elizabeth was held by Lord Burleigh. There is no salary attached to the office, but there is an ancient yearly payment of £5 from the Dean

and Chapter. This is granted by the High Steward to his Deputy.

As has been noted, the Dean, or the High Steward, or the Deputy High Steward is empowered to nominate the Burgesses and Assistant Burgesses for the year, and to preside at the meetings of the Burgess Court. As a matter of fact such nomination and such presidency appears to rest in the Deputy High Steward, the offices of the two higher officials being purely honorary. The Deputy High Steward is appointed by the High Steward, and performs the duties of his office in his absence. In addition to his salary of £200 per annum, he receives one-half of the sums received for the inspection and marking of weights and measures, under the 29 Geo. II., c. 25.

The appointment of the Coroner is now regulated by the 23 & 24 Vict., c. 116.

In addition to the offices already mentioned, there is a High Bailiff and a Deputy Bailiff. The former officer is appointed by the Dean and Chapter. He has, practically, the functions of a Sheriff of a county, including the execution of writs, the return of Members of Parliament, the summoning of juries, and the trial of compensation cases. He receives one-half of the fines imposed by the Court of Burgesses, has a stall in Westminster Abbey, and certain functional duties on Coronation days. He has the appointment of a Deputy, subject to the consent of the Dean and Chapter. The stipend paid by the Dean and Chapter appears to be £6 13*s.* 4*d.* The other emoluments of the office are made up of various items; of fees on the preparation of the vote register, fees as judge in compensation cases, and fines. The total income of the office will, probably, average under £500. The Deputy Bailiff performs the functions of the Bailiff in his absence. Under the County Court Act (9 & 10 Vict. c. 95, sec. 32) the High Bailiff of the City of

Westminster was to be the High Bailiff of the County Court established within the District; but this provision was repealed by the 22nd Vict. c. 8, as his whole time was not available for the work.

The office of Town Clerk is in the appointment of the High Steward. This officer is expected to attend the Burgess Courts, enter the minutes of proceedings, and keep the records. He prepares the summonses issued in respect of weights and measures, and issues warrants to the High Bailiff for the levy of unpaid fines. In addition to the salary of £100 per annum, as provided above, he receives certain fees on the swearing in of the Burgesses and the officers of the Court.

The High Constable is also expected to attend all the meetings of the Court of Burgesses. In addition to this function, he has certain other ceremonial duties in connection with attendance upon the Lord Chancellor, at Westminster and elsewhere. For some of these services he receives additional payments from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

The Inspector of Weights and Measures, appointed under the 24th & 25th Vict., c. 78, receives, in addition to his salary of £100 per annum, one-half of the moneys received from fines, and for the sizing, sealing, and marking weights, &c. He has a right to visit the shops and warehouses of persons dealing by weight or measure within the City, and of examining weights, balances, weighing-machines, measures, &c. Where these are found unlawful, fraudulent, or defective, he lays information against the offenders, and they are summoned before the Court of Burgesses. This Court generally sits once a month for the purpose of hearing and deciding in the cases of parties summoned. The amount of the fines are in the discretion of the Court, and they have been recently considerably increased.

The offices of Crier, Mace Bearer, and Summoning

Officer are in the gift of the Deputy High Steward. They are now held by the same person. The Coroner is appointed by the Dean and Chapter, and may appoint his own Deputy with their sanction. The duties of this office do not differ from other Coronerships in the Metropolis.

In addition to these officers, there is supposed to be a Clerk of the Markets, and a Searcher of the Sanctuary; but, as there has long ceased to be any market to attend to, and as the searching of the Sanctuary is an absurdity, if possible, still greater, the duties of these officers are not onerous. The appointment of the officers of the "Corporation" is made by virtue of a number of technical deeds of great length and elaboration.

It is probable that Admiral Duff, whose legacy to the Corporation of London, for the purpose of providing Scripture readers, has been already considered, knew very little of the Corporation of Westminster. He has, however, left the interest of a legacy of £1,000, to be devoted by the authorities of Westminster to the same purpose. This Corporation therefore, like its haughty sister further east, is the depository of trust funds. It also possesses verified copies of the standard weights and measures, and a mace,—an article which may be regarded as the most indubitable evidence of its corporate dignity. In the third year of its existence, one Maurice Pickering seems to have presented to the Court a loving cup,—and there is also a silver snuff-box for the use of such as love rappee. The Court does but little in the way of "festivities;" we believe that it never exceeds two well-earned dinners a year, there being few available funds. Faulty measures are broken up and sold, and the produce may be used for the purposes of the Court. The £500 paid by the Treasury is by no means certain to be paid for ever, and its withdrawal has been recently discussed. In such a case, it would seem that the Cor-

poration would quietly collapse and disappear; for however willing the Burgesses might be to carry out the Act, they could not secure efficient servants unless there were salaries attached to their offices. The only recently recorded instance of the Corporation appearing in public was upon the entry of the Princess of Wales into London when they met her at the Marble Arch, where she entered the bounds of the City.

If we test the various organizations which have existed under the control of the Dean and Chapter for the government of Westminster, we shall find that they have at no time possessed the essentials of a Corporation. Neither has it any title to be called a City. But there is much of interest in connection with its history, and having the available materials, it seemed well to set out that history once for all, and this the more especially, as it was deemed to be of far more weight and importance than is really the case.

The London Police.

The constituting Statute of the London Police Force was passed under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel, in 1830.* It includes within the limit of its operation only the district outside the City of London; another illustration being thus afforded of the exclusive and unpatriotic policy of the City. The preamble to this Act recites, "that the nightly watch and nightly police had been found inadequate to the detection of crime, by reason of the unfitness of the individuals employed, the insufficiency of their number, &c." The Act then provides for the establishment of a police force within the district set out in the schedule to the Act, and for the appointment of a Receiver with power to purchase lands and buildings, and in whom the property of the police

* 10 Geo. IV., c. 44.

organization should be vested. The appointment of the Receiver was vested in the Crown, and the districts set out in the schedule might by Order in Council be extended, by the addition of other parishes or districts; so that no such parish or district should be situated at a greater distance than twelve miles from Charing Cross. By section 19, provision is made for the transfer of all the property of the old watch, and for the levying of police rates by the overseers of the various parishes.

The Statute contains other provisions for the regulation and management of the force. It was forthwith put in operation with 1,200 men. This number was increased in the course of a few months to 3,000 and at the time of the passing of the Statute by which the management of the police force is now regulated, the Metropolitan Police were something like 4,000 in number.

In the year 1839 were passed two Statutes which may be regarded as the governing statutes of the Metropolitan and City Police forces respectively. Allusion has already been made to the fact that the City was excluded from the action of the 10 Geo. IV., c. 44. This fact was brought to the notice and was under the careful consideration of the Municipal Commissioners, who reported in 1837 as follows:—"In one particular, and that a most important and practical one, the opinion of Parliament has been already declared by the establishment of a Metropolitan Police, under the orders of Commissioners appointed by and immediately dependent upon your Majesty's Executive Government. We scarcely anticipate that any argument can be brought forward to show that the system can be partially right. We can see no middle course for the establishment of an efficient police through the Metropolis between placing the whole under a Metropolitan Municipality, and entrusting the whole to Commissioners or other similar officers under the immediate control of your Majesty's Government."

Shortly after the publication of this report, an attempt was made by Lord Melbourne to include the City in the Metropolitan system. From the selfish and exclusive Corporation came strong opposition. The unity of the Metropolis even in a matter that concerned its actual safety was to them of no importance whatever when weighed in the balance with their own privileges. The government, however, disregarded both petitions and addresses to the Crown, and when the City found these were unavailing they set to work to raise the jealousy of country Corporations, and, unfortunately for the public credit of the latter, they succeeded Finding they could do nothing with the government, "they then acted on the French maxim, 'Help thyself, and heaven will help thee!' They immediately fixed their Town Clerk in New Palace Yard; they gave him a large body of assistants, and instructed him to communicate with every Corporation in the United Kingdom. The consequence was, by the influence of these country Corporations, the minister found that his support fell like a rope of sand. He gave up his measure."*

It therefore became necessary to pass a separate measure for the City, which up to this time had not adopted the new police system. In old London every inhabitant was liable to serve as watchman for his district. He might perform his office by deputy; but in the days when every resident in a ward was personally known to the rest, and when every stranger coming within it was carefully watched, the duty was not onerous. After the dissolution of the monasteries, however, the number of beggars and vagrants seriously increased, and at an early period in the reign of Elizabeth, beadles were appointed to clear the streets of these classes. They found the work too much for them, and then were appointed the "City Marshals," under whose direction

* Evidence of Thomas Rogers, Esq., before Commissioners of 1854. Ans. 2682.

the work was effectively done. The system thus established was continued, with modifications, down to the year 1839.

In that year were passed the Acts 2 & 3 Vict., c. 47, and 2 & 3 Vict., c. 94. These Acts regulating the police force within the Metropolis and the City respectively, contain many similar provisions. But the essential point contested and gained by the City was, that under the latter measure the management of the City police was confided to a Commissioner elected and controlled by the Common Council, whilst the appointment and control of the Metropolitan Commissioner rests with the Home Secretary. Under the Metropolitan Act, the Treasury undertake to defray out of the Consolidated Fund one-fourth of the cost of the Metropolitan police, but the City, rather than forego its useless supremacy, undertook to defray this fourth out of their "revenues and possessions" (2 & 3 Vict., c. 94, sec. 57). The other three-fourths in each case to be defrayed by rate. The proportion contributed by the Treasury to the police rate of the Metropolis (and to the County police rate of the country generally) was, in 1874, fixed at an equivalent sum to the amount raised by rate.* No alteration was however made in the City arrangement so that the City ratepayer has to pay three-fourths where every other Londoner only pays one-half. Practically, the Corporation paid in 1874 more than £40,000, which would have been recouped by the Treasury if the City would have consented to come into the system adopted everywhere else throughout England. Some idea may be formed of the perversity of the City mind, and of the narrow conceptions of its rulers, by the fact of its being willing to pay a fine of £40,000 a year in this one matter, rather than form part of a system of acknowledged national utility. Those who dwell within the City and

* This arrangement however was purely temporary, and the final amount does not appear to be settled.

who have a vested interest in its "estate," ought to look to this.

The City Police Commissioner receives £1,800 a year, the Superintendent £600, the Surgeon £600, the Receiver £450. There are 787 men. They are in six divisions, and the total sum paid for wages in 1874 was £64,331. The cost of the offices and stations was £9,921, and of clothing £1,879. The sum of £300 is charged for "Parliamentary expenses." Thus the City rulers make the poor City ratepayer pay for opposing any measure which may lessen his police rate contribution. The total cost of the City Police in 1874 was £83,508. The sum of £62,021 was raised by rate, and £19,504 was paid out of the City estate. The rest was received from reimbursements for extra services, and other sources.

Both of the recited Acts provide for the establishment of a superannuation fund. The direct charge on this fund from the City police account in 1874 was £1,850. The total amount paid was £6,119, the balance being largely made up by the sale of securities. The Metropolitan Police Superannuation Fund received in the year ending March 31st, 1875, from the police themselves £19,822, and from the General Police Fund £80,648. The total receipts were £112,707. The sum of £110,152 was paid in superannuation allowances to 2,807 constables, and £2,555 was given in gratuities to 54 constables.

The Acts contain a number of regulating provisions as to public-houses, theatres, public buildings, streets, vagrancy, gambling, &c. The Metropolitan Act includes the control of the Thames, and it also empowers the Privy Council to extend the police district, so as to include any place within fifteen miles of Charing Cross.

The City Act provides in section 94, that the "ancient rights" of electing ward constables in the City of London

shall be suspended." But section 95 provides that in case the Act be repealed, then the right of electing ward constables shall revive. If the City fondly suppose that this clause will override any statute for the unification of the London Police, they will probably find they have cherished a delusion.

Some of the provisions in the Metropolitan Act have been varied by subsequent statutes. The Statute 19 & 20 Vict., c. 3, provides for the appointment by Her Majesty under the Sign Manual, of one Commissioner and two Assistant Commissioners, at maximum salaries of £1,500 and £800 a year each respectively.

The Statute 30 & 31 Vict., c. 39, fixes the salary of the Receiver at not more than £1,200, and provides for the police accounts being laid before Parliament, made up to the end of March in every year. The Police Rate Act, 31 & 32 Vict., c. 67, increases the rate leviable for the police force to 9*d.* in the pound, of which sum one-fourth was payable by the Treasury, and three-fourths raiseable by rate. Previously to the passing of this Act, the rate had been limited to 8*d.* in the pound. As has been noted, the Treasury contribution has been since increased.

The powers and duties of the police were extended in various ways, by the Habitual Criminals' Act, 32 & 33 Vict., c. 39; and by "The Police Expenses Act, 1874," 37 & 38 Vict., c. 58, the limitation of the Treasury contribution to one-fourth was repealed. From the 1st of April, 1874, the rate of such contribution was raised to 4½*d.* in the pound, or one-half of the amount raiseable under the Police Acts; but how long this ratio may continue is uncertain.

The annexed tables set out the authorized strength of the Metropolitan Police Force of the various ranks at the close of the year 1874, also the summonses issued on police application and the total number of apprehensions, together with the number of convictions in each case.

Return showing the authorized strength of Divisions on December 31st, 1874.

Division.	Name of Division.	Area (Miles).	Superintendents.	Inspectors.	Police Serjeants.	Police Constables.	Total.
Whitehall . . .	A	1·43	2	40	92	426	560
Westminster . .	B	2·32	1	12	42	468	523
St. James's . . .	C	0·79	1	7	31	316	355
Marylebone . . .	D	1·56	1	6	28	314	349
Holborn	E	1·35	1	9	47	500	557
Finsbury	G	1·10	1	6	28	337	372
Whitechapel . .	H	1·08	1	6	24	276	307
Stepney	K	50·40	1	13	83	660	757
Lambeth	L	1·16	1	5	26	261	293
Southwark . . .	M	1·91	1	7	31	343	382
Islington . . .	N	59·37	1	12	56	605	674
Camberwell . . .	P	50·47	1	9	61	490	561
Greenwich . . .	R	61·77	1	11	50	369	431
Hampstead . . .	S	84·69	1	9	47	438	495
Kensington . . .	T	75·39	1	12	62	517	592
Wandsworth . .	V	64·09	1	7	43	342	393
Clapham	W	76·10	1	9	46	373	429
Paddington . . .	X	74·06	1	10	52	444	507
Highgate . . .	Y	70·02	1	14	57	526	598
Thames	..	9·25	1	33	..	123	157
Totals . . .	..	688·31	21	237	906	8,128	9,292

Metropolitan Police (Dockyard Divisions included).

Years.	Superintendents.	Inspectors.	Serjeants.	Constables.	Total of all Ranks.	Summonses issued on application of Police.	Number Convicted.	Total Number Apprehended.	Total Number Convicted.
1865	27	223	828	6,491	7,569	9,669	8,401	70,224	38,263
1866	27	221	818	6,482	7,548	10,414	9,073	65,806	26,371
1867	27	232	843	6,690	7,792	9,744	7,823	63,042	34,716
1868	27	261	953	7,722	8,963	9,058	7,684	66,870	38,024
1869	26	253	944	7,660	8,883	11,631	9,950	72,951	42,699
1870	26	257	955	7,922	9,160	11,079	9,450	71,269	46,193
1871	26	259	963	8,407	9,655	13,471	11,732	71,961	48,265
1872	26	262	984	8,489	9,761	12,684	10,746	78,203	54,928
1873	26	272	992	8,593	9,883	9,936	8,762	73,857	52,851
1874	25	277	994	8,662	9,958	10,604	8,993	67,703	48,192

The weekly rates of pay are as follows:—Third class ordinary constable £1 4*s.*; second class ordinary constable

£1 7*s.*; second class reserve constable £1 8*s.* 6*d.*; first class ordinary constable £1 10*s.*; first class reserve constable £1 11*s.* 6*d.*; divisional detective £1 12*s.*; second class ordinary serjeant £1 14*s.*; first class ordinary serjeant £1 16*s.*; second class reserve serjeant £1 17*s.*; first class reserve serjeant £1 19*s.*; station, divisional detective and clerk serjeants £2; second class detective serjeants at office £2 7*s.* 4*d.*; first class detective serjeant £3 2*s.* 8*d.*; second class ordinary inspector £2 15*s.* 6*d.*; second class reserve inspector £2 19*s.* 6*d.*; first class ordinary inspector £3 2*s.* 6*d.*; first class reserve inspector £3 6*s.* 6*d.*; chief inspector £3 13*s.*; detective inspectors at chief office £4 6*s.* 11*d.*; chief detective inspectors £5 6*s.* 2*d.*; superintendent first year £5 15*s.* 5*d.*; superintendent second year £5 19*s.* 3*d.*; superintendent third year £6 3*s.* 1*d.*; superintendent fourth year £6 7*s.*; superintendent fifth year £6 10*s.* 10*d.*; superintendent sixth year £6 14*s.* 8*d.*; superintendent seventh year £6 18*s.* 6*d.*; superintendent eighth year £7 2*s.* 4*d.*; superintendent ninth year £7 6*s.* 1*d.*; superintendent tenth year £7 10*s.*; superintendent eleventh year £7 13*s.* 11*d.*

The actual wages paid at the beginning of the year 1875 were as follows: one Commissioner at £1,500, with house rent, &c.; two Assistant-Commissioners at £800 each; four District Superintendents, receiving £800, £725, £725, and £725 respectively; twenty-five Superintendents, paid as follows: one at £475, two at £425, one at £415, four at £400, one at £390, two at £380, five at £370, three at £360, four at £320, and two at £300. Each of these also received £11 per annum extra to pay for clothing.

Two hundred and seventy-six Inspectors, of which three received £276 each, one £256, four £247 13*s.*, seven £226, two £201 1*s.* 4*d.*, nineteen £189 16*s.*, three £187 10*s.*, five £175 18*s.* 8*d.*, one hundred and fifteen £162 10*s.*, ninety-

four £144 6*s.*, two £93 12*s.*, twenty-one £88 8*s.* Each of these received clothing or £10 a year in lieu thereof.

Nine hundred and eighty-six Serjeants, six at £162 18*s.* 8*d.*, eleven at £122 4*s.*, three hundred and two at £104, three at £100 2*s.*, one hundred and seventy at £93 12*s.*, four hundred and ninety-four at £88 8*s.*

And, lastly, 8,649 Constables, one at £88 8*s.*, one hundred and ninety-seven at £83 4*s.*, two thousand six hundred and ninety-seven at £78, two thousand six hundred and seventy-one at £70 4*s.*, three thousand and eighty-three at £62 8*s.*

The Serjeants and the rank and file receive either clothing or a money allowance. Married men and those living out of stations receive 4*d.* per week in lieu of coals, single men in stations receive 40 lbs. of coal weekly in winter, and 20 lbs. in summer.

It is satisfactory to notice that crime in the Metropolis is on the decrease, not merely proportionately to the population, but actually. Taking indictable offences as the test, it is found that the number of such offences in 1874 was 10,185, being the smallest number for ten years. The facts as to this diminution are fully elaborated in the report of the Chief Commissioner, and were quoted with great satisfaction by Lord Aberdare at the Social Science Congress in October, 1875.* There have been in past years very many complaints of various kinds levelled against the Police Force, but there is reason to believe that it is now an institution largely deserving public confidence and support.

The annexed Table shows a steady increase in the numbers of the force during the last ten years;† but there is reason to doubt whether this increase—marked as it is—has at all kept pace with the rapid increase of houses and streets within the Metropolitan Police district. In 1874 seventy-

* Vide *Times*, October 7th, 1875. † See p. 429, *ante*.

five men were added to the force, and, in the same year, London was increased by the addition of 7,764 new houses, and the completion of 145 new streets, with an aggregate length of 22½ miles. In the years 1865-75 (inclusive), there has been added to the metropolis 129,331 houses, and 507 miles of new streets and squares.

The diminution in Metropolitan crime may fairly be ascribed to increased efficiency of the police, but in other respects beyond police control, the condition of London streets seems to be as dangerous as ever. In 1874 there were 124 persons killed, and 2,568 injured, in street accidents. Many of these occur in consequence of the danger attending street crossings. Many of these crossings are so many death-traps, where the life and limbs of the pedestrian are at the mercy of every drunken cab-driver, or youth in charge of a railway-van. If the day should ever come when men uniting grasp of detail to broadness of conception, shall govern London, the number of these preventible accidents will be lessened, and light bridges or subways will provide an accommodation long and sorely needed. Possibly as much has been done towards their prevention as could be well expected at the hands of the police authorities. Intelligent members of the force are now stationed at every dangerous point, and much good service is performed in the regulation of traffic. In addition to this, the system of establishing a certain number of fixed points where policemen may always be found, has been extended. The system originated in a strongly-expressed popular demand, and it has proved of much value. The number of such fixed points is 263.

The efficient working of the whole system has been largely aided by the perfection of telegraphic communication between the divisional and sub-divisional stations. In 1874 no less than 87,771 messages passed through Scotland Yard.

In addition to the various duties detailed in their Regulating Act, the Metropolitan Police perform many others of great advantage to the community. In 1874 they report that 13,446 doors and 6,207 windows were found open, and the report of the Commissioners contains the constant but scarcely heeded warning as to the slender character of house fastenings and the carelessness of householders.

The inspection of cabs, omnibuses, and other public carriages and horses is also in the hands of the police. The number of licenses issued in 1874 was to proprietors 9,669, and to drivers and conductors 16,364. In the same year 89 omnibuses and 927 hackney carriages were rejected as unfit for use, whilst, with respect to 333 horses and 3,062 carriages, reports were made and notice served upon proprietors. The regulations for the return of lost articles seem to work well, as the number of such articles returned has largely increased, and 14,076 were left at the Lost Property Office in the year under consideration. The class of men employed in the business seems to be improving, and the convictions for drunkenness and furious driving have diminished to 1,010. On the whole, the police seem to discharge this part of their duty with great advantage to the public service.

The abatement of the Smoke Nuisance is now placed under the police control; 1,968 cases were reported by the police in 1874. Some of the nuisances were abated after a caution; but 380 were investigated before magistrates, and the offenders fined. The expenses of the engineer for inspection and police-court attendance were £569.

The police have also certain duties with respect to the inspection of Lodging-Houses. The number of houses under inspection is very large, and includes no less than 3,633 unregistered houses in occasional use. The average number of lodgers in those houses is about 27,000; and, if

the London Vestries performed their duties in respect to the houses with the same thoroughness as the London Police, the position of the lodgers would be by no means a bad one. As it is, the advantages of police investigation are very considerable, as may be surmised from the fact that, amongst the duties of the Inspecting Officer, he is expected to "enforce a good and sufficient quantity of clothing to insure warmth during the inclement season of the year; well ventilated and lime-washed sleeping-rooms, clean and capacious kitchens, washing accommodation, cooking utensils, and a plentiful supply of water," &c. Every house is inspected once a week, and many of them daily. The Lodging-House Act is reported to work well and easily, and it is most beneficial "in securing clean and healthy lodgings for the poorer classes, which would otherwise be entirely out of their reach." The number of visits reported as having been paid to Lodging-Houses during the year 1874 was 128,000, and the total number of such visits since the institution of registration and police inspection was 3,755,640.

We learn from the report of the Commissioner of Police for the year 1874, that "the widest authority is given to the officers in charge of stations to send for medical aid in every case in which there is the least ground for doubt" as to whether a person arrested is drunk or ill. It is satisfactory to find such a regulation in force, as grave scandals have arisen from the conduct of the police in arresting persons who were ill and charging them with drunkenness. The virtues which are expected to be combined in the London policeman are very numerous,* but it is too much

* "A thoroughly efficient policeman must be active, enterprising, vigilant, shrewd, industrious, punctual, sober, intelligent, faithful, obedient, courageous, patient, forbearing, and incorruptible. He must have an iron constitution, no small powers of endurance, the faculty of going without his natural rest at stated periods, the eyes of Argus, and the stoicism of an ancient philosopher."—*Daily Telegraph*, February 23rd, 1865.

to anticipate that we shall be able to find a sufficient number of otherwise satisfactory men who shall be able to diagnose the medical condition of people found in the gutter. In the year 1874 medical assistance was given to 7,611 persons, of whom 976 were found insensible from drunkenness, and 1,343 insensible from other causes. The sum of £2,115 was paid from the Police funds to various surgeons for their services in these cases.

The Metropolitan Police are authorized to take into custody, dogs found straying in the streets. In 1874 no less than 19,409 of these animals were apprehended; some were restored to their owners, and 17,354 were sent to that excellent institution, "The Home for Lost and Starving Dogs," in York Road, Battersea.*

The income of the Metropolitan Police, during the year ending March 31st, 1875, was as follows:—

	£
Voted by Parliament . . .	389,004†
From London Parishes, on Rate Warrants	482,785
For Special Police Services at various places	111,956
From Proprietors, Drivers, &c., of Public Carriages	22,522
Carried forward . . .	1,006,267

* It has been reported that, in default of further funds being forthcoming, this institution must close its doors. In view of the enormous service which it renders to the dumb creation, it may be hoped that this report is incorrect.

† This sum is made up of the receipts from the Parliamentary vote of £20,000 contributed to the Horse Patrol and Thames Police; of the salaries of the Commissioner, Receiver, and Assistant-Commissioners, payable by statute; of certain charges in respect of the Habitual Criminals' Register; and some superannuation allowances. The receipt from the Parliamentary vote was at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the pound on a ratal of £21,996,370, on and after the 1st of April. Before that date it was at a lower rate.

	£
Brought forward . . .	1,006,267
Stoppages from Pay of Police for Lodging	10,131
Reimbursements for Special Expenses	6,093
Received for Conveyance of Prisoners	1,854
Sale of Old Houses and Old Stores	865
Reimbursements for conveying Naval Prisoners, &c.	1,409
Miscellaneous	58
Net Income . . .	£1,026,677

The expenditure in connection with the force was as follows :—

	£	
Office expenses—		
Salaries and Allowances, Commisioner's Office . . .	13,168	
Ditto, Receiver's Office . .	6,832	
Books and Stationery . .	4,007	
Office Rent, Taxes, Repairs, &c.	3,458	
Miscellaneous	1,833	
		29,298
Pay, Clothing, and Equipment—		
Salaries of Superintendents .	12,246	
Pay of Inspectors, Serjeants, and Constables	759,149	
Extra Duty Pay . . .	1,277	
Clothing of all kinds . .	55,397	
Truncheons, &c. . . .	404	
		828,473
Retired Allowances, &c.—		
To Police Superannuation Fund	80,648	
Pensions to Widows and others .	2,755	
		83,403
Carried forward . .		941,174

	£	£
Brought forward . .	941,174	
Police Stations, &c.—		
New Station at Shoreditch, part of cost	6,274	
Repairs and Alterations of Stations	10,249	
Rents of Stations . . .	8,283	
Rates and Taxes . . .	6,023	
Cleaning Stations, &c. . .	4,529	
Furniture and Fixtures . .	1,993	
Telegraph Expenses . . .	2,643	
Incidentals	2,110	
		42,104
Fuel, Light, &c.—		
Coals	11,400	
Gas and Fittings . . .	7,377	
Oil and Police Lanterns . .	5,170	
		23,947
Horses, Vans, &c.—		
Horses purchased . . .	2,297	
Forage—for 323 horses . .	8,526	
Saddlery, Carts, &c. . . .	3,055	
		13,878
Medical and Funeral Expenses—		
Salaries of 99 District Surgeons and 1 Superintendent . .	3,504	
Medical Attendance and Medicine for Police, and Poor suffering accident . . .	2,694	
Funeral Expenses of 58 Officers	303	
		6,501
Law and Miscellaneous—		
Law Expenses	782	
Conveyance of Naval Prisoners .	1,299	
Register of Habitual Criminals .	1,035	
Carried forward . .	3,116	1,027,604

	£	£
Brought forward . .	3,116	1,027,604
Extra Expenses in pursuit and conveyance of Prisoners .	7,997	
Expenses on duties out of District	7,126	
Education of Police . . .	427	
Minor Expenses . . .	1,171	
		19,837
Repayments—		
Overpaid by Overseers, Treasury Contribution being increased .	51,050*	
Paid for Lodgings . . .	1,340	
Minor Repayments . . .	20	
		52,410
		£1,099,851

If from this total of £1,099,851 we deduct the £51,050 repayment which is unlikely to occur again, and deal with the rest as recurring expenses, we have the net cost of the Metropolitan Police, £1,048,800. If we deduct from this £83,403 for retiring allowances, we have the current expenditure £965,397, or £103 per man. The 787 men in the City cost £83,508. The Corporation charge the stoppages and fines as a payment of £1,850, which goes to the Superannuation Fund; but the Metropolitan Police Accounts, kept on a truer principle, do not include this in the General Fund Account at all, but treat it in the Superannuation Fund Account as a separate receipt. There is no true payment therefore from the City Account, and the cost of the 787 men in the City may be set down at £83,508. The cost of the Metropolitan Police per man was £103, and of the City

* This is the amount overpaid by the parishes in the three months ending June, 1874, when the Treasury contribution was increased. The sum was repaid to the overseers.

Police £106. The competition which has existed between these two forces has been in one way productive of good, and the City Police Account, of all City Accounts, is least hampered with heavy sinecure payments.

About one-twentieth of the Metropolitan Police Rate is levied in the district outside the limits of the Local Management Acts. If we therefore take that as our basis, we should be justified in treating the receipts and expenditure applicable to the Metropolitan District as less by that proportion. This would give the total income due to the Metropolitan District Account in 1874 at about £975,000, and expenditure somewhat more, being nearly, if not quite, one million sterling.

A brisk argument took place some years ago, between Sir Richard Mayne and Mr. Scott, as to the relative value of the City and Metropolitan Police. The former was responsible for the opening of the discussion, which was done in a letter to Sir George Grey under date June 1st, 1863, charging that the City Police Force was relatively the more expensive of the two, and this both as to the cost per man and the cost per house. It was also alleged that the proportion of crime was greater in the City than in the Metropolis. The letter concluded with the following sentence :— "I beg leave, in conclusion, to state that the existence of a detached Police Force in the heart of the Metropolis is at variance with the principle on which the Police is established in every other town in the kingdom. The continuance of such an extraordinary exception in the Metropolis has, after lengthened inquiry and careful consideration been condemned by two Select Committees of the House of Commons and by two Royal Commissions to inquire into the state of the Corporation of the City of London."

The latter part of this letter is true, and Sir Richard might have added that these Committees and Commissions had come to their conclusions after hearing all available

evidence upon both sides of the question. Their conclusions were the only conclusions consistent with common sense. This is really the only important part of the letter, but the former part in which the excellence of the Metropolitan Police is vaunted over the City Police, excited the especial ire of the City Chamberlain, who, four years later, came to the surface with a "Statistical Vindication of the City of London,"* proving that the 650 acres of the City are really the only part of London where any business is done, and where people can be regarded as living; that Kensington and Brixton are only "dormitories," and that it has the most virtuous population, and the best Police Force extant. In fact, Mr. Scott's figures may be used to prove anything whatever. He takes the census population or the day population as each suits his purpose best, and claiming for the City every man who spends an hour a day there, succeeds in magnifying its size greatly. The day population was taken in 1866, and is quoted at 283,520. But Mr. Scott adds to this all those who are said to "resort to the City," that is to say every poor suburban compelled to come to City markets, cabmen (probably estimated for every journey), beggars, bus drivers, and so forth. In this way the day population is swelled to 728,986, and great credit is claimed for managing so many people with so small a force. The quarrel is a very pretty one, and imparts an unwonted relish to police statistics of the time. Of course, Mr. Scott, as a highly paid officer of the Corporation, is expected to find some excellent reason for the continuance of any City anomaly, and so we find him defending a separate City Police Force. We are sorry that the best champion the City ever had, or ever will have, should undertake so hopeless a task. The City might be welcome to a separate Police Force, and a separate cesspool, if it did not

* Longmans, 1867.

thereby injure or incommode its neighbours, but the continuance of a separate organization for the maintenance of public order acting independently of that which surrounds it, cannot last very long, even though supported by all the influence of the Corporation, or the arguments of its hired defenders.

The Metropolitan Police Courts are eleven in number, and include the same number of districts. They are known as Bow Street, Clerkenwell, Great Marlborough Street, Greenwich and Woolwich, Hammersmith and Wandsworth, Lambeth, Marylebone, Southwark, Thames, Westminster, and Worship Street.

These courts are now regulated by the provisions of the Statute 2 & 3 Vict., c. 71. That Statute provides for the limitation of the number of Metropolitan Police Magistrates to 27, according to the discretion of the Crown. The actual number in 1874 was 23. There were in addition 23 clerks and 50 ushers. The total cost of the Police Court establishment during the year amounted to £41,462. The income is payable out of the Consolidated Fund, under section 11 of the above Act. The fees, penalties, and forfeitures levied at these Courts during the year amounted to £15,914, and these are credited to the receipt account. The receipts and payments on the Metropolitan Police Court account are in the hands of a Receiver. The same official performs this duty with respect to the police. His salary is fixed at £1,000 a year, and the amount payable by the Consolidated Fund is limited to £50,000.

The Statute contains full provision for the carrying on of the business of the Courts, and power is given to the Secretary of State to make further regulations with respect to the same as occasion may require.

The income and expenditure of the Metropolitan Police Courts during 1874-5 was as follows:—

Income.	£
From Consolidated Fund . . .	27,831
Voted by Parliament	13,500
Fees, Penalties, and Forfeitures at the eleven Courts	15,914
Net Income . . .	£57,245

Expenditure.	£	£
Salaries—		
One Chief Magistrate . .	1,500	
Twenty-two Magistrates .	26,331	
Twenty-three Clerks . .	7,559	
Fifty Ushers, Gaolers, and Messengers . .	5,121	
		40,511
Fees to Medical Witnesses, Interpreters, &c.		485
Travelling Expenses . . .		165
Clothing and Incidentals . . .		301
Fees, Penalties, &c., paid to Exchequer .		15,891
Net Expenditure . . .		£57,353

The London School Board.

"The Elementary Education Act, 1870," provided for the election of a London School Board, and directed that Board at once to proceed to supply the Metropolis with sufficient school accommodation. It is material to notice that, in this respect, London was specially legislated for differently from the rest of the country. No option was given to the Metropolis on the question of choosing a School Board at all, as the enormous educational defects under which it suffered were too well known to admit of doubt. The Metropolis was divided into ten districts, as set out in the

annexed table (p. 464), and in the autumn of 1870 an election of members took place,—an election in which, probably, more interest was taken by London, as a whole, than in any other election of a municipal character that has ever taken place within it.

It is clear that the Act contemplated the immediate erection by the School Board so elected, of new schools, and the Board were acting directly in the spirit of this measure when they made it their first duty to ascertain—

1. The number of children in the Metropolis receiving sufficient elementary education.

2. The number for whom such education was requisite.

The difference between these two numbers represented the educational requirements of the Metropolis, which they at once set to work with great ardour to meet,

According to the annexed table, the number of children between the ages of three and thirteen is about 680,000. The ascertainment of the amount of education available for these children was no easy matter: no list of elementary schools was in existence, and the results which were arrived at by the Board at the end of the first four months of its working were largely based upon actual survey and inspection. The number of efficient elementary schools in the Metropolis, December 31st, 1874, amounted to about 920. These schools provide accommodation for 283,868 children. There were at that time in actual work 206 schools of the Board, with accommodation for 98,625; making the total efficient elementary school accommodation of London, at the beginning of 1875, 382,493. At the end of June, 1875, the Board school accommodation had been increased to 112,901, and the other efficient school accommodation to 285,135. The amount of accommodation to be provided in the schools which remained uncompleted in March, 1875, was 62,895, and after calculating for the lessening of attendance in other

efficient schools by the opening of these new ones, we may consider the efficient school accommodation of the Metropolis, now existing, or nearly ready, at 450,000 places. As we have already estimated the number of children between three and thirteen at 680,000, there would remain unaccounted for 230,000. Of this number it is estimated that about 106,000 either belong to the upper and higher middle classes, and receive efficient independent instruction, or are in the various institutions and district and other pauper schools of the Metropolis. This would leave 124,000 children whose absence from school must be accounted for, or for whom adequate school accommodation must be provided. Many parents object to children going to school at three years of age, and as the Board cannot compel attendance before the child is five, a large number are absent for this reason. There are many others who are either necessarily at work, or from other reasons cannot attend school.

The Education Department appears to have elaborated a theory as to the proportion which the required accommodation for children bears to the number of children actually living. In a population of 1,000 for example, the proportion of children between the ages of three and thirteen is stated to be 23·4 per cent., that is to say, 234. From this number thirty-three or one-seventh are deducted as belonging to the upper or middle classes. From the residue of 201 is to be deducted 17·5 per cent. or thirty-five for the various causes of absences. There will then remain 166 children requiring accommodation in elementary schools; that is to say, one-sixth of the whole population. The figures of the London School Board are very much larger so far as respects the causes of absence; having in some cases reached as high as 29 per cent. If, however, we accept the figures of the Education Department as correct, it will be seen that the accommodation provided

is likely before long to approach the requirements of the Metropolis.*

The accommodation provided by "efficient" schools will be seen to be more than double that provided by the Board, although in nearly every respect these schools are inferior. The number of what are called "adventure" or "inefficient" schools in the Metropolis was in June 1875 something like 2,000, with an attendance of children of 53,623. There can be no doubt that with the perfection of the Board's system will come the extinction of these small and inefficient establishments. It is impossible not to regard the condition of the teachers of these institutions with a considerable amount of sympathy; but it is quite clear that, after having undertaken the responsibility of metropolitan education, the Board is bound to take care that all children within the limits of its jurisdiction do receive sound instruction.†

A good deal of argument and discussion has taken place at the Board as to what constitutes an "efficient" school. The question is not by any means settled; nor can it be regarded as satisfactory until these schools approach much more nearly to the efficiency of the Board schools, and until they undergo stricter examinations, and there is a fuller guarantee for the ability of the teachers. There can be no doubt that the effect of the establishment throughout the metropolis of large numbers of well-directed schools in

* We do not, however, accept either the 29 per cent. of the School Board or the 17·5 per cent. of the Education Department as the true proportion of children who ought to be excused from school. Only three per cent. of Swedish children are uninstructed, and in one year Prussia out of 3,000,000 children, it is alleged, that less than 5 per cent, were absent from school.

† The character of the education given in some of these "inefficient" schools is exceedingly unsatisfactory, and is often actually misleading, inasmuch as the ignorance of the teacher makes the instruction unreliable, and often positively incorrect. In one school recently inspected, for example, all the children upon being asked to spell "upon," spelled it "apone," clearly showing that they had been wrongly taught.

which instruction is efficiently given is a boon the magnitude of which no language can measure, and, in addition to the great advantages they confer upon the children they educate, they are of immense value as setting up a high standard of education to the other schools around them. It cannot, however, be expected that schools conducted and supported by private enterprise can fairly enter the lists with those directed by so able and intelligent a body of men as the London School Board, when acting collectively, has proved itself to be.

As soon as the London School Board had ascertained the requirements of the Metropolis, they set about purchasing sites and erecting schools. It seemed desirable to set out what has been done by the Board in a tabulated form. From this it will be seen that, up to the 25th of March, 1875, the Board had actually completed 53 schools of its own, containing accommodation for 50,360 children, at a total cost of £660,701, whilst 80 schools were in course of erection, with accommodation for 62,895 children, and upon the construction and fittings of which there had been already expended £546,265. Of the total of 133 schools, no less than twenty-four, with an accommodation for 21,843 children, were within the district of the Tower Hamlets, whilst Chelsea possessed only nine schools, with accommodation for 6,033 children, and Westminster did not possess a single Board school. There can be no question that, for the completeness or incompleteness of the Board school accommodation of any district, the representatives of that district at the School Board are personally responsible. Any one who has followed the discussions at the School Board with respect to the school requirements of any district will have noticed the endeavours which have been made to exclude the efficient action of Board schools from some of the districts which require them, either on the

ground of sufficient existing accommodation, available charities, or upon other grounds. This course of procedure has not even the merit of local patriotism to support it, as the School Board rate is charged upon the districts according to rateable value only; and the pre-eminence of Westminster, without a single Board school, and of Chelsea, with only one school completed at the date of the report, is one that it is high time those districts took to heart. Their educational requirements are ascertained, and are undeniable, and for their absence of adequate accommodation the members of those districts are as responsible as are the members for the Tower Hamlets, Finsbury, Lambeth, and Hackney for the excellent educational advantages they now possess. Fortunately, it cannot be doubted but that the anomaly will be rectified now that the School Board has cleared off the most pressing part of its work, and can, with full information, perfect the completeness of its system. The effect of this may be noticed in the increased number of schools in the course of erection in one of these districts, and in the fact that Westminster is not likely to appear in future schedules as being entirely without Board school accommodation.

The earlier plans of the school buildings were chosen from competing architects, so that the Board had all the advantages of the various ideas of a number of minds. Subsequently, they appointed an architect on their staff, thus reducing the commission on the erections as low as possible. The system has worked well, and to every detail of construction great care has been devoted. They have provided in the most crowded districts of the metropolis nine square feet of flooring for each child,* and, in most cases, have added playgrounds. The estimated cost in the earlier part of the work was £7 10*s.* per head for the

* This is one more than that required by the Code in Grade Schools.

buildings, and £3 10*s.* per head for the sites. It will be seen from the list of completed schools that the actual result so far, has been somewhat in excess of this, viz., £4 10*s.* for land, and £8 for buildings,—the total cost per child, including fittings, being about £13. When we consider the price of land, labour, and materials in London, and the amount of playground which has in some cases been obtained, there can be no doubt that the Board deserves great credit for the economy as well as the excellence of its work.

In addition to the schools which the Board have themselves erected, they have utilized many temporary buildings in the various districts for school purposes. This practice, which dates from the very commencement of the work of the Board, still continues, but with the completion of Board schools the use of hired buildings will necessarily cease.

A considerable number of the schools now ranked as Board schools, have been transferred to the Board from their original voluntary managers under the provisions of the Education Act. Some of the buildings so transferred will remain permanently attached to the Board.

There are thus under the control of the Board three classes of school buildings, viz.: new and permanent erections, hired temporary buildings, and transferred schools, some of which are not fitted for permanence.

In the first year of its existence the School Board adopted certain regulations for the management of their schools and for the guidance of their teachers. They appointed examining inspectors and, in addition to the ordinary subjects of education have made the practice of music, drill, and needlework "essential." Classes for some of the teachers have been organized, and amongst the infants the "Kinder-Garten" system has been introduced.

Every school built or transferred has a Board of

Managers, generally selected from people in the neighbourhood, who assist the Central Board in its regulation and control. Where the schools have been transferred, it has been customary for the original trustees to nominate these managers for acceptance at the Board.

The staff of the London School Board, according to a return presented to the House of Commons in May 1875, consists of 1,409 persons. Of these 57 were on the Head Office Staff, 459 Local and Out-door Officers, 869 teachers of day schools, and 24 teachers of evening schools.

The Head Office Staff consists of the Clerk of the Board with a salary of £1,000 a year; three Statistical Clerks, with salaries of £415, £140, and £110 respectively; ten clerks in the Finance Department, with salaries ranging from £365 down to £60; six clerks in the School Management Department, with salaries ranging from £300 to £87 10*s.*; three clerks in the Works' Department; three in the Bye-laws and Industrial Schools Department; a Minuting Clerk, with £315 a year; eight other clerks in the General Office; a Secretary to the Chairman at £300; an Architect at £1,000 a year; an Assistant Architect and a Sites' Clerk at £300 a year each, and 19 other clerks in the Architect's office.

The Local and Out-door Officers include an Inspector of Voluntary Schools at £250; two Board School Inspectors at £400; various instructors, superintendents, and visitors, at salaries ranging from £240 downwards, and 20 Clerks of the Works in connection with the Architect's Department. There are 176 care-takers and cleaners of Board schools. Of the 893 teachers, the majority, or something like 550, are females. Of the male teachers two are paid a salary of £200 a year; 41, £170; 21, £150; 13, £130; 20, £120; and so downwards to £50. Of the female teachers, 64 are paid £100 a year; 61, £90; 19, £85; 65, £80; 44,

£75; and so on downwards to £40. In addition to the teachers so paid, there are 1,082 pupil teachers, of whom 362 are male and 720 female. The male pupil teachers are paid in the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth years of their apprenticeship, 6*s*., 7*s*., 8*s*., 10*s*., and 12*s*. per week respectively; the female pupil teachers, 4*s*., 5*s*., 6*s*., 8*s*., and 10*s*. per week.

There is no feature of the management of London Board schools more satisfactory in itself and more satisfactory in its results than this extensive employment of female teachers; not merely does it conduce to the efficiency of school work, especially amongst the younger children, but it affords a sphere of useful and well-remunerated labour for a class of people well-qualified to render such service to the community.

The code of regulations, prepared by the Board, provide that, in addition to the fixed salaries already set out, the teachers shall receive a share in the amount of the Government grants, which are dependent upon examination. The teachers have thus a direct interest in promoting the efficiency of the work. According to the regulations at present in force, one-half of the Government grant is given to the head teacher in each school, and the remaining half divided amongst the assistant-teachers where more than one. The head teachers also receive payment for special instruction given during six hours weekly to pupil teachers and candidate pupil teachers. The teachers of infant schools receive a share in the presentation grant.

The general regulations of the London School Board provide that, in the infant schools, instruction shall be given in the following subjects:—

"(A) The Bible and the principles of religion and morality, in accordance with the terms of the Resolution of the Board passed March 8th, 1871; (B) reading, writing,

and arithmetic; (c) object lessons of a simple character with some such exercise of the hands and eyes as is given in the Kinder-Garten system; (d) music and drill."

The regulations for junior and senior schools give a certain discretion with respect to the instruction in certain subjects. This discretion is vested in the managers of the schools, except where controlled by direction of the Board, The essential subjects are :—

(a) The Bible and the principles of religion and morality, in accordance with the terms of the resolution quoted above.

(b) Reading, writing, and arithmetic; English grammar and composition, with mensuration and the principles of book-keeping, in the senior schools.

(c) Systematized object lessons, embracing in the six school years a course of elementary instruction in physical science, and serving as an introduction to the science examinations, which are conducted by the Science and Art Department.

(d) The history of England.

(e) Elementary geography.

(f) Elementary social economy.

(g) Elementary drawing.

(h) Music and drill.

(i) In girls' schools, plain needlework and cutting out.

The discretionary subjects are domestic economy, algebra, and geometry.

The evening schools have the same character of instruction as the senior and day schools; the sexes are kept separate; the religious instruction is permissive; and the formation of science and art classes is encouraged.

The general regulations of the Board provide that, in infant schools, the sexes should be mixed, but that in senior schools they shall be separate.

The Board have laid down the rule to employ female teachers in the infant and girls' schools; and in the building of schools the plans are generally arranged, if possible, so that they may be of large capacity. The period of school instruction is twenty-five hours a week, extending equally over five days.

The resolution of the Board, quoted above, relative to religious instruction is in these terms:—"That in the schools provided by the Board the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations, and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion, as are suited to the capacity of children." But it is provided that in such explanation and instruction no attempt shall be made to attach children to any particular denomination. Application is to be made to the Board where managers, parents, or ratepayers desire to except any school from the operation of this rule. The Board have also made arrangements for the permissive offering of prayer, or use of hymns, subject to the above regulations.

With respect to the fees payable, the resolutions of the Board direct that all children in the same infant (junior or senior) school shall pay the same fee. The minimum weekly fee in any school is 1*d.*, and the maximum 9*d.* Half-time children pay half the fees in schools where the weekly payment is 2*d.* or over.

The adoption of the Compulsory System by the London School Board was a matter requiring time and much care. Ultimately, a scheme was adopted which included the appointment of ten Divisional Committees, with a superintendent and visitor for each. The number of such visitors is 191, and the whole metropolis is sub-divided into blocks for the proper inspection of each, for which a district visitor is responsible. Their duties have been performed with various degrees of efficiency, and in some

instances the choice of the Board seems to have fallen upon men scarcely fitted to perform a duty requiring much tact and forbearance. A great deal also depends upon the amount of assistance or discouragement which visitors may receive from the controlling Divisional Committee. The district visitors are presumed to visit every house within their district, to ascertain the number of children within the limits of age, and what provision is being made for their instruction. They are also expected to ascertain the facts from independent sources, and as the number of children within the required ages can be very accurately estimated, and the number attending school is known, these officers are subjected by the simple logic of statistical tables to a very efficient control. In some districts inhabited by the higher and middle classes, it would seem that the inspectors are not in the habit of making the rigid house to house visitation which they do to those inhabited by the lower classes of the population. This abstention is mainly consequent upon the manner in which these classes of the metropolis repel what they deem to be intrusive inquiries into their private affairs. This result is infinitely to be regretted, inasmuch as it destroys the accuracy, the completeness, the reliability, and the uniformity of the work of the Board, and a very little reflection should teach the objectors that in the working out of a great system, the co-operation of all members of society is needful, and that their example would not be without its effect upon those poorer classes who are apt to think the School Board needlessly harsh.

A singular result of the work of these district visitors has been the enormous increase that has taken place since their appointment in the attendance at voluntary schools. This fact dissipates for the present the apprehension that the action of the Board would prove injurious to such schools, but there can be but little doubt that when the

Board system is complete, the tendency will be to increase the numbers of typical schools at the expense of those that fall below the standard.

The number of notices issued by the London School Board, with respect to the attendance of children at school, during the year ending September 29th, 1874, was 77,985. Of these, 36,288 were notices in the form of a caution, and 41,697 were notices requiring the parent to attend and explain the absence of his children.

In the same year, 6,018 persons were summoned, of whom 4,681 were convicted and sentenced to pay either the costs of the summons only, or with a small fine in addition, rarely exceeding 1*s.*; 13,010 summonses were withdrawn, for various reasons, and 27 were dismissed.

The question of the payment and remission of school fees is controlled by a rule, adopted by the Board in October 1872, to the following effect:—"That the Board will consider on the merits of each case any application for gratuitous instruction which may be sent up by the Divisional Committees, and approved by the Bye-Laws Committee." The amount of remissions and payments before the passing of the new Elementary Education Act was small; it is now reduced to a minimum, for in the half-year ending March, 1875, the fees paid by the Board only amounted to £11 5*s.* 5*d.* The opinion of the Board, that any extensive system of payment or remission was both unnecessary and demoralizing, seems to be justified by common sense as well as by experience.

The Board have employed a number of officers for the express purpose of dealing with the destitute children of the metropolis. In an address delivered in April, 1875, the Chairman of the Board claimed for it the great credit of having rescued no less than 3,000 children from destitution, and "put them upon an honest course of life." The lessen-

ing of the average of juvenile crime in the metropolis thus produced, has been most remarkable. The children so rescued, have been sent to various industrial schools in the metropolis and in the country. Several of these schools have been enlarged through grants in aid made by the Board. The Board appear also to pay part of the expenses of the child at these schools, and these payments form a not inconsiderable item in the Board's expenditure. In the year ending March, 1875, the sum of £11,620 was paid on account of the maintenance of these children, and the sum of £1,758 was granted for the alteration and enlargement of Brentwood School, in order to provide increased accommodation for their reception. We venture to say that no trustees of public money deserve better of the public as to any item of expenditure, than do the London School Board for this appropriation. Unless all experience is at fault, the results of such a system will be written in the diminished statistics of crime in the future, as well as in the depopulation of the enormous workhouses which stud our metropolis.

The total liability of the London School Board on its Loan Account on March 25th, 1875, was £1,340,442 1*s.* 4*d.* Of this sum £1,198,042 1*s.* 4*d.* was due on account of thirteen specific Loans to the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The sum of £87,400 was due to the Metropolitan Board of Works, and £55,000 to the Treasurers of the Board, for temporary purposes. The whole of the above sums, with the exception of £40,000 borrowed for the erection of the offices, was expended in the erection of schools.

The liabilities of the Board on the same date for unpaid purchase-money upon forty-eight different pieces of land was £70,464 6*s.* The liabilities upon forty-nine different contracts for building or altering Schools amounted to £122,293 8*s.* 11*d.* There was due by Divisional Committees £734 1*s.* 5*d.*, making the total liabilities of the Board at

Lady Day, 1875, £1,533,933 17*s.* 8*d.* This sum represents an increase of liabilities in the year of £482,780.

The money borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners is only charged 3½ per cent. per annum, and is repayable over a term of fifty years. The Board anticipate that they will be able to pay off the whole of the money they intend to borrow by a rate of one halfpenny in the pound, but we think this will prove to be an under-estimate judging from the amount already borrowed and the amount required to complete the system. It is not improbable that a penny rate may shortly produce £100,000, and this sum will more than suffice for the purpose. It will probably be necessary to raise the amount borrowed to something like £2,000,000 sterling, and upon this sum the yearly liability or interest alone will be £70,000, but as both interest and capital may be extended over the term it would seem that a three-farthing rate ought to liquidate the amount in fifty years.

The income of the School Board from rates in the year ending March, 1875, was £149,819, being at the rate of about 1¾*d.* in the pound on the present rating. When the whole of the School system is at work it is probable that this expenditure will be increased by at least £25,000. If we take this as a *maximum* the expense would be met by 1¾*d.* under the new assessment. We may therefore anticipate that a rate of 2½*d.* in the pound over the whole metropolis ought to defray the current cost, and to repay the loans incurred in respect of the enforcements of a complete and efficient elementary education for the metropolis.

Not the least of the advantages which result from the method of action of the London School Board is the fact that, as its precepts are based upon rateable value and not upon school requirements, the richer districts of the metropolis whose population is to a large extent educated indepen-

dently of Board schools, contribute towards the cost of educating the large districts of poor. There is thus established a community of interest in the work of metropolitan education which will not be without its effect in drawing together the separate and sometimes discordant elements of the capital.

The income of the London School Board from all sources for the year ending March 25, 1875, was £796,022. Of this total the income on capital account may be set down at £593,925, and on current account at £202,097.

The income was made up as follows :—

	£
From Loans	593,925
From Rating Authorities	149,819
School Fees	26,053
Grants from Committee of Council on Education	24,047
Miscellaneous Income	2,178
	£796,022

The total expenditure of the London School Board in the year ending March 25, 1875, was £821,201. Of this the capital expenditure was £581,317, and the current expenditure £239,884.

This expenditure was appropriated as follows :—

	£
School Buildings Account	323,806
Purchase of land for Schools, and expenses	186,565
Salaries of Teachers in Schools	102,499
Furniture and Fittings, with repairs of same	45,157
Carried forward	658,027

	£
Brought forward . . .	658,027
Interest Account	31,947
On Account of Permanent Offices .	25,789
Books, Apparatus, and Stationery .	20,741
Officers for enforcing compulsory Bye-laws	16,360
Industrial Schools Account . .	12,480
Rent, Rates, Taxes, and Insurance .	11,380
Printing, Postage, Advertising, and Office Charges	9,895
Officers of the Staff	9,665
Repayment of Loans . . .	7,867
Fuel and Light	5,990
Repairs to Buildings . . .	5,908
Legal Expenses	3,107
Other Expenses	2,028
Children's Fees paid by the Board .	17
	£821,201

The following tables set out in detail various matters connected with the London School Board, its constitution, expenditure, work, attendance of scholars, &c., which are of great use as data upon which to found useful opinion as to the action of this public body. It is matter of regret and of disadvantage that they have hitherto been so little known amongst the public affected by them.

The Expenditure of the Board upon Completed and Uncompleted Schools up to March 25th, 1875, was as follows :—

COMPLETED SCHOOLS.

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Accommodation for Children.	Purchase of Land and Expenses.	Cost of Buildings.	Furniture and Fittings.	Total.
		£	£	£	£
CHELSEA.					
Harwood Road, Fulham	722	1,749	6,350	424	8,523
FINSBURY.					
Blundell Street, Islington	836	2,951	6,992	502	10,445
Cottenham Road, Holloway	966	1,330	7,528	595	9,453
Central Street, St. Luke's	841	4,897	6,576	493	11,966
Hornsey Road (Purchase of site not completed)	486	2,159	2,645	143	4,947
Winchester Street, Pentonville	1,212	12,237	11,154	888	24,279
York Road, King's Cross (Purchase of site not completed)	1,407	153	10,788	985	11,926
GREENWICH.					
Creek Road, Deptford	768	1,032	6,182	420	7,634
Grove Road, Brockley Road	585	846	6,077	389	7,312
Hughes' Fields and French's do.	775	1,779	6,545	428	8,752
Powis Street, Woolwich	665	2,944	3,982	397	7,323
HACKNEY.					
Claremont Street, Bethnal Green (Purchase of site not completed)	819	4,171	1,985	643	6,799
Globe Terrace (Purchase of site not completed)	1,105	4,138	8,107	728	12,973
Hamond Square, Hoxton	1,139	4,049	6,403	649	11,101
Lamb Lane, South Hackney	240	3,202	59	127	3,388
London Fields, South Hackney (Purchase of site not completed)	1,122	1,581	7,657	665	9,903
Maidstone Street	1,190	6,178	9,079	802	15,059
New Castle Street (£100 due to Contractors)	587	4,190	5,810	342	10,342
Olga Street, Roman Road	1,100	2,112	9,282	757	12,151
Wilmot Street, Bethnal Green	1,700	2,892	11,621	1,120	15,633
LAMBETH.					
Canterbury Road, Camberwell	959	1,492	8,404	577	10,473
Harper Street, New Kent Road	1,164	5,062	8,052	738	13,852
Johanna Street	794	9,948	8,247	514	18,709
Carried forward	21,182	80,092	222,437	13,326	252,943

Completed Schools—*continued.*

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Accommodation for Children.	Purchase of Land and Expenses.	Cost of Buildings.	Furniture and Fittings.	Total.
		£	£	£	£
Brought forward	21,182	80,092	222,437	13,326	252,943
James Street, Camberwell	590	2,494	5,989	379	8,862
Lower Wandsworth Road	1,055	2,518	8,400	746	11,664
New Road, Wandsworth (£100 due to Contractors)	1,087	2,089	7,130	664	9,883
Vauxhall Street (Purchase of site not completed)	567	5,945	6,083	378	12,406
Westmoreland Road	1,086	4,503	10,001	652	15,156
MARYLEBONE.					
Oldenham Street	1,016	9,468	7,728	660	17,856
Bell Street, Edgware Road	816	10,282	6,881	403	17,566
Haverstock Hill (£100 due to Contractors)	1,059	5,463	12,147	852	18,462
Hawley Crescent	758	8,684	8,057	511	17,252
Henry Street, Hampstead Road (Purchase of site not completed)	758	12,521	7,758	320	20,599
Mansfield Place, Kentish Town	1,129	3,105	10,489	761	14,355
Stephen Street, Lisson Grove	534	6,811	5,306	317	12,434
SOUTHWARK.					
Hunter Street	1,178	4,642	8,877	870	14,389
Jamaica Level	1,078	2,742	8,138	680	11,560
Saxon Street, Bermondsey	782	5,519	8,622	466	14,607
Monnow Road do.	1,183	1,988	8,715	929	11,632
Orange Street, Borough (Purchase of site not completed)	809	4,229	6,712	340	11,281
Rolls' Road (£100 due to Contractors)	1,067	1,968	11,642	609	14,219
Russell Street	768	4,812	6,722	459	11,993
TOWER HAMLETS.					
British Street	933	1,144	7,122	518	8,784
Broad Street (Purchase of site not completed)	1,136	6,201	3,593	657	10,451
Essex Street, Stepney	1,145	4,958	7,711	656	13,325
Gloucester Street (Purchase of site not completed)	1,051	6,897	9,842	818	17,557
High Street, Shadwell (Purchase of site not completed)	758	5,609	2,262	359	8,230
Jonson Street	1,675	3,227	13,253	1,257	17,737
Mary Street, Bromley	1,011	1,045	7,863	696	9,604
Old Castle Street	1,272	11,680	9,258	849	21,787
Richard Street (Purchase of site not completed)	741	4,747	6,136	421	11,304
Carried forward	48,224	225,383	381,962	30,553	637,898

COMPLETED SCHOOLS—*continued.*

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Accommodation for Children.	Purchase of Land and Expenses.	Cost of Buildings.	Furniture and Fittings.	TOTAL.
		£	£	£	£
Brought forward . .	48,224	225,383	381,962	30,553	637,898
St. Paul's Road	1,203	2,501	9,062	790	12,355
South Grove, Mile End Road .	933	2,093	7,843	513	10,448
	50,360	229,977	398,867	31,856	660,701

UNCOMPLETED SCHOOLS.

CHELSEA.					
Cook's Ground, Chelsea . .	619	2,401	5,078	380	7,859
Portobello Road . . .	1,000	94	—	—	94
Queen's Gardens . . .	250	43	—	—	43
Saunder's Road, Notting Hill .	804	2,561	5,483	475	8,519
Victoria Road, Starch Green .	495	1,085	64	—	1,149
Waterloo Street, Hammersmith .	545	2,269	46	—	2,315
William Street, Hammersmith .	482	40	2,439	—	2,479
Wornington Road . . .	1,116	2,996	7,713	666	11,375
FINSBURY.					
Anglers' Gardens, Islington .	1,090	7,062	8,918	596	16,576
Bowling Green Lane, Clerkenwell	778	9,181	5,865	321	15,367
Gifford Street	1,000	27	—	—	27
Lagstall Street	500	6,602	—	—	6,602
Penton Grove, Pentonville . .	604	5,129	4,871	321	10,321
Prince's Street	500	52	—	—	52
Poole's Park	716	2,586	788	—	3,374
St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell .	818	8,128	4,242	498	12,868
Tower Street and Lumber Street	779	14,353	9,359	343	24,055
GREENWICH.					
Burrage Road, Plumstead . .	817	3,124	6,817	401	10,342
Catherine Place, Blackheath .	767	3,519	4,931	—	8,450
Clifton Road, New Cross . . (Complete but enlarged)	1,099	1,091	7,569	463	9,123
Creed Place	785	1,990	89	37	2,116
Duke Street, Deptford . .	783	1,068	5,860	376	7,304
Kender Street, Hatcham . .	931	1,530	5,869	538	7,937
Lewisham Bridge . . .	569	2,923	2,907	211	6,041
Carried forward . .	17,847	79,854	88,908	5,626	174,388

Uncompleted Schools—*continued.*

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Accommodation for Children.	Purchase of Land and Expenses.	Cost of Buildings.	Furniture and Fittings.	Total.
		£	£	£	
Brought forward . .	17,847	79,854	88,908	5,626	174,388
Sydenham Hill Road . . .	552	3,588	—	237	3,825
Upper Earl Street . . .	787	697	6,062	—	6,759
HACKNEY.					
Burnet Street, Bethnal Green .	748	2,896	4,197	—	7,093
Bonner Street, Bethnal Green .	814	3,985	84	2	4,071
Chatham Gardens, Hoxton .	813	3,984	3,910	—	7,894
Gainsborough Rd., Hackney Wick	730	1,363	2,267	—	3,630
High Street, Stoke Newington .	745	4,329	—	—	4,329
New North Street, Shoreditch .	580	10,475	4,671	232	15,378
Orchard Street	792	—	1,168	—	1,168
Pritchard's Road, Hackney .	581	3,909	2,989	—	6,898
Snap Street, Kingsland .	1,079	4,386	5,910	—	10,296
Tottenham Road, Kingsland .	726	3,310	6,437	495	10,242
Turin Street, Bethnal Green .	1,631	4,779	11,826	1,035	17,640
Wolverley Street	1,000	58	—	—	58
LAMBETH.					
Albany Row, Camberwell . .	785	1,024	6,018	175	7,217
Battersea Park . . . . (Complete, but enlarged)	1,285	2,327	8,085	470	10,882
Bolingbroke Road, Battersea . (Complete, but enlarged)	792	743	6,510	459	7,712
Flint Street, Walworth . .	1,072	2,404	2,300	—	4,704
Garrett Lane	572	15	—	—	15
Gideon Road	750	1,396	97	—	1,493
Gipsy Hill Road, Upper Norwood	493	813	3,446	205	4,464
Gloucester Road, Camberwell .	1,013	3,268	8,365	—	11,633
Holden Street, Battersea . .	1,104	13	—	—	13
Lower Park Road, Peckham .	552	18	—	—	18
New Park Road	500	23	—	—	23
Penrose Street, Walworth . .	783	4,321	5,709	—	10,030
Sumner Road, Peckham . .	913	2,335	3,232	—	5,567
Victory Place, Walworth . .	1,036	4,636	10,039	595	15,270
Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth .	779	7,365	5,154	—	12,519
Winstanley Road . . . . . (Complete, but enlarged)	1,127	2,895	8,060	423	11,378
Westow Hill, Upper Norwood .	200	70	—	—	70
MARYLEBONE.					
Camden Street, St. Pancras .	1,090	4,138	10,043	656	14,837
Fitzroy Market	500	16	—	—	16
Great College St., Camden Town	800	3,397	6,092	279	9,768
Carried forward . .	45,571	168,830	221,579	10,889	401,198

Uncompleted Schools—*continued.*

NAME OF SCHOOL.	Accommodation for Children.	Purchase of Land and Expenses.	Cost of Buildings.	Furniture and Fittings.	Total.
		£	£	£	£
Brought forward . .	45,571	168,830	221,579	10,889	401,198
Nightingale St., Portman Market	720	6,465	—	—	6,465
SOUTHWARK.					
Albion Street	720	574	—	—	574
Borough Road	1,073	4,919	7,127	405	12,451
Charles Street	611	386	—	—	386
Cottage Row, Bermondsey . .	1,115	2,101	7,968	619	10,688
Manor Road	750	14	—	—	14
Marlborough St., Blackfriar's Rd.	1,000	4,963	7,310	113	12,386
Neckinger Road	848	11,417	—	—	11,417
Webber Row	500	1,981	—	—	1 984
TOWER HAMLETS.					
Baker Street	592	699	—	—	699
Berner Street, Whitechapel .	918	6,840	2,827	216	9,883
Brewhouse Lane, Wapping .	396	1,575	4,302	188	6,065
Brunswick Road . . .	525	1,693	1,194	—	2,887
Bucks Row, Whitechapel . .	750	78	—	—	78
Cayley Street, Limehouse . .	767	8,374	5,423	389	14,185
Chicksand Street . . .	750	39	—	—	39
High Street, Bromley . .	756	2,819	1,779	—	4,598
Lower Chapman St., St. George's-in-the-East (complete, but being enlarged)	1,101	7,392	7,191	605	15,188
North Row, Beazly Crescent, St. George's in the-East	1,422	2,905	9,681	531	13,118
Northey Street, Limehouse .	576	5,906	3,489	305	9,700
Old Ford, Atley Road . . (Complete, but being enlarged)	1,269	2,168	7,855	725	10,748
Orchard House Place . .	165	671	745	—	1,416
	62,895	242,809	288,470	14,986	546,265
Total Payments for Complete and Uncompleted Schools	113,255	412,786	687,338	46,842	1,206,967

DISTRICT.	Number of Members at the Board.	Number of Schools in each District, December 1874.	Population, 1871.	Number of Inhabited Houses.	Number of Children between Ages of 3 and 13.	Number between 3 and 13 requiring Elementary Education.	Number of Board Visitors.	Total School accommodation. *b* Board. *o e* Other Efficient.	Average Number on Roll.	Actual Number in Attendance.	Average Actual Attendance in Half-year ending December 1874. Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.
City of London .	4	1	74,897	9,305	13,027	11,529	3	*b* 430	290	259	90	81	42	213
		44						*o e* 8,856	7,204	6,475	2,307	1,926	1,484	5,717
Chelsea . . .	4	12	257,429	34,909	49,355	38,157	14	*b* 4,495	4,466	4,044	1,186	1,136	851	3,173
		84						*o e* 23,745	23,164	20,387	6,449	4,941	5,564	16,954
Finsbury . . .	6	30	443,655	49,991	89,032	73,373	23	*b* 13,289	13,102	11,586	3,574	2,813	2,861	9,248
		91						*o e* 33,182	33,190	29,277	8,606	7,662	7,933	24,201
Greenwich . .	4	29	238,264	37,098	52,321	40,358	14	*b* 9,580	9,639	9,379	2,738	2,206	2,214	7,158
		83						*o e* 21,148	20,012	17,627	5,097	5,410	4,585	15,092
Hackney . . .	5	23	362,378	49,259	83,453	73,014	23	*b* 12,811	13,938	12,301	3,501	3,172	3,161	9,834
		81						*o e* 25,772	25,535	21,649	6,543	5,701	5,762	18,006
Lambeth . . .	5	36	253,430	78,783	119,069	99,040	34	*b* 15,208	17,192	15,448	4,708	4,261	3,455	12,424
		212						*o e* 48,401	48,278	42,598	13,469	11,115	10,580	35,164
Marylebone . .	7	24	309,813	56,638	94,341	72,620	25	*b* 9,827	8,885	7,739	2,460	1,708	2,268	6,436
		111						*o e* 44,075	41,407	27,309	11,129	9,562	10,011	30,702
Southwark . .	4	20	208,725	26,965	48,204	45,494	16	*b* 11,203	10,185	9,175	2,402	2,061	2,828	7,291
		60						*o e* 17,662	17,691	15,408	5,492	4,134	3,335	12,961
Tower Hamlets	5	31	391,790	51,310	92,870	87,714	29	*b* 21,782	21,073	18,814	4,980	4,547	5,351	14,878
		75						*o e* 36,247	32,483	28,158	9,746	6,500	7,159	23,405
Westminster .	4	—	246,606	25,434	39,402	33,394	10	*b* —	—	—	—	—	—	—
		69						*o e* 24,780	23,060	20,453	6,238	5,690	5,681	17,609
								b 98,625	98,770	88,745	25,639	21,985	23,031	70,655
								o e 283,868	272,024	239,341	75,076	62,641	62,094	199,811
Total . .	48	1,126	3,266,987	419,642	681,101	574,693	191	382,493	370,794	328,086	100,715	84,626	85,125	270,466

The educational system of the country has received a great impetus by the passing of the Elementary Education Act,* but it is still such as no one who loves his country can contemplate with satisfaction. Our highest standard (the sixth) is, Mr. Mundella tells us, below the lowest Saxon, Prussian, or Swiss standard. The City of Chicago alone passed more than half as many children in standards above the sixth as were passed in that standard in the whole of England in 1873, and every one who works against the introduction of effective schools, and in favour of the continuance of ineffective schools, lax in discipline or low in standard, or both, is in fact using his strength and energy to continue the crime and pauperism of the country. Above all districts in England is this applicable to the metropolis where these evils reach their maximum; and when every metropolitan member of the School Board recognises his responsibility in this regard, we shall see nearly the whole of the schools in the metropolis working on one system and from one centre.

The Thames Conservancy Board.

The Thames Conservancy Board was constituted by the Act 20 & 21 Vict., c. 147.

This Act recites the immemorial conservancy by the Corporation of such portion of the river as extends between Staines and Yantlet Creek, and also that a suit had been instituted by the Attorney-General against the Corporation for the purpose of determining the respective rights of Her Majesty and of the Corporation in the soil and shores of the river up to high tide mark. It also recites an agreement

* In 1869 the Education Department reported of four-fifths of the scholars about to leave school that either no account or an unsatisfactory one was given by an examination of the most strictly elementary kind!

between the Commissioner of Woods and Forests and the Corporation for the settling of the said suit. In this agreement it is set out that the Corporation claim the right of ownership in the bed of the river, but that they are willing to recognise the title of the Crown to the same, and the claim of the Crown is forthwith conceded, and the City agree to pay £5,000 in satisfaction of the claims of the Crown up to date. The Crown agree to grant to the Corporation, as Conservators of the Thames, the soil and shores of the river, on condition that the Corporation render a full account of their receipts and expenditure therein, and that one-third of the net receipts are to go to the Crown, and two-thirds to constitute a fund for the improvement of the navigation. The agreement contained other provisions for the management of the river. It is dated December, 1856, and the conveyance was dated February, 1857. The Act also recites the rights of lastage and ballastage in the Trinity House, and also the necessity for improving the condition of the river.

By section 2 twelve Conservators are appointed as a body corporate, with perpetual succession, and a Common Seal. These are (by section 3) to consist of the Lord Mayor, two Aldermen, and four members of the Common Council, the Deputy Master of the Trinity House, two members nominated by the Lord High Admiral, one by the Privy Council, and one by the Trinity House.

The members of the Common Council continue on the Board so long as they are members of the Common Council, so with the Aldermen members. But all the members of the Corporation are subject to re-election every five years. The other members are subject to similar regulations.

The quorum at the meetings of the Conservators was five, and the Lord Mayor presided by virtue of his office.

Powers of contracting are controlled as set out in the

Act, and the various acts of the Board in the Conservancy of the river are provided for. The Conservators have also power to make bye-laws for its regulation (sect. 44), and they are required to report annually to Parliament.

By section 50 the bed, soil, and shores of the river are vested in the Conservators, and also all the powers of the Queen and of the Corporation. They may grant licenses to embank or to make docks or jetties, upon such terms as they think fit. They may also erect landing-stages and piers, and charge for the use of them. They may also (sect. 78) appoint harbour masters and deputy harbour masters for the control of vessels entering or mooring in the river or taking in or discharging cargo or ballast. The fullest powers of detention and punishment are given to the Conservators, as also in cases of obstruction and damage. Power is given (section 97) to dredge and scour the river, and to deal with it and its banks in such manner as should be best for the navigation.

One-third of the proceeds of the working of the Act is payable to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and the remainder is applicable for the purposes of the Act. The sanction of the Admiralty must be given to works executed by the Conservators that affect the soil and banks of the river. The Conservators have also power (section 109) to require the Corporation of Trinity House to remove shoals in the river.

By section 120, the Corporation have power to raise a sum not exceeding £100,000, for the purposes of the Act, and for such purposes to mortgage their fines, rents, and tolls. A sinking fund is to be provided (section 134) for the payment off of the money borrowed.

The Act was amended in 1864 by 27 & 28 Vict., c. 113. This statute provides for the election of six more Conservators, making the total number eighteen. These are to be

elected as follows, viz.,—two by registered ship-owners; two by owners of lighters and steam-tugs employed on the river; one by the owners of river-steamers; and one by dock-owners and wharfingers. The method of their election and re-election are duly set out in the Act. Power is also given (section 40) to divide a sum not exceeding £1,200 in any one year, by way of remuneration amongst the Conservators, subject to the approval of the Treasury.

The rights of the Trinity House to ballastage are put an end to, and the supply of ballast in the Thames is declared free. The Act provides for certain amendments of the Watermen's Company's Act, and it also consolidates and extends the jurisdiction of the Conservators.

The Thames Conservators were duly appointed and commenced work, holding their first meeting on the 7th of October, 1857. They appointed an engineer and secretary; and the Corporation of London, in pursuance of the Act, transferred to the Conservators the land and property which they possessed, and which was applicable for the maintenance and improvement of the river Thames and the port of London. The Conservators purchased a freehold house in Trinity Square, Tower Hill, for the purpose of holding their meetings and transacting their business. This building cost £3,000, and contains adequate accommodation for the various officers of the Board.

The Conservators at once commenced an effective control over the river from Staines to Yantlet Creek, and reconstructed Teddington Lock at a cost of £13,265. They purchased a steam-vessel for the service of the Conservancy, executed a number of repairs to locks and weirs; and, in the first year, dredged more than 70,000 cubic yards of material from the bed of the river. They also raised, or caused to be raised in the same period, twelve wrecks sunk in the river, and constructed two landing-places for the convenience of the

public, and made regulations for the preservation of the fishery.

In 1860, the Conservators constructed two steamboat piers at Wapping and Lambeth respectively. In 1861, Cherry Garden Pier was erected and Greenhithe Pier purchased. In 1862, All Hallows Pier was erected, and a steamboat landing placed at Mill Wall. In this year 55 vessels sunk in the river were raised and removed; in 1863, no less than 80 wrecks were similarly dealt with; and in 1864, 84 vessels. In this year the Conservators applied to the Court of Chancery for an injunction against the Corporation of Kingston-on-Thames to restrain them from draining into the river.

By the Thames Navigation Act, 29 & 30 Vict., c. 89, the Conservancy of the Thames and Isis, from Staines to Cricklade, was vested in Conservators, of whom the Conservators of the Lower Navigation formed the majority, The control of this part of the river prior to 1866, was in the hands of Conservators appointed under an Act passed in 1795. These consisted of Members of Parliament. Heads of Colleges, Incumbents, Aldermen of London, and so forth, "an ill-constituted body," as the preamble to the Act justly styles them.

The Act provides for the appointment of five new Conservators to be added to and incorporated with the Conservators of the Lower Navigation. Of these one is to be elected by the Board of Trade, and the other four by the persons who are qualified to be Commissioners under the old Act. The new Act makes full provision for such election, and for the discontinuance of the work and transfer of the plant of the old Commissioners. It also provides for the freeing of the river from tolls levied by owners of weirs, and for the purchase of all exclusive rights, including rights of fishing, and for the clearing of the water from sewage and

pollution. The Water Companies taking water from the river agree to pay £1,000 each. The Conservators have a further borrowing power in respect of the Upper Navigation to the extent of £130,000, and the mortgage debt of £88,400 contracted by the old Commissioners is postponed.

Upon the election of the new Conservators, the whole Board took measures to survey this part of the river, with a view to putting it into proper navigable condition. They also obtained in this year seventy-seven convictions against persons defiling the river by mud or by the refuse of gas and chemical works, and they caused notices to be served on the authorities of Oxford, Abingdon, Wallingford, Reading, Henley, Marlow, Cookham, Windsor, and Eton, requiring them to discontinue the flow or passage of sewage or other offensive matter into the river; under the 7th and 8th sections of the above Act four additional Conservators were elected at Oxford in December, 1866.

The report of the Conservators for the year 1867, contains an account of the work done throughout the whole length of river now under their control. The extent of the dredging operations had been gradually increasing, and twenty-two distinct parts of the river bed were improved in this method during that year. More than forty mooring stations were repaired, four new moorings were constructed, four large lighters for use in the raising of wrecks and the conveyance of dredged material were purchased, ten locks were repaired, eighteen new lock-gates supplied, twenty-three rebuilt, and a new lock constructed at Bell Weir, at a cost of £4,700. Twenty-six weirs were repaired, and notice was given to all paper makers near the river to cease discharging offensive matter into it.

The same excellent class of work was carried on in the following years, and, in 1870, Parliament granted additional powers to the Conservators, enabling them to raise sunken

vessels without formal notices, and otherwise extending their powers. Teddington Lock was rebuilt in 1871 at a cost of £8000, and, so far as their funds have permitted, the Conservators have put the upper navigation into good order. But the funds available for this purpose seem to fall far short of what are required. The lower navigation, on the other hand, is kept in a complete and satisfactory condition.

The accounts of the Board of Conservators are kept in two parts, one including the upper navigation accounts, being those affecting the part of the river between Staines and Cricklade, the control of which was assumed in 1867, and the other the part between Staines and Yantlet Creek. Constant complaint is made by the Conservators as to the deposit of sewage matter at the Crossness and Barking Outfalls. The shoal of such deposit seems to be yearly extending, and the question is likely soon to assume grave importance.

In the annexed tables we have set out the income and expenditure of the Board since its formation. The items of expenditure are mainly made up of works of construction, scavenging, dredging, and so forth, and as far as the accounts and reports of this body can be accepted as indicia, we should say it was one of the most useful and well managed organizations that take part in the government of the metropolis, or of any place within its limits. The Conservators meet for business two or three times every week.

It will be noticed that the accounts of the upper navigation are as unsatisfactory as those of the lower navigation are satisfactory. Of the total income more than £30,000 was received in loans from the Public Works Loans Commissioners from the Thames Conservancy Fund, and in contributions by the Department of Woods and Forests to the repair of certain locks and weirs. There was a deficit at the close of 1874 of more than £14,000, and there does

not seem to be much probability of the income of this part of the river, at any early period, overtaking its expenditure, nor is it easy to see how the loans can be repaid. Parliament has imposed certain onerous and useful duties on a body of proved executive ability, but it has failed to supply it with requisite funds. Is there any reason why the districts benefited by a clean navigable river should not provide this?

Independently of the £88,400 and interest provided for in the Thames Navigation Act, the loan liabilities of the Conservators in 1858 were £130,900. This sum was secured upon the tolls of the navigation west of London Bridge, and carried interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. per cent. per annum. There was outstanding on this account in December, 1874, £105,600; but as there was also a credit of £41,000, 3 Per Cent. Reduced, the loan liability must be lessened by that amount. The total loan liability of the Board on both upper and lower navigation, unrepresented by available assets, may be set down at £100,000.

Taken as a whole, the work of the Thames Conservancy Board seems to deserve commendation at the hands of the public. It cannot be anticipated that their utmost efforts would ever be successful in making the water of a river which drains so vast an area fit for dietetic purposes; but, until the day when a supreme council shall have decided upon new and pure sources of water supply, Londoners will owe them a debt for such approach to purity as may be found in it.

THAMES CONSERVANCY.

Years.	LOWER NAVIGATION.									UPPER NAVIGATION.			
	Receipts.							Expenditure.		Receipts.			Total Expenditure.
	Tonnage Dues.	Tolls.	Pier Dues.	Rents, Fines, and Licenses.	Water and Canal Companies.	Incidentals.	Total Receipts.	Establishment.	Total Expenditure.	From Tolls.	From Water Companies.	Total Receipts.	
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1858	19,963	4,428	—	852	1,100	4,615	30,958	1,873	27,576	—	—	—	—
1859	19,992	4,076	820	5,445	—	5,438	35,770	3,215	39,830	—	—	—	—
1860	20,250	6,994	2,139	3,391	2,675	7,008	42,457	3,854	41,166	—	—	—	—
1861	21,015	5,407	2,696	2,712	2,450	4,164	38,444	4,520	42,476	—	—	—	—
1862	21,521	5,996	3,158	3,512	2,750	17,121	54,058	4,245	54,691	—	—	—	—
1863	22,821	5,813	3,521	3,322	2,450	12,854	49,781	3,984	47,690	—	—	—	—
1864	21,902	6,064	5,487	25,477	2,225	4,059	65,214	3,774	52,081	—	—	—	—
1865	22,880	5,676	5,391	5,284	2,750	14,684	56,665	4,219	58,670	—	—	—	—
1866	23,224	6,532	5,371	6,194	2,550	6,875	50,746	4,111	61,514	—	—	—	—
1867	22,992	6,121	5,627	10,163	2,350	14,975	62,229	4,194	63,139	4,522	5,000	10,066	17,538
1868	23,730	6,726	5,378	5,827	2,550	4,544	48,756	4,719	45,934	3,966	5,000	9,107	12,936
1869	24,035	6,117	6,835	11,482	2,450	5,072	55,990	4,476	56,917	4,227	5,000	26,525	20,538
1870	24,796	5,987	6,121	6,182	2,150	10,536	55,772	4,935	54,750	4,066	5,000	14,276	14,307
1871	25,515	5,921	6,952	12,251	2,450	3,758	56,879	4,797	61,177	4,037	6,000	10,681	13,291
1872	25,949	6,640	6,640	8,308	2,750	6,284	56,571	5,089	50,403	3,633	6,000	10,815	13,658
1873	26,910	6,655	6,397	8,489	2,050	11,697	62,199	4,992	57,270	3,282	6,000	19,662	15,134
1874	28,869	6,927	7,054	6,677	2,600	8,607	60,734	4,951	57,885	4,152	6,000	10,280	18,604
	366,394	102,080	79,587	125,568	38,300	142,291	883,223	71,648	873,169	31,885	44,000	111,412	126,006

The Lee Conservancy Board.

The Lee Conservancy Board was established for the purpose of superintending the purification of the river Lee, from which, as we have seen, both the New River Company and the East London Water Works Company receive large supplies, and also for the purpose of improving the bed and banks of the stream, repairing the locks and weirs, and adapting the river to the purposes of navigation. The constituting Act of the Board was passed in 1868.* This statute was by no means the first legislative effort which had been made to improve this stream. No less than five different Acts of Parliament known as the "Lee Navigation Improvement Acts" were in force prior to the passing of this measure, and a body of Trustees appointed in accordance with their provisions exercised certain functions over the river. But, as in the case of the Trustees of the Upper Thames Navigation, the control of this independent body does not seem to have been productive of much good.

The Conservators appointed by the Act of 1868 are thirteen in number, and they are duly incorporated with perpetual succession and a Common Seal, and with power to acquire lands for the purposes of the Act. Five of the Conservators at the first Board were appointed by the late Trustees, and after they had held office two years, the appointment of their successors vested in the riparian landowners, acting in conjunction with such Trustees. Of the remaining eight Conservators two were to be nominated by the New River Company, two by the East London Water Works Company, one by the Corporation of London, one by the Metropolitan Board of Works, one by the Barge Owners on the river, and one by the Head Officers of the various "Local Authorities" on the banks of the river, which at

* 31 & 32 Vict. c. 154. (A private Act.)

the time of the passing of the Act included those of Luton, Bishop Stortford, Ware, Cheshunt, Waltham, Holy Cross, Tottenham, West Ham, Enfield, and Edmonton. The constitution of the various electoral bodies, the compilation and publication of the list of electors, and other matters connected with the appointment of the Conservators, are duly provided for in the Act. The tenure of the office appears to be limited in all cases to two years, but the members are eligible for re-election.

The jurisdiction of the Conservators is commensurate with the object of their appointment in the purification of the water supply. It extends over the whole of the river Lee, from its source in the county of Bedford, to the boundary stones 200 feet below Barking Bridge, where the jurisdiction of the Thames Conservators begins. It also includes the whole of the tributaries of the river; power being given (section 26) to acquire the rights of navigation in the Stort, and to purchase if necessary all the various riparian rights detrimental to the purity of the water. The money for such purposes may be borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners.

All the works and powers and plant of the old Lee Trustees are transferred to the Board. Sections 89 to 100 contain ample provisions and powers for the purification and cleansing of the river by the Board of Conservators; in default certain alternative powers are given to the Water Companies. The drainage of Luton is only admissible after it has passed through such process of purification as shall be from time to time required by the Secretary of State; and Hertford, Tottenham, West Ham, and other adjoining towns, are put under equally stringent regulations. The Board have power to make bye-laws for the regulation of the traffic, for the control of bridges, piers, foot-paths, cranes, bathing, fishing, pleasure-boats, &c., and for the prevention

of all manner of river pollution. These bye-laws are subject to the sanction of the Privy Council.

The rights of the former Lee Trustees to levy certain tolls are, by section 129, transferred to the Conservancy Board, in addition to which the Board are by the Act authorized to levy a toll of 1*s.* for every pleasure-boat, and 3*s.* for every barge, going through any lock upon the river, even where such vessels are exempt under previous schedules. Provision is made for the payment of a certain yearly sum by the East London Waterworks Company and the New River Company. This sum is to be sufficient for certain special purposes, with the maximum limit of £1,500 in one year. The amount is payable by the two Companies, in the proportion of two-thirds by the East London and one-third by the New River.

The Act makes no provision analogous to that in the Thames Conservancy Act, for the preparation and presentation to Parliament of any report of the proceedings of the income or expenditure of the Board. The facts with respect to these matters can only be ascertained by application at the offices of the Board

An Act of Parliament was passed in the year 1874 to amend the powers of the Lee Conservancy Board, for the purchase of the Stort navigation (which, it appears, had not been agreed upon), and for other purposes. The Act also provides for the compulsory purchase of land by the Board, where it shall be deemed necessary, for making cuts and otherwise improving the navigation.

The Act provides that the term of office of the Conservators shall be four years instead of two, as provided by the Act of 1868. Provision is also made for certain of the members voting by proxy.

The traffic on the River Lee has always been considerable. As far back as 1847, the yearly tonnage was 313,304,

in respect of which tolls were paid to the amount of £8,455. In 1870 the tonnage was 616,595, and the tolls £14,647. The income of the Board for the year ending 1875 was £19,681. This was derived exclusively from tolls, water-rents, sale of ballast, and so forth. The expenditure was £19,593, made up as follows:—Interest, £7,864; works in connection with the river, £5,367; salaries, wages, and pensions, £2,909; office and general expenses, £1,245; law, £488; parliamentary, £671.

The capital income of the Board during the same period was £11,605, of which £10,105 was derived from the issuing of debentures. The capital expenditure was £5,695, of which £5,350 was expended in paying off debentures, and £345 in the purchase of property.

A separate account is kept with respect to the control exercised by the Board over the purity of the river, and the receipts upon this account are made up by contributions of the Water Companies, as provided by the Act of 1868. Thus, in the year under consideration, the New River Company contributed £283, and the East London Company £567. The expenditure is about the same in amount, and is mainly composed of salaries. The total expenditure on this account, during the last 6 years, as been £4,566. The Board value their stores and plant at £5,469.

The income and expenditure of the Board seem to have varied remarkably little. Its total income during the last six years has been £117,595, and its expenditure £115,451, in addition to which £3,500 has been paid off the capital account. The main items of expenditure have also varied very slightly. The expenditure on "works" is necessarily somewhat less, as the condition of the river becomes improved, and all the other items are somewhat less than they were six years ago.

The capital receipts during the six years have been

mainly made up of receipts from the issue of new Debentures, and the capital expenditure from the paying off of old ones, the new ones being issued at a less rate of interest. The sum of £10,433 has also been received from sales of property, and £2,520 expended in its purchase.

The total debt amounted in 1875 to £176,756, of which £34,300 was borrowed at 5 per cent., £135,856, at 4½ per cent., £6,000 at 4 per cent., and £600 at 4¼ per cent. In 1871, the total debt was £179,821, of which £110,369 was borrowed at 5 per cent., and £69,452 at 4½ per cent. The change made by the Board will thus be seen to be very beneficial, and their powers of borrowing are better than those of the old trustees. The navigation does little more than pay its cost, so the chance of liquidating this debt seems very remote. For that we should imagine that the present Conservators are not responsible. The traffic upon the river does not appear to have much tendency to increase, but it is impossible to predicate how far it may do so in future. The expenses of the Board seem to be kept down, and even the establishment expenses show a reduction. There appears but little doubt that the Act of 1868 has worked well, and the benefit conferred upon the river has been very great. The banks, locks, and weirs are now in good order, the fishery and bathing are put under due regution, and in the higher parts of the river, bailiffs are employed to preserve it from pollution. A benefit is thus conferred upon the population that drink it, which is probably the greatest of those that result from the action of this Board.

Chapter XI.

VARIOUS JURISDICTIONS.

Poor Relief.

Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867.—*Sick Asylums.—Infirmaries.—District Schools.—Metropolitan Common Poor Fund.—Metropolitan Asylums' Board.—Registration Districts.—Statistics of Pauperism.—Poor Rate Receipts and Expenditure.—County Expenditure charged on Poor Rate.*

The Tower of London.

Burial Boards.

Parliamentary Boroughs.

London Charities.

"The Metropolitan Houseless Poor Act, 1864,"* and "The Metropolitan Houseless Poor Act, 1865"†), appear to have constituted the first effort made to combine the whole Metropolis for any purpose of poor relief.‡ The administration of the Poor Law, previously to this time, was conducted by the various metropolitan parishes on the same principles as those which obtained in the rest of the country, and subject in the same way to the Poor Law Board, but without any interdependent relations with each other. Since 1864 London has been the subject of certain

* 27 & 28 Vict., c. 116. † 28 Vict., c. 34.

‡ These Acts provided for the cost of a certain class of Poor Relief being chargeable upon the whole Metropolis. The expenditure of the Guardians on the casual poor was to be recouped by the Metropolitan Board of Works. This provision was repealed by the 30 Vict., c. 6, sec. 60, establishing the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund.

special Poor Law legislation, both statutory and by Orders of the Local Government Board—the body which has now succeeded to the functions and powers of the Poor Law Board. Subject, however, to such special legislation (which we shall hereafter consider), the Metropolis remains, so far as this branch of public work is concerned, on the same level as the rest of the country, and no attempt has yet been made to establish any representative central Metropolitan Poor Law authority which should have power to weld the various systems and centres of metropolitan poor relief into one harmonious and united whole.

It is no part of our present intention to discuss the history of the Poor Law, nor do we intend to investigate very closely the method in which metropolitan relief is administered. We shall content ourselves with a sketch, mainly statistical, of the present condition of London in respect to its poor. This will be of use when we come to deal with a new system, and for the present we may safely leave the criticism of London Guardians to the authorities of the Local Government Board. As for the details of poor relief generally, inasmuch as they coincide with those of general adoption throughout the country, they would be out of place in a volume devoted to purposes peculiarly metropolitan.

The second attempt to deal with the Metropolis as a whole for any Poor Law purpose was by the passing of "The Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867."* The operation of this measure is confined to unions and parishes which are wholly or chiefly included in the Metropolis Management Act District. The subjects dealt with in the Act are District Asylums; Medical Out-door Relief; District and separate Schools; Workhouses for classes of Poor; Lands; Contributions of Unions and Parishes; Houseless Poor; Metro-

* 30 Vict., c. 6.

politan Common Poor Fund; Poor Relief under local Acts; Boards of Guardians; Officers; Borrowing Powers.

The Act provides, in section 73, that the relief of the poor of every union or parish in the Metropolis, governed by a local Act, shall, from and after a given date, be administered by a Board of Guardians elected by the Poor Law Acts, and in conformity with an Order of the Poor Law Board. The Guardians so elected have the same powers and authorities, and are subject to the same orders, regulations, and restrictions as other Guardians elected under the Poor Law Acts. Provision is made for the transfer of the workhouses, goods, and other property in the possession of unions or parishes at the time of the passing of this Act, and held by them for the relief of the poor, to the Guardians constituted under the Act, such new Guardians to assume the debts and liabilities of their predecessors.

But it is provided by section 77 that nothing in the Act shall deprive any body constituted under a local Act of any power thereby vested in them of making and levying poor rates, and that, in relation to the Guardians constituted under the Act, every such body should be deemed Overseers so far as liability to the payment of contributions to the Guardians for poor relief was concerned.

These saving clauses are productive of much disunity in the method of levying rates within the Metropolitan District, and as to the rating authority; and there are to be found in various parts of the Metropolis "Boards of Directors," "Governors," or bodies of "Trustees," exercising powers which clearly ought to be under the control of a well defined and responsible authority.

UNIONS.	Area in Acres.	Population in 1871.	Parochial Year, 1873-74. Average Pauperism. In-door.	Out-door.	Total Relief to Poor.	Rateable Value in 1873-74.	Rate in the £ for Relief.	Number of Guardians. Elected.	Ex-officio.	Number of Parishes.
					£	£	s. d.			
WEST DISTRICT.										
Kensington	2,190	120,299	1,102	1,631	63,024	1,060,109	1 2¼	18	16	1
Fulham	4,003	66,041	422	1,197	21,658	311,021	1 4¾	17	5	2
Paddington	1,251	96,813	676	1,854	54,002	978,941	1 1¼	18	13	1
Chelsea	796	71,089	851	989	28,658	346,138	1 7¾	20	1	1
St. George's	1,943	155,936	1,967	3,470	115,920	1,891,756	1 2¾	28	68	3
Westminster	216	51,181	991	860	48,407	631,777	1 6½	18	6	2
NORTH DISTRICT.										
St. Marylebone	1,506	159,254	2,478	3,103	81,732	1,180,831	1 4½	18	41	1
Hampstead	2,248	32,281	178	205	15,106	287,576	1 0½	11	7	1
St. Pancras	2,672	221,465	2,802	6,635	110,687	1,195,545	1 10¼	18	11	1
Islington	3,107	213,778	1,257	3,301	71,785	1,043,779	1 4½	18	9	1
Hackney	3,935	124,951	935	3,604	55,561	635,846	1 9	25	6	2
CENTRAL DISTRICT.										
St. Giles' and St. George's, Bloomsbury	245	53,556	1,024	968	23,664	307,149	1 6½	18	9	2
Strand	399	41,246	893	634	39,227	558,166	1 4¾	22	2	6
Holborn	784	162,819	2,655	5,598	70,837	734,698	1 11¼	30	10	7
City of London	655	75,867	2,579	4,836	180,886	2,618,830	1 4½	92	—	112
EAST DISTRICT.										
Shoreditch	648	127,164	1,361	1,700	39,059	448,272	1 9	18	6	1
Bethnal Green	755	120,104	1,593	1,597	28,101	283,160	1 11¾	24	3	1
Whitechapel	378	75,552	1,260	956	26,444	313,721	1 8¼	27	5	9
St. George's-in-the-East	243	48,052	1,160	1,726	26,461	185,348	2 10¼	18	2	1
Stepney	462	57,690	930	767	31,938	266,732	2 4¾	15	1	4
Mile End, Old Town	679	93,152	806	1,376	21,358	277,066	1 6¾	18	6	1
Poplar	2,335	116,376	1,061	2,647	57,692	474,702	2 5¼	15	1	3
SOUTH DISTRICT.										
St. Saviour's, Southwark	1,119	175,049	2,429	5,059	75,303	763,600	1 11¾	26	1	4
St. Olave's do.	1,503	122,398	1,485	3,208	52,361	604,424	1 8¾	24	2	5
Lambeth	3,941	208,342	1,832	5,463	83,470	977,048	1 8½	20	27	1
Wandsworth and Clapham	11,488	125,060	969	2,880	58,007	755,927	1 6½	23	22	6
Camberwell	4,450	111,306	1,118	2,451	46,615	508,395	1 10	18	5	1
Greenwich	3,426	100,600	1,342	3,535	42,697	426,076	2 0	20	2	3
Lewisham	11,436	51,557	244	933	24,797	420,010	1 2¼	15	13	4
Woolwich	6,500	73,386	764	2,661	35,552	228,024	3 1½	20	5	4
Total	75,313	3,252,358	39,164	75,844	1,631,009	20,714,967	1 7	672	305	191
			115,008					975		

There are now in the Metropolis thirty Boards of Guardians exercising jurisdiction in thirty parishes or unions; the number into which, for Poor Law purposes, London is divided. There are thus nine fewer divisions than there are Vestries and District Boards, including the City. New complications are thus introduced into the divisions of London.* We have set out in the annexed table the names of the various Unions, together with their acreage, the number of Guardians, the amount of the poor rate levied, and various other useful *data*. They are mainly taken from the Local Government Board reports, and since the date to which they are carried out, London pauperism has lessened about one-third and its rateable value has considerably increased. The number of Guardians, &c., is taken from the Local Government Directory for 1874.

The election of Guardians in the Metropolis is now controlled, as regards its details, by a General Order of the Local Government Board, dated February 14th, 1874. But, independently of this, the system of election is regulated by the 4 & 5 Wm. IV., c. 76, amended as regards part by the 7 & 8 Vict., c. 101, s. 14. The elections take place in March in every year. The qualification for Guardian is a rateable value varying from £29 to £40. The votes are taken in writing, and owners of property as well as rate-payers have a right to vote. Where the property in respect of which the vote is given has a rateable value of less than £50, the owner or householder has one vote; where between £50 and £100, two votes; under £150, three votes; under £200, four votes; under £250, five votes; and over £250, six votes, which is the largest number which can be cast by any single individual. In addition to the elected Guardians

* These divisions and the anomalies attendant upon them are exhaustively dealt with in Mr. Dexter's able pamphlet on the "Government of London," already quoted.

there are certain ex-officio or nominated Guardians, generally about one-third of the whole. All the Justices of the Peace acting for the division of the county within a Poor Law Union are ex-officio Guardians, and this accounts for the ex-officio in some places exceeding in number the elected Guardians. Where there are not the adequate proportion of ex-officio Guardians, such number may be made up by the nomination of others by the Local Government Board. Care is taken that the nominees hold sound views on Poor Law questions. Under section 79 of the Act of 1867, such nominees must be either Justices of the Peace or assessed to the poor rate of some parish within the union, on an annual rateable value of £40 or upwards. The Boards generally meet weekly, and the quorum is three. The Guardians of the various Unions so elected and nominated form the local authorities in London for the administration of relief to the poor.

It will be noted in the annexed table that some of the larger parishes constitute an Union to themselves, and that the 112 parishes of the City are united into one Union. Many of these City parishes are exceedingly small, and some, like St. Christopher-le-Stocks, have scarcely any population. And the discrepancies between the size and population of the different Poor Law districts is only less considerable than the differences already pointed out in connection with the Vestries.

Section 38 of the Act of 1867 provides for the establishment, by the Guardians of any Union or Parish, of Dispensaries, and for the purchase or hire and furnishing of suitable buildings for the purpose; the whole to be done under the direction of the Poor Law Board, and with power in the Guardians, under like direction, to borrow money for the purpose. The Dispensary is to be managed by a Committee elected by the Guardians from themselves or from

resident ratepayers assessed on an annual value of £40 a year. The Guardians shall also provide proper places for the sick poor to attend at for medical advice, shall appoint dispensers of medicines and provide proper medicines and appliances for the care and surgical treatment of the sick poor. With the Dispensary Committee rests the appointment of the District Medical Officers, subject to the rules and orders of the Poor Law Board.

Under this provision of the Act, Dispensaries have now been established in nearly every part of the Metropolitan District.

Provision is also made in the Act for the interchange of paupers between different parishes, where the workhouses are fitted for different classes. This section has been very little used; and, except the arrangements made for the reception of able-bodied paupers in Poplar Workhouse, and of aged and infirm paupers in Stepney, may be regarded as a dead letter. It is provided by section 55 that the sums of money to be contributed by the unions and parishes respectively for the purposes of the Act shall be assessed upon them in proportion to their annual rateable value.

Section 61 provides for the establishment of a Metropolitan Common Poor Fund, to be made up by contributions from the various unions and parishes. Provision is made for the appointment of a Receiver, and for the opening of an account at the Bank of England. The moneys are to be raised by precepts of the Poor Law Board directed to the various Boards of Guardians, and to other authorities where no Poor Law Union exists.

The Metropolitan Common Poor Fund is to be available for the following purposes:—1. The maintenance of lunatics and insane poor in asylums, hospitals, and licensed houses, &c.; 2. The maintenance in hospitals of patients suffering from contagious disease; 3. The provision of medicine and

medical and surgical appliances for the poor; 4. Salaries payable by guardians, by managers of asylums and of district schools, and those of dispensers and other persons appointed under the Act; 5. Compensation to officers when directed by the Poor Law Board; 6. Registration fees; 7. Vaccination fees and expenses; 8. Maintenance of pauper children at school; 9. Relief of casual paupers, with due provision of temporary wards.*

The payments on these accounts are primarily made by the unions and parishes themselves, and at each half-yearly audit the Poor Law Board, by precept under its seal, directs the Receiver to repay to the Guardians the sums so expended. The constitution of this fund, distributing certain expenditure over the whole metropolitan area, is a forcible recognition of the unity of the district for Poor Law purposes. We annex a table of the income and expenditure on this account for the half-year ending Michaelmas 1874, and also of the incidence of the fund. From this it will be seen that something like £150,000 a year is contributed by the wealthier unions for the purposes of the Common Poor Fund in excess of their own requirement. To this extent, therefore, are the wealthy districts of London aiding the poorer. The various amounts may be doubled in order to obtain an estimate of the cost for a year.

Each of the London Poor Law Districts has one or more workhouses, and arrangements have been made in most of the London districts for the establishment of separate infirmaries for the treatment of the sick poor. Powers are given under the Act of 1867 to combine for the purposes of providing asylums for the sick and insane. All such provision

* "The Metropolitan Poor Amendment Act, 1870" (33 & 34 Vict., c. 18), charges upon this fund the maintenance of indoor poor, at the rate of five pence a day, and also the cost of the rations of the officers whose salaries are repaid.

is to be made with the authority of the Poor Law Board. The power of combination, so far as the sick are concerned, has not been largely availed of. The four districts of St. Giles and St. George Bloomsbury, St. Pancras, Strand, and Westminster, form what is known as the "Central London Sick Asylum District." This district is governed by a Board of twenty-five managers, of whom six are nominated. They have two asylums, one at Highgate and one in Cleveland Street, W. At the former of these they can accommodate 523 sick paupers, at the latter 281. The unions of Poplar and Stepney have also combined into a Sick Asylum District, with a Board of twelve managers (of whom three are nominated), and an asylum capable of holding 586.

Of the remainder of the London unions, eleven, viz:— Camberwell, Chelsea, Hackney, Islington, Lambeth, City of London, Woolwich, St. George's in the East, Shoreditch, Kensington, and Wandsworth and Clapham, have separate infirmaries now open, and managed under regulations issued by the authority of the Local Government Board. Two, viz., St. Olave's and Greenwich have infirmaries in course of erection. Three, viz., St. Saviour's, St. George's Southwark, and Holborn, have separate infirmaries under workhouse management. Two, viz., Marylebone and Whitechapel, had the question recently under consideration, and the remaining six, viz., Bethnal Green, Fulham, Lewisham, Paddington, Hampstead, and Mile End Old Town, still retained, at the time of the issuing of the last report, the old and pernicious system of treating the sick in mixed workhouses.

By the Statute 7 & 8 Vict., c. 101, sec. 40, the Poor Law Commissioners were empowered, as they should see fit, to combine unions and parishes into school districts for the management of the infant poor under the age of sixteen. Section 42 provided for the constitution of a Board for every

STATEMENT

METROPOLITAN

Summary showing the Expenses incurred by the Guardians of the several at Michaelmas 1874, *for the Under-mentioned purposes, and*

UNIONS AND PARISHES.	Maintenance of Lunatics and Insane Poor.	Maintenance of Paupers suffering from Fever or Small Pox.	Medicine and Medical and Surgical Appliances.	Salaries of Officers.	Rations of Officers.	Compensation for Loss of Office, &c.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
Bethnal Green	5,744	350	171	3,108	438	—
Camberwell	2,681	20	230	2,172	502	—
Chelsea	2,466	18	253	2,358	444	46
Fulham	1,604	22	118	1,021	173	—
George's, St.	4,803	64	495	4,089	671	176
George, St., in-the-East	1,776	112	72	1,948	554	—
Giles, St., in-the-Fields, and St. George, Bloomsbury	1,614	97	84	1,266	200	—
Greenwich	3,912	190	177	2,208	286	62
Hackney	3,559	217	160	2,918	449	—
Hampstead	263	18	20	459	80	—
Holborn	7,463	469	451	3,985	678	158
Islington	4,928	71	331	2,624	492	313
Kensington	1,840	29	140	2,626	461	—
Lambeth	7,838	249	37	2,439	793	—
Lewisham	890	2	34	979	115	—
London, City of	6,701	58	424	5,218	733	464
Marylebone, St.	5,224	123	301	3,798	654	—
Mile End Old Town	1,309	109	233	1,509	215	—
Olave's, St.	3,745	57	52	1,748	379	195
Paddington	1,809	8	182	1,407	247	—
Pancras, St.	7,263	127	526	4,347	885	—
Poplar	1,443	104	271	4,150	718	—
Saviour's, St.	7,162	84	93	2,774	452	377
Shoreditch	4,227	109	46	2,933	731	—
Stepney	2,783	63	222	2,117	394	—
Strand	2,010	24	214	2,014	536	317
Wandsworth and Clapham	3,039	38	63	1,687	293	—
Westminster	1,818	45	209	1,752	472	87
Whitechapel	1,961	276	72	2,255	272	18
Woolwich	2,302	26	243	2,053	330	40
Totals	104,227	3,179	5,924	73,962	13,647	2,253

NOTE.—Fractions of a Pound are omitted.

No. 1.

COMMON POOR FUND.

Unions and separate Parishes in the Metropolis during the Half-year ended repayable from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund.

Registration Fees.	Vaccination Fees and Expenses.	Maintenance of Pauper Children.	Expenses under Houseless Poor Acts.	Maintenance of In-door Paupers.	Education of Out-door Pauper Children.	Total.	UNIONS AND PARISHES.
£	£	£	£	£	£	£	
203	231	2,174	—	3,708	11	16,138	Bethnal Green
175	187	2,168	146	1,957	76	10,254	Camberwell
104	167	1,360	—	2,087	7	9,310	Chelsea
109	181	606	62	908	—	4,804	Fulham
195	176	1,701	133	5,318	22	17,843	George's, St.
62	78	1,604	98	2,651	—	8,975	George, St., in-the-East
74	69	1,637	141	2,539	—	7,721	Giles, St., in-the-Fields, and St. George, Bloomsbury
198	186	2,271	69	2,910	—	12,469	Greenwich
190	107	1,672	86	1,991	42	11,391	Hackney
35	12	94	—	427	—	1,408	Hampstead
255	212	2,922	476	6,631	—	23,700	Holborn
327	261	1,733	183	2,889	—	14,152	Islington
180	204	2,677	93	2,868	—	10,618	Kensington
327	281	2,165	109	3,971	39	18,248	Lambeth
65	87	503	36	521	22	3,254	Lewisham
99	93	4,250	336	5,917	—	24,293	London, City of
228	204	3,019	195	6,525	—	20,271	Marylebone, St.
72	114	1,192	139	1,714	25	6,631	Mile End Old Town
205	169	1,952	103	3,234	7	11,846	Olave's, St.
126	173	971	104	1,561	26	6,704	Paddington
323	323	3,230	99	6,804	2	23,929	Pancras, St.
96	167	1,899	—	2,198	40	11,086	Poplar
285	284	4,062	128	5,537	—	21,238	Saviour's, St.
201	152	1,422	—	2,877	4	12,602	Shoreditch
103	97	1,367	—	1,939	9	9,094	Stepney
52	67	1,528	—	2,217	—	8,979	Strand
194	242	2,268	134	1,958	50	9,966	Wandsworth and Clapham
59	56	1,343	—	2,328	—	8,169	Westminster
130	92	1,928	174	2,493	—	9,671	Whitechapel
112	124	1,582	184	1,150	43	8,249	Woolwich
4,784	4,796	57,240	3,228	89,328	425	362,993	Totals

Statement No. 2.

THE METROPOLITAN COMMON POOR FUND.

Half-year ended Michaelmas 1874.

Unions, Parishes, and Places.	Annual Rateable Value of each Union, Parish, and Place.	Amount of Contribution assessed on each Union, Parish, and Place, being at the rate of Fourpence and one-eighth of a penny in the Pound on the Annual Rateable Value.	Expenditure repayable. (*See* Statement No. 1.)	Amount payable to Receiver, where the Amount of Contribution is in excess of the Expenditure repayable.	Amount to be paid by Receiver, where the Expenditure repayable is in excess of the Amount of Contribution.
	£	£	£	£	£
Bethnal Green, St. Matthew	289,940	4,983	16,138	—	11,155
Camberwell, St. Giles	520,360	8,944	10,254	—	1,310
Chelsea, St. Luke	351,681	6,045	9,310	—	3,265
Fulham	323,304	5,557	4,804	753	—
George's, St.	1,911,205	32,849	17,843	15,006	—
George, St., in-the-East	185,533	3,189	8,955	—	5,766
Giles, St., in-the-Fields, and St. George, Bloomsbury	306,886	5,275	7,721	—	2,446
Greenwich	435,646	7,488	12,469	—	4,981
Hackney	654,482	11,249	11,391	—	142
Hampstead, St. John	299,600	5,149	1,408	3,741	—
Holborn	745,374	12,811	23,700	—	10,889
Islington, St. Mary	1,065,888	18,320	14,152	4,168	—
Kensington, St. Mary Abbotts	1,117,030	19,199	10,618	8,581	—
Lambeth, St. Mary	994,327	17,090	18,248	—	1,158
Lewisham	428,642	7,367	3,254	4,113	—
London, City of	2,681,235	46,083	24,293	21,790	—
Marylebone, St.	1,195,092	20,540	20,271	269	—
Mile End Old Town	285,062	4,900	6,631	—	1,731
Olave's, St.	624,492	10,733	11,846	—	1,113
Paddington	990,479	17,023	6,704	10,319	—
Pancras, St.	1,214,121	20,867	23,929	—	3,062
Poplar	484,966	8,335	11,086	—	2,751
Saviour's, St.	776,778	13,351	21,238	—	7,887
Shoreditch, St. Leonard	441,020	7,580	12 602	—	5,022
Stepney	271,784	4,671	9,094	—	4,423
Strand	562,586	9,670	8,979	691	—
Wandsworth and Clapham	783,741	13,471	9,966	3,505	—
Westminster	633,858	10,895	8,169	2,726	—
Whitechapel	316,894	5,447	9,671	—	4,224
Woolwich	232,182	3,991	8,249	—	4,258
The Charter House	1,948	33	—	33	—
Gray's Inn	13,927	239	—	239	—
The Close of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster	2,012	35	—	35	—
Inner Temple	19,963	343	—	343	—
Middle Temple	13,000	223	—	223	—
Lincoln's Inn	17,731	305	—	305	—
Totals	21,192,760	364,250	362,093	76,840	75,583

Note.—Fractions of a Pound are omitted.

such district, to consist of members elected from ratepayers within the district, by the Guardians or Overseers of the parishes or unions, together with the Chairman of each Board of Guardians within the district. The regulations with respect to their election are to be made by the Poor Law Commissioners, whose consent is also requisite to the appointment and payment of the officers of such district Boards. Power is given to build or furnish schools for the purposes of the Act, in such manner and to such extent as the Poor Law Commissioners may, with the consent of the District Board, determine. Provision is made for the religious education of the children. By section 44 the District Boards may borrow money upon the poor rates of the combined parishes, for the purpose of establishing such schools, to the extent of one-fifth of the aggregate annual expenditure. This power is now extended by 35 Vict., c. 2, sec. 1, to two-thirds. The District Boards may from time to time call upon the combined parishes or unions for requisite contributions. Arrangement is made by section 51 for the reception in the Board schools of children from other districts upon such terms as may be agreed upon.

The provisions of this Act were modified and extended by the 13 & 14 Vict., c. 11, the 14 & 15 Vict., c. 105, and the 18 & 19 Vict., c. 34. The latter statute provides (section 1) for the granting of relief by guardians for the purpose of enabling any poor person relieved out of the workhouse, to provide education for any child between the ages of four and sixteen, subject to such conditions as may be approved of.

The Act 25 & 26 Vict., c. 43, gives power to the guardians to send poor children to certified schools, the managers of which shall be willing to receive them, and to pay the expense of the maintenance, clothing, and education of such children. Upon the application of the managers of any school, the Poor Law Board may certify them as fit for

the reception of such children. The school shall be open to the visitation and inspection of a Poor Law Inspector, and the whole of such education shall be subject to the direction and control of the Guardians and of the Poor Law Board, acting with the consent of the child's parents, if living, or of the child if more than fourteen years of age.

The 48th section of the Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867, provides that all expenses incurred by District Boards, constituted under the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1844, in the maintenance of district schools or the purchase and hiring of lands and buildings, and all the charges of such schools, shall be defrayed by contributions from the unions and parishes forming the district, and a certain power as to the nomination of members of the District Board is given to the Poor Law Board.

The district and separate schools of the Metropolis, and the Poor Law districts, whose wants they serve, are as follows, viz.:—

District Schools.—*Central London*, at Hanwell, comprising the City of London and St. Saviour's Unions.

North Surrey, at Anerley; comprising the Croydon, Lewisham, Richmond, and Wandsworth and Clapham Unions, and the parishes of Chelsea and Kensington.

South Metropolitan, at Sutton; comprising the Greenwich, St. Olave's and Woolwich Unions, and the parish of Camberwell.

West London, at Ashford; comprising the Fulham and St. George's Unions, and the parish of Paddington.

Forest Gate, at Forest Gate; comprising the Hackney, Poplar, and Whitechapel Unions.

Union Schools.—*Bethnal Green*, at Leytonstone.

St. George-in-the-East, at Plasket.

Holborn, at Mitcham.

St. Mary, Islington, at Hornsey Road.

Lambeth, at Lower Norwood.
St. Marylebone, at Southall.
St. Pancras, at Leavesden.
St. Leonard, Shoreditch, at Brentwood.
Strand, at Edmonton.
Westminster, at Wandsworth Common.

In addition to these, *Mile End Old Town* has School buildings upon the same plot of ground as that on which its workhouse stands; and there is a training ship (the *Goliath*) attached to the Forest Gate School. This ship which has been lent to the district by the Lords of the Admiralty, accommodates 500 boys, and is managed by ten elected and three nominated managers.*

It is not our present intention to criticize the management of these institutions. There is room for improvement in many respects, but as a whole they are doing a good work and doing it well. The fullest information with respect to each of them may be found in the excellent report of Mr. Courtenay, the Sub-Inspector, set out in the the Local Government Board Report for 1874.†

In addition to the unpaid workers in the field of London poor relief, there were, at the close of the year 1874, in the Metropolis, 1,952 paid officers whose appointment had received the sanction of the Local Government Board, and who were entrusted with the working of the system of Metropolitan Poor relief. There were Clerks, 38; Assistant Clerks, 72; Treasurers, 38; Chaplains to Workhouses, 64; Workhouse Medical Officers, 81; Workhouse Dispensers, 14; Masters, 58; School Superintendents, 16; Matrons, 63; School Matrons, 16; Schoolmasters, 51; Schoolmistresses, 41; Porters, 90; Male Nurses, 15; Female Nurses, 540;

* The ship was destroyed by fire Dec. 22, 1875, but, probably, another will be substituted by the Admiralty.

† See Report, pp. 283-310.

Industrial Trainers, 106; Labour Superintendents, 50; Vagrants' Superintendents, 36; District Medical Officers, 156; Dispensers, 43; Vaccination Officers, 34; Analysts, 39; Relieving Officers, 137; Assistant Relieving Officers, 44; Collectors of Guardians, 27; Pay Clerks, 6; Vestry Clerks, 21; Poor Rate Collectors, 56.

Under the Act of 1867, the fees and other expenses of Vaccination in the Metropolis are payable out of the Common Poor Fund. In the thirty London Unions there are 98 Public Vaccinators. During the year ending September, 1874, they successfully vaccinated for the first time 49,067 persons, of whom 47,347 were under one year of age. They revaccinated 534. The number of registered births was 120,803, showing that less than one-third undergo the operation at the hands of these public servants.

The expenses of the relief of destitute wayfarers and vagrants, and the provision of temporary wards and other places for their reception, are also chargeable upon the Common Poor Fund.

The number of casual paupers relieved in the Vagrant Wards of the Metropolis in 1874 was, men, 21,319; women, 8,057; children, 1,966: total 31,342. The number in 1871 was 58,442. As the whole cost of this class of paupers is borne by the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund, it seems that, for the purposes of the Casual Poor, the Metropolitan District is one united organization. But the Inspectors of the Board complain of the jealousy of the Guardians in their policy of extending the areas served by special wards.

The number of paupers in the Metropolis has been gradually lessening during the past two or three years, and on the 1st of November, 1875, the number of indoor paupers was 34,956, and of outdoor paupers 48,322, making a total of 83,278, or about 2½ per cent. of the population, a

number considerably less than those set out for the year 1873-4, and less than the number for several years past.

The action of the various London Boards of Guardians upon any question is very unequal, and would be much more so if the Local Government Board did not keep a tolerably tight rein. The difficulty encountered in dealing with these bodies is a striking illustration of the trouble frequently experienced in adequately controlling communities exercising independent original functions, and a strong argument, as it would seem, for establishing a system under which, as in the case of the School Board, local bodies, although allowed to express opinions, shall be compelled to make them subservient to well settled lines of general Metropolitan policy.

The present function fulfilled by the Local Government Board is well set forth in the report of the Government Inspector in 1874.* "It is, I conceive, one of the highest functions of the Central Authority not merely to collect and to redistribute for general use, the concentrated experience of Poor Law administrators throughout the country, but by its orders to preserve sound principles, once adopted, from the danger of disuse and perversion, to which the necessarily fluctuating constitution of Boards of Guardians must necessarily expose them, and where, as in London, individual Boards of Guardians have not only recognised the principles enunciated by the Board, but have proved that they may be effectually carried into practice, the Board seems specially called upon to interfere, to secure, for the benefit of the whole district, the adoption of the sounder system of administration thus indicated."

The Local Government Board has an excellent Staff-Inspector, and also an Auditor of unflinching purpose: and through their agency, in large measure, the grave scandals

* Report of Local Government Board, 1873-4, p. 147.

which were long attendant upon London Poor relief, are gradually yielding to a more enlightened system.

Yet we still find Inspectors of the Board complaining of the inadequate conception as yet possessed by London Guardians, as to the true deterrent discipline which ought to be enforced in a workhouse. The London workhouses are too much in the nature of almshouses. Nothing is more clear than the necessity of classification being completely carried out, so that the proper amount and character of discipline shall be applied to each class of pauper. The system of mixed workhouses, where the young and the old, the sick, the infirm, and the able-bodied, are all united under the same roof, may be a necessity in country districts, but is absolutely indefensible in a large and populous area, which is treated for many purposes as one.

The Metropolis affords a full opportunity for the development of the system of separate buildings for the different kinds of paupers. Already in some districts the children are drafted off to school, the sick to infirmaries, the lunatic and idiotic to asylums, and the aged and infirm and the able-bodied to separate workhouses, and this should be the principle throughout.

The carrying out of the system of classification was retarded by the great access of pauperism just after the passing of the Act, and when this had subsided, still greater difficulty was found from the persistent opposition of the London Guardians.*

So also the method in which relief is given; the practice of the various Relieving Officers; the method of dealing with applications for medical aid; for loans; for relief to deserted wives; for payment of school fees, &c.; all are found to differ in the various Boards, and the authorities and Whitehall

* Report of Local Goverment Board, 1874-5, p. 45. Report of Mr. Langley.

are almost powerless, except where definite orders are infringed. These things all point to the necessity of a central administrative authority.

A further illustration of the necessity of a central body will probably shortly be afforded by the proposed acquisition, either at the cost of the Common Poor Fund or of some other general fund of the disused workhouse buildings and sites, which Boards of Guardians are now desirous of disposing of. The necessity of acquiring these, in order to complete the classification arrangements, or to prepare against a sudden influx is imperative, but hardly sufficient to justify the cost being imposed on individual Boards of Guardians. The acquirement of sites by the Metropolitan Asylums' Board hereafter mentioned, is an illustration of the same thing in another case.

The cost of the Infirmaries and Sick Asylums is now borne by the respective districts which they serve. Here, too, it seems undeniable that the cost might very fairly be chargeable on the whole fund, and so, in this matter as in the case of Asylums, a central administration with plenary powers would as well systematize the method of relief as insure the excellence and economy of its character

There is one institution dating back its origin to "The Metropolitan Poor Act, 1867," which it is proposed to consider somewhat at length,—as it is one of the best if not the very best organization ruling the whole of London for any purpose. This is the *Metropolitan Asylums Board.*

The Metropolitan Poor Act provides for the erection, support, and management of Asylums for the relief of the sick, insane, or infirm within the Metropolis. Power is given to the Poor Law Board to construct Asylum Districts by the combination of Unions and Parishes as they shall think fit. The managers of the Asylums so erected are respectively incorporated with perpetual succession, and a

Common Seal, and the power of holding lands. These managers are to be partly elected by the Guardians of the Poor within the Asylum District, and partly nominated by the Poor Law Board from amongst Justices of the Peace resident within the District, or from ratepayers assessed to the poor of a parish within the district at not less than £40 per annum.

The number of managers is regulated by the Poor Law Board, and provision is made for the purchase of lands, and the building of Asylums under the same authority. The powers of borrowing money for these purposes are duly set out, in section 17, and—as we have seen in the chapter on the Metropolitan Board of Works—have been extensively exercised. The inmates shall be under the direction of the managers, who shall have equivalent powers to those possessed by Poor Law Guardians, but subject in all particulars to the orders of the Poor Law Board. The Parish or Union from which the various inmates come, remains chargeable for the costs of burial and other incidents. The ordinary costs of managing the Asylums are to be defrayed rateably by contributions from the Unions and Parishes forming the District, but the individual expenses of the inmates are chargeable separately to the Unions or Parishes from whence they came.

Shortly after the passing of this Act, the Poor Law Board issued an order directing that the "several Unions and parishes in the Metropolis should be combined into a district, to be termed 'The Metropolitan Asylum District,' for the reception and relief of the classes of poor persons chargeable to some Union or parish in the same district respectively, who may be infected with or suffering from fever, or the disease of small-pox, or may be insane." A Board of Management was constituted consisting of sixty members, fifteen nominated by the Poor Law Board (now

the Local Government Board), and forty-five elected by the Unions and parishes in the district. The office of manager was made tenable for three years.

The Board of Management soon after its nomination and election proceeded to ascertain the number of fever, small-pox, and insane patients, for whom they would have to provide. As the whole supreme control of the asylums rested, under the Act, with the Poor Law Board, we find the latter directing its action from the commencement in many important particulars. The managers were reminded that the asylums could not "fulfil effectively their special purposes" unless they were readily accessible, and therefore they must be erected in the immediate vicinity of the Metropolis. The undesirability of subjecting patients suffering from insanity or contagious disease to long journeys was very clear.

On the 26th of October, 1867, a committee of the Board reported in favour of the purchase of three sites, one in the north-east district near to Victoria Park, a second in the north-west district near to Regent's Park, and a third in the south district near to the "Elephant and Castle." Early in the following year an eligible site, consisting of about eight acres, was obtained at Hampstead; the price paid was £1,900 an acre. A site for the north-eastern hospital was soon afterwards found at Homertom, where £12,000 was paid for eight acres of land. Subsequently, a site for the southern hospital was found at Stockwell, and £15,000 was paid for seven and a half acres. In all these cases deputations were received by the Board from the inhabitants of the districts surrounding the proposed hospitals, and, in the case of Stockwell the Lambeth Vestry opposed its erection in their parish, although, as a matter of fact, the number of patients sent to the fever hospital from Lambeth was considerably in excess of the number sent by any other parish

south of the Thames, and, indeed, formed 25 per cent. of the whole number. In the case of each of the three sites the necessary consent of the Local Government Board was given, and, having regard to the directions of the Poor Law Board in 1867, on the question of site; and to the terms of the Metropolitan Poor Act, it is clear that the Asylum Board were only discharging their simple duty in the selection of the best available sites in the metropolitan area, and, judging from the very careful attention which was given for several months to the question, they deserve high praise for the manner in which that duty was performed. Plans for the erection of the hospitals at Homerton and Stockwell were obtained and the buildings proceeded with, but the erection of a hospital upon the Hampstead site was deferred until experience should show how far the one at Homerton was calculated to supply the north-western as well as the north-eastern part of the Metropolis. The final estimate for the Stockwell asylum was £75,000, and Homerton £65,000. The Hampstead site was utilized in the following year by the erection of a temporary building, containing 180 beds, for the reception of patients suffering from the relapsing fever which was at that time epidemic. The same site was utilized for the reception of patients during the small-pox epidemic, during the years 1870-1-2. No less than 7,352 small-pox patients received treatment there.

In 1874, the temporary buildings at Hampstead became somewhat dilapidated, and the Local Government Board agreed with the Asylum Board in the desirability of erecting permanent Hospital buildings on the site. The Local Government Board, however, distinctly stipulated for the buildings so erected being of a character to accommodate patients suffering from epidemic, contagious, or infectious diseases.

This proposal was met with strong local opposition, which

eventually succeeded in making itself felt within the walls of Parliament, and, in the spring of the year 1875, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into and report upon the action of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, in respect of the establishment of a fever Hospital at Hampstead. This Committee received a good deal of evidence with respect to the effect of constructing the Hampstead Hospital on a permanent basis, adverse to such construction, and also the counter-evidence tendered by the Metropolitan Asylums Board to show that the complaints were exaggerated and unreliable. In their Report, the Committee of the House of Commons say that they are of opinion:—

1. That the action of the Asylums Board has been strictly in accordance with their duties and responsibilities under the Poor Act of 1857;

2. That the risk of contagion is not incident to the existence of the Hospital;

3. That on the whole there was no reason why Hampstead should claim the interference of Parliament to remove "an inconvenience to which it has become subject, by reason of the due execution of the provisions of a wise and beneficent law."

The Select Committee declined to recommend the suggested alternative site in view of the opinion and experience of the managers against it, and this very Committee, convened for the purpose of impeaching the action of the Asylums Board, awarded the very highest praise to the conduct of that Board, which, so far as we know, has ever been awarded by a Committee of the House of Commons to any public body exercising administration in London.

The evidence adduced before this Committee convinced them that the ordinary requirements of the Metropolis in regard to infectious disease, were sufficiently met by the

Hospitals at Homerton and Stockwell. They did not, therefore, recommend the erection of large permanent buildings at Hampstead at present, but merely the completion in a permanent form, of administrative offices, while the temporary erection should continue to be used for the accommodation of imbecile paupers until such time as the presence of an epidemic should necessitate their removal.

A forcible proof of the confidence with which the conduct of the Metropolitan Asylums Board had inspired the Select Committee, is afforded by the fact of its recommending an extension of the powers of the Board, so as to include the power of compulsory purchase and compensation in accordance with the provisions of the Lands Clauses Acts.

The managers of the Asylums Board also took steps in 1867 to ascertain the number of insane and imbecile patients for whom it would be necessary for them to provide accommodation. The number was found to be about 2,550, of whom 2,200 were in metropolitan workhouses, 200 in county asylums, and 150 at large, or under the care of their friends. The number of small-pox cases for which it would be needful to find accommodation, was estimated at from 2,600 to 3,200, and the number of fever cases from 4,200 to 4,500. The hospitals erected at Homerton and Stockwell were intended to meet the requirements of these. For the imbecile paupers the Board determined to erect two asylums, calculated to hold 1,500 patients each.

After a long search for proper sites two were found, which the Board in their report of 1868 describe as "peculiarly eligible." These were situated at Leavesden and at Caterham. Plans were invited and received from various architects, and the Board were authorized to raise the sum of £128,000 for the erection of the Leavesden Asylum, and £129,000 for the Caterham Asylum. These estimates proved closely approximate to the actual cost,

notwithstanding the bankruptcy of one of the contractors: a notable example for the Metropolitan Board of Works, if only there were any chance of its following it. The accommodation in each building was, moreover, extended from 1,500 to 1,620.

Notwithstanding the large size of the asylums at Leavesden and Caterham, they have proved quite insufficient to hold all the imbecile poor. It is of course understood that cases of acute insanity are not admissible, and the class received must in the terms of the Order be confined to such "as could be lawfully retained in a workhouse," but the tendency of the unions seems largely to have been to send aged paupers who have become imbecile simply through age, and if these are to be admitted, it cannot be wondered at that the accommodation should prove insufficient. Each asylum is now in the process of enlargement so as to hold 2,000 patients. The Local Government Board have not assented to the erection of another large hospital for the imbecile, but have agreed to the purchase of a site to be in readiness, and such site covering nearly 90 acres, has been purchased at Darenth near Dartford.

In addition to this the Asylum Board have two sites within the Metropolis itself, as spare sites for utilization in case of the breaking out of an epidemic or other necessity. One of these at Hatcham, in the Old Kent Road, cost some £10,000, and the other at West Brompton, cost about the same sum.

The Managers have also recently adopted the policy of withdrawing the imbecile children from Leavesden and Caterham, and they are now, to the number of about 300, housed at the old premises of the London Orphan Asylum in Lower Clapton, preparatory to the erection of a school for them on the Darenth site.

Caterham Asylum was opened in the autumn of 1870,

and in the course of the first year received 1,444 patients. Most of these were suffering from paralysis, decay, debility or deformity, and included cases of chronic mania, epilepsy, melancholia, dementia, imbecility, and idiocy. These appear to be the class of complaints for which the Asylum is established. Many of the patients have shown a constant improvement since their admission, and a fair proportion of those whose ailments were merely mental have been discharged as cured. The establishment is complete within itself. The farm account shows a considerable profit, and gas is produced at a cost of less than half what is charged to the public outside. The average number of resident patients in 1874, in this hospital, reached 1,796 ; 61 patients were discharged as recovered, and 192 died. Nearly one-half of the patients were employed in some kind of occupation and, in connection with tailoring, shoe-making, and upholstery, the profit on such labour was about £600. The farm produced £360.

The total number of patients admitted into Stockwell Fever Hospital, from the opening to December 1874, was 1,530; Homerton, 2,357 ; Stockwell Small-pox Hospital, 3,047. As an illustration of the value of vaccination, it may be remarked that the number of those admitted who were vaccinated was 2,458 ; and unvaccinated, 589. The number of deaths amongst the vaccinated was 281, and, amongst the unvaccinated, 284 ; thus showing that, under the best treatment, the proportion of those who died being unvaccinated was about one-half, and those who were vaccinated less than one-eighth.

The cost of each patient per head, for provision, clothing, gas, and all necessaries, averaged something under 9*d.* per day, and the other Asylum charges, including salaries, maintenance, and medicine, 3*d.* more., making the total cost, 1*s.* Notwithstanding this small rate, the dietary is an

exceedingly good one, including one pint of tea, one pint of cocoa, and about thirty ounces of solid food per diem.

Leavesden Asylum was opened for the reception of patients in October 1870, and the character of patients admitted appears to be the same as those admitted at Caterham. The average daily number in residence during the year 1874 was 1,782, the number discharged 49, and the deaths 89.

The managers of the Metropolitan Asylums District have suffered a great deal of animadversion in consequence of the manner in which their duties have been carried out. Those who have thus criticized their conduct were either ignorant of or did not sufficiently remember the conditions under which the Asylums Board performs its functions. In the first place the Legislature itself, through the medium of Gathorne Hardy's Act, has distinctly contemplated the removal of the infected poor from their crowded and ill-ventilated dwellings, and their transport through the streets to asylums fit for their reception and treatment; and, in the next place, no important step has been taken or can be taken by the Metropolitan Asylums Board without the direct authority and sanction of the Local Government Board. In a letter written under the authority of Mr. Goschen in 1871, the Poor Law Board bore willing evidence to the excellent manner in which the Asylums Board had up to that date performed its functions, and assumed for itself full responsibility for all the important steps taken by the managers. The danger supposed to arise from the conveyance through the streets of infected persons, of which we have heard recently so much, is stated to be without the smallest foundation in fact. But even if such danger were proved in some cases to exist, we should still hold that the policy enunciated by the legislature in 1867 was the true one, and that any possible evil which could arise from the conveyance of in-

fected patients through the open air would be less than the evil which results from their presence in densely crowded districts of the poor, where large numbers of persons must of necessity remain constantly within the area of contagion.

The Metropolitan Asylums Board has, upon the occasion of the various epidemics that have broken out in London during the past few years, proved itself fully equal to the large demands made upon its energy and competence. Where the permanent accommodation has been insufficient it has been supplemented with the utmost despatch by temporary adaptations, and, through the agency of this Board, the Metropolitan Poor Act of 1867 has worked most effectually in lessening the amount and mitigating the character of metropolitan contagious disease.

It is not our desire needlessly to introduce personal considerations into the discussions of public matters, but it is the simplest justice to say that, when the Visiting Committees of the Board determined to undertake, and did undertake, the regular personal inspection and supervision of the infected wards in their hospitals, they displayed an amount of personal heroism in the public service which the people of London ought never to forget.

The cost of the sites and the erection of the various hospitals, has been mainly defrayed by loans. In the first instance, the moneys were borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, who appear to have charged the Board 5 per cent. interest; the whole amount to be repayable over thirty years. It will thus be seen that the terms exacted by the Commissioners from the Asylums Board were very different from those exacted from the London School Board, who can borrow their money from the same source at 3½ per cent., together with the most favourable terms for repaying capital and interest, over a period of fifty years. It was, therefore, satisfactory to the Asylums Board when the

borrowing powers of the Metropolitan Board of Works were extended, so as to include loans to the amount of £500,000 to the Asylums Board. The amount of money which the Metropolitan Board of Works may now advance to the Asylums Board is, as we have already shown in our consideration of Board loans, £600,000. The loans were negotiated at £3 17*s.* 6*d.* per cent., thus showing a saving in interest alone of £1 2*s.* 6*d.*, while the period of repayment was extended to sixty years. The loans of the Public Works Commissioners were promptly paid off, and now the only money due from the Board on capital account is due to the Metropolitan Board of Works. The amount of principal standing to the credit of the Metropolitan Board of Works on the 25th of March, 1875, was £517,510.

Distributed amongst the various asylums it is found that, in the year ending Lady-day, 1875, there were expended at:—

	£
Leavesden Asylum	38,026
Caterham ,, ...	41,268
Hampstead ,, ...	15,740
Homerton Fever Asylum . . .	11,778
,, Small Pox Asylum . .	5,149
Stockwell Fever ,, . .	7,372
,, Small Pox ,, . .	3,626
	£122,959

The office expenses were £3,330. Loans to the extent of £9,425 were repaid, and the payments on loan interest account amounted to £20,257.

The annexed table sets out the receipts and expenditure of the Board in the year ending March 25th, 1875, the maintenance of the patients sent being charged to each union, and the common charges rateably distributed.

METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD.

Receipts and Expenditure for the Year ending Lady-day 1875.

PARISH OR UNION.	Total Receipts.	Maintenance of Patients.			COMMON CHARGES.							Total Expenditure.
		Provisions and Necessaries.	Clothing.	Funerals.	Salaries and Maintenance of Officers and Servants	Loan Repayment and Interest Account.	Furniture and Property.	Building and Repairs.	Medicines, Medical and Surgical Appliances.	Stationery and Office Expenses.	Incidental Expenses.	
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
City of London Union	17,841	2,256	305	18	3,917	3,750	762	3,466	94	324	193	15,085
Fulham do.	1,853	526	71	6	462	442	90	410	11	39	23	2,080
Greenwich do.	3,162	814	105	26	637	610	124	564	15	52	49	2,996
Hackney do.	4,312	1,664	208	19	947	906	184	839	23	78	47	4,915
Holborn do.	9,767	4,767	609	97	1,125	1,079	218	995	27	93	62	9,072
Lewisham do.	1,779	120	16	3	627	599	122	555	15	52	31	2,140
Mile End Old Town, Hamlet of	2,919	1,498	194	26	415	397	70	367	9	34	20	3,030
Poplar Union	3,266	1,291	166	18	709	678	137	627	17	59	35	3,737
St. George's do.	10,902	1,865	252	50	2,844	2,729	552	2,513	68	236	140	11,249
St. George-in-the-East, Parish	1,943	1,241	155	37	279	267	54	246	6	23	13	2,321
St. Giles and St. George, Bloomsbury, do.	3,632	976	132	29	463	445	90	409	11	38	26	2,619
St. Giles, Camberwell do.	3,686	1,433	197	27	761	729	148	673	18	63	39	4,088
St. John, Hampstead do.	1,616	364	47	7	428	408	83	379	11	35	22	1,784
St. Leonard, Shoreditch do.	5,518	2,888	382	27	673	646	131	595	16	56	35	5,449
St. Luke, Chelsea do.	2,883	1,166	159	22	521	500	101	461	12	43	26	3,011
St. Mary, Paddington do.	4,815	549	74	7	1,464	1,402	284	1,296	35	121	75	5,307
St. Marylebone do.	8,395	3,059	399	48	1,772	1,700	344	1,567	43	146	88	9,166
St. Mary, Lambeth do.	9,581	3,411	459	71	1,465	1,805	285	1,295	35	121	92	9,039
St. Mary, Islington do.	6,030	1,552	205	33	1,558	1,491	303	1,380	37	129	77	6,765
St. Mary Abbotts, Kensington, do.	5,126	685	93	14	1,549	1,468	303	1,380	38	128	79	5,737
St. Matthew, Bethnal Green do.	4,006	2,058	250	44	423	404	82	374	11	35	21	3,702
St. Pancras do.	10,053	5,106	673	50	1,780	1,700	346	1,577	43	147	90	11,512
St. Olave's do.	5,770	2,119	289	32	904	866	176	800	22	75	49	5,332
St. Saviour's do.	7,478	3,165	430	49	1,150	1,105	223	1,016	28	96	63	7,325
Strand do.	3,708	1,039	142	11	838	804	162	741	20	69	43	3,869
Stepney do.	2,633	1,515	195	26	399	381	77	353	9	33	20	3,008
Wandsworth and Clapham do.	4,698	1,169	158	13	1,126	1,076	219	597	27	93	55	4,533
Whitechapel do.	3,152	2,027	254	22	474	456	92	418	11	39	24	3,817
Woolwich do.	2,373	754	103	5	341	326	66	301	8	28	18	1,950
Westminster do.	3,954	940	129	12	949	911	185	839	23	79	49	4,116
	156,851	52,017	6,851	849	31,000	30,080	6,013	27,033	743	2,564	1,604	158,754

It has been said that the Poor Rate is the milch cow of Parliament, and certainly judging from the number of expenses charged upon it, the observation is not without a certain amount of truth, for the rate includes a number of charges which have no connection whatever with the relief of the poor.

The total income and expenditure of the rate levied as Poor Rate in the Metropolis during the year ending Lady-day, 1874, was as follows :—

	£	£
Income—		
From Poor Rates	2,326,608	
Receipts from the Treasury and in aid of Poor Rates	107,159	
Total Receipts . .	2,433,767	
Expenditure—		
In-Maintenance . . .	488,798	
Out-Relief	309,441	
Maintenance of Lunatics . .	162,932	
Workhouse Loans Repaid, and Interest	92,097	
Salaries and Rations of Officers .	174,438	
Other Expenses of Relief . .	404,056	
Legal Proceedings . . .	3,359	
Balance of Contribution to Common Poor Fund . . .	1,420	
Total Expenditure in connection with Metropolitan Poor Relief		1,636,541
Payments on account of Police Rate, County Rates, &c. .	713,117	
Payments on Account of Registration Act	10,940	
Carried forward . .	724,057	1,636,541

	£	£
Brought forward . .	724,057	1,636,541
Vaccination Fees . . .	8,593	
Municipal and Parliamentary Registration, and cost of Jury Lists	16,741	
Minor Payments . . .	290	
Total Expenditure for purposes unconnected with Relief to the Poor	———	749,681
Payments under Assessment Acts	2,883	
Money expended for other purposes	108,531	
Expenditure partly connected and partly unconnected with Poor Relief . . .	———	111,414
Total Expenditure . .		2,497,636

The expenditure fairly chargeable to the Poor Rate seems to be found by the addition of the first and third of the items of expenditure giving a total of £1,747,955. (This amount was somewhat less in the year ending Lady-day, 1875.) If we add to this the miscellaneous expenditure, exclusive of the county and police expenditure which we have separately considered, we have a total expenditure on poor relief, vaccination, registration, &c., of £1,784,519. The expenses of the Metropolitan Asylums District are included in the item, "Other expenses of relief."

Under section 81 of the Act of 1867, the borrowing powers of Poor Law Guardians within the Metropolis are extended to any sum not exceeding one-half of the aggregate amount of the Poor Rate raised in the preceding three years. The balance of loans remaining due by the various London Poor Law Unions and parishes on Lady-day, 1874,

was £957,201, being an increase over the preceding year of some £38,000. The six districts with the largest loan debt were—City of London, £86,770; Lambeth, £80,608; Islington, £77,493; Kensington, £69,916; Holborn, £63,957; and Woolwich, £61,419. The six smallest (excluding, of course, the extra-parochial districts which do not appear to have levied any Poor Rate, and have no debt), are—Greenwich, £3,703; Fulham, £4,845; St. Giles and St. George, Bloomsbury, £5,880; Hampstead, £8,894; Paddington, £8,983; and Mile End Old Town, £9,410.

These loans have been effected by the Poor Law Authorities under the authority of the Local Government Board, and the proportion which they bear to the amount of the Poor Rate is more than double the average of the rest of the country. They do not, however, include the whole of the Poor Law Authorities' loan liability. The loans of the Asylums District Board on Lady-day, 1875, were £517,510, an amount £9,425 less than the previous year. The District Pauper Schools owed £189,070; the Central London Sick Asylum, £53,015; and the Poplar and Stepney Sick Asylum, £5,324.

In the expenditure just set out, the cost of the Registration Act and other cognate matters was set down at £10,940. This sum includes the salaries of the various registration officers within the metropolitan district, and other local registration costs, but does not include the cost of the central establishment in Somerset House. The total cost of the latter is defrayed by the Imperial Treasury, and the department is placed under the control of the Local Government Board.* The officials at the Central Office are in the appointment of the Government: all the Local

* These powers were transferred from the Home Secretary by the 34 & 35 Vict., c. 70.

Registrars are in the appointment of the various Boards of Guardians, but a power of dismissal is given to the central authority.

As we showed in our chapter on Vestries, the union of the parish clerks for the purpose of supplying statistics of mortality, gradually broke up in the early part of the present century. The Registration Acts have supplied the deficiency thus created, and the information now obtained is much fuller than could be obtained under the old system. The area over which the investigation extends is also much larger. In 1592-3 when the prevalence of the plague first led to the introduction of weekly bills of mortality, the area was about 1,700 acres. This was increased in 1606 to 5,579 acres; in 1626 to 6,406; in 1636 to 21,528; in 1726 to 21,543; in 1801 to 30,002; in the new tables of mortality of 1840, 44,816 acres; in 1844 to 56,304; and in 1846 to the present area of 75,362 acres; the census population in 1871 being 3,254,260.

The "Metropolis" of the Registrar-General is nearly coterminous with the district of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

The difference appears to be that the hamlet of Penge is within the district of the Metropolitan Board, but not within the Registrar-General's limit; while the hamlet of Mottingham is included in the latter and not in the former. The Registrar-General, for the purposes of registration, divides that part of the Metropolis which is within the county of Middlesex into four general divisions, entitled respectively, East, Central, North, and West, whilst that part of which is situate in the counties of Surrey and Kent is styled the South District. The Superintendent Registrar's sub-districts are to a large extent co-extensive with Poor Law Unions, and these divisions are therefore simply the

grouping together of such sub-districts for the purpose of convenience.

The grouping of the several sub-districts and their population is as follows:—

	District.	Inhabited Houses.	Population, 1871.
1. Kensington 2. Chelsea 3. St. George, Hanover Square 4. Westminster	West District	68,390	561,359
5. Marylebone 6. Hampstead 7. Pancras 8. Islington 9. Hackney	North District	91,217	751,729
10. St. Giles 11. Strand 12. Holborn 13. City of London	Central District	34,453	334,369
14. Shoreditch 15. Bethnal Green 16. Whitechapel 17. St. George-in-the-East 18. Stepney 19. Mile End Old Town 20. Poplar	East District	82,786	639,111
21. St. Saviour, Southwark 22. St. Olave 23. Lambeth 24. Wandsworth 25. Camberwell 26. Greenwich 27. Lewisham 28. Woolwich	South District	140,921	967,692
		417,767	3,254,260

Each of the twenty-eight Registration Districts has a Superintendent Registrar; generally also a Deputy Superin-

tendent Registrar; and a number of Registrars and Assistants varying from two to nine in each District, and numbering altogether 163. The whole staff, exclusive of the Central Office, is 206. Probably the system of Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths now existing in the Metropolis, is as near perfection as it can ever be expected to approach. The data supplied weekly with respect to these matters is of very great importance to the community, and would enable its rulers to measure and combat disease with a precision unknown before the statistics were so carefully given. It is a pity that the data when obtained are so difficult to act upon, through the character of the agencies which must be invoked.

As the County Rate is levied as part of the Poor Rate, it is desirable to allude to the method in which the money so raised is expended, and also to consider the general character of County jurisdiction within the Metropolis.

The Metropolis is situated within the Counties of Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey. The City of London is a County to itself, and, as we have seen, it manages its own prisons, bridges, &c. It has also its own Lieutenancy. Even the contribution paid by the Imperial Government to the Police in various Counties, is paid by the City Estate to the rates, so that no Government may interfere in this little County of 650 acres. But whereas the contribution from the Consolidated Fund to County Police rates has recently been doubled and now amounts to one-half of the total amount, the contribution from the City's Estate has remained at one-quarter. It is really of no importance in what way the County of the City of London defrays this expenditure; so long as the City exists it will be able to transfer and arrange its accounts so as to make it satisfactory to itself, and as for the public they are politely requested to mind their own business.

The Government of the Counties of Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey, remains in many matters exactly similar to County government generally, and takes no cognizance of the fact that large areas of their jurisdiction lie within the Metropolitan area. Each County has its Lord Lieutenant, its High Sheriff, its Justices of the Peace, and its Clerk of the Peace. The High Sheriff of Middlesex is nominated and elected by the City in Common Hall, that is to say, a noisy assembly of Liverymen claim to exercise and do exercise the right of selecting who shall receive the custody of the County of Middlesex. This privilege is exercised by the Crown elsewhere throughout the country, and there is no reason in the world why the right to appoint the principal civil representative of the sovereign should any longer remain in so remarkable a body. It is a "privilege" purchased from needy sovereigns for money, and which every sovereign considered he had a right to resume if he thought fit. It should be at once resumed. The people of Middlesex do not regard the appointments of the Common Hall with any satisfaction, and whatever may be their opinion as to the men selected, they have no respect whatever for the selecting body.

The Quarter Sessions jurisdiction of the magistrates in Middlesex is, however, modified by special Acts to meet the requirements of the case. By the statute, 7 and 8 Vict., c. 71, amended by 22 and 23 Vict., c. 4, it is provided that there shall be holden for Middlesex two sessions or adjourned sessions of the peace in every month, and that it shall be lawful for Her Majesty to appoint an Assistant Judge to preside at the hearing of appeals, and the trial of all felonies and misdemeanours. Provision is also made for the appointment of a deputy. The first sessions in the months of January, April, July, and October are the General Sessions of the county, and these sessions have the power of a General Quarter Sessions of the county.

Crimes of the character dealt with at assizes when committed within the metropolitan area are triable at the Central Criminal Court, under the Act previously set out.*

The accounts for the county of Middlesex are made up quarterly, and are calculated under three separate heads, viz., "County Rate Accounts," "Lunatic Asylum Rate Accounts," and "Contagious Diseases (Animals) Rate Accounts."

The receipts upon each of the above accounts for the four quarters, ending July 11th, 1875, were as follows :—

	£	£
County Rate Accounts—		
From the County Rate . .	109,608	
House of Correction, Coldbath Fields†	25,261	
Industrial School, Feltham .	9,379	
House of Correction, Westminster	6,678	
Criminal Prosecutions . .	5,222	
Sundries	1,646	
Weights and Measures . .	636	
House of Detention . . .	130	
		158,560
Lunatic Asylums Rate Accounts—		
From Asylum Rate . . .	46,764	
Miscellaneous . . .	3,560	
		50,324
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1869, from rate .		1,592
Total receipt . .		£210,476

The expenditure under these various heads was, during the same period of time as follows, viz. :—

* *Supra*, p. 139.

† This item includes contribution by Treasury to maintenance of convicted prisoners.

	£	
County Rate Account—		
House of Correction, Coldbath Fields	57,041	
County Industrial School for Boys	22,830	
House of Correction, Westminster	17,124	
Coroners—Salaries and Expenses	15,124	
House of Detention, Clerkenwell	13,707	
Prosecutors and Witnesses	10,566	
Militia Storehouses	2,872	
Reformatory Schools for Boys	2,693	
Law and Miscellaneous	1,915	
Sessions House, Clerkenwell	1,544	
Clerk of the Peace	1,240	
Bridges	1,228	
Treasurer of the County	1,036	
Reformatory Schools for Girls	968	
Weights and Measures	847	
Assistant Judge, Extra Salary	818	
Printing and Stationery	497	
Guildhall, Westminster	340	
Advertisements	299	
Hanwell Lunatic Asylum	212	
Expenses under Adulteration Act	173	
Conveyance of Prisoners	77	
		153,151
Lunatic Asylum Rate Account—		
Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum	26,096	
Maintenance of County Lunatics	16,298	
Hanwell Lunatic Asylum	14,205	
Banstead Asylum	4,395	
Law Charges	585	
		61,579
"Contagious Diseases Animals Act, 1869"—		
Expenses hereunder	1,374	1,374
Total Expenditure		£216,104

The valuation of the whole county of Middlesex in the year 1874 was £14,965,792, and, in 1875, £15,199,608. Taking this last estimate, we find that £1,529,104 was the rateable value of the unions of Brentford, Edmonton, Barnet, Hendon, Uxbridge, Staines and Kingston, all of which were outside the Metropolitan District. No proportion or separation is set out in the accounts for the unions in the Metropolitan District so far as regards the total income or expenditure. Probably for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of income and expenditure applicable to the metropolitan area, the best method will be to take rateable value as the basis, and deduct from the whole the proportion represented by the rateable value of £1,529,104 as compared with £15,199,608. This will give us the income and expenditure levied and expended in respect of the metropolis as follows:—

	£
Income . . .	189,307
Expenditure . .	194,363

and the income from rates of the three classes will be found to be £143,832.

The county authorities do not publish any account of the amount and condition of their loans in a tabulated form. From the estimates for 1875, as to interest payments, it would seem that there now remain due the following amounts in respect of the various buildings belonging to the county, viz.:—

	Amount now due.	Amount of original loan.
	£	£
Colney Hatch Asylum .	125,340	454,300
House of Correction .	135,085	186,800
Hanwell Asylum . .	55,699	122,000
Banstead Asylum . .	47,833	110,000
Carried forward .	363,957	873,100

	£	£
Brought forward .	363,957	873,100
House of Detention .	46,234	86,500
Industrial School . .	36,283	75,200
Militia Storehouses .	15,520	42,800
Westminster Bridewell .	11,100	20,500
	£473.094	£1,098,100

There is a steady system of repayment in force, under which the loans are being rapidly reduced. Most of the money is borrowed from Insurance Associations, and the rate of interest varies from 4¼ to 5 per cent. If we apply the former calculation here, we shall find the share of this debt of £473,094, which would be charged against the Metropolitan District, to be £425,501.

The county of Surrey covers an area of 478,792 acres, of which 476,191 are extra metropolitan.

The county gaol is in Horsemonger Lane, and the House of Correction on Wandsworth Common. The county asylum is at Tooting, and the county hospital at Guildford.

The receipts and expenditure during the year ending November 30th, 1875, were as follows:—

Receipts—	£
County Rate	80,326
Prosecution of Criminals . . .	6,121
Maintenance of Prisoners . . .	5,476
Fees and Fines	3,626
Wandsworth House of Correction .	3,441
Interest	1,182
Maintenance of Lunatics . . .	764
Militia	408
Weights and Measures . . .	149
Various	150
	101,643

Expenditure—	£
Wandsworth House of Correction	30,492
Lunatic Asylum, Brookwood	14,461
„ Wandsworth	10,006
Other Lunatic Expenses	4,942
County Gaol	6,307
Coroners	4,486
Sessions House	4,113
Prosecutions of Criminals	4,074
Salaries	3,475
Reformatories	3,360
Superannuation Allowances	2,367
Bridges	2,352
Militia	2,035
Conveyance, &c., of Prisoners	1,368
Clerk of the Peace	1,350
Contagious Diseases (Animals)	1,013
Weights and Measures	1,006
Registration of Voters	681
Printing	638
Food Adulteration	458
Petty Sessions	235
Petroleum Inspection	132
Various	279
	99,630

Of this total expenditure rather more than £16,000 was paid in instalments and interest on loans. The County Debt on November 30th, 1875, was as follows:—

	£
Lunatic Asylum, Wandsworth	42,400
„ Brookwood	132,736
Carried forward	175,136

	£
Brought forward . . .	175,136
House of Correction	36,633
Police	2,200
Militia	12,380
County Gaol	5,266
Sessions House	18,000
	249,615

The proportion of these loans chargeable to the Metropolitan area is £205,822. The proportion of total income is about £83,000, and expenditure about £81,000. The total valuation of the County in 1873 was £5,767,420, and of this £4,758,770 was within the Metropolitan area.

The receipts and expenditure of the county of Kent during the year ending September 29th, 1874, for purposes other than the police, were as follows, viz.:—

Receipts—

	£	£
County Rate Account—		
County Rates . . .	22,181	
Prisons	10,461	
Sale of Stores . . .	4,000	
Prosecutions . . .	3,126	
Penalties and Fees . .	1,044	
Rents	135	
	£40,947	
Asylum Rate Account—	£	
Asylum Rates . . .	16,735	
Interest	252	
	£16,987	
Total current receipts		57,934
Carried forward . .		57,934

	£	£
Brought forward . .		57,934
By Loans, Kent Office .	15,000	
,, London Assurance Corporation . . .	50,000	
		65,000
Total receipts, capital and current .		£122,934

Expenditure—		
County Rate Account—	£	£
Prisons	18,686	
Prosecutions, &c. . .	4,438	
Coroners	2,328	
Registration . . .	1,029	
Bridges	977	
Industrial Schools . .	7,067	
Contagious Diseases, Animals	2,061	
Miscellaneous . . .	5,966	
		42,552
Asylums Rate Account—		
Asylum at Barming . .	15,218	
Asylum at Chartham .	69,308	
Repayment of Rate . .	125	
		84,651
Total expenditure, except Police .		£127,203

The expenditure is swelled by loans to the extent of £65,000, so that the ordinary expenditure would probably be about £60,000. The rateable value of Kent, without the metropolitan area, is £3,245,626, and within the limit, £1,050,433, so that the ordinary county expenditure of Kent, within the Metropolitan District, may be estimated at about £15,000.

The principal money remaining due on loans by way

of mortgage of the county rates for asylum purposes was, on September 29th, 1874, £189,541, of which about £46,000 would represent the proportionate share of the Metropolitan District.

The Tower of London.

In addition to the Corporation of the City of London, there is another *imperium in imperio* within the Metropolitan District. We allude to the Tower of London. As a Royal Palace and Fortress, the Tower is under the government of a Field Marshal, as Custos Rotulorum and Constable of the Tower, assisted by the Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower and a Major of the Tower, with a full official staff. There are, moreover, about fifty magistrates. There is also also a Chairman of Quarter Sessions, a Clerk of the Peace, an Assistant Clerk, a Steward and Coroner, a Deputy Gaoler, a High Bailiff and Clerk of Lieutenancy, a Deputy Bailiff, and an Inspector of Weights and Measures.

The Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas were formerly held in the Tower, and it was during their session here that the City, under the Plantagenets, especially benefited by the Courts, instead of being compelled to follow the person of the king. The sovereigns of England lived here either at intervals or constantly, down to the reign of James the Second. The conflicting claims and privileges of the Tower and the City were the subject of an elaborate "Certificate," issued by the Chief Justices of the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas, and the Master of the Rolls, to whom they had been referred for decision. The liberties and franchises of the Tower were again the subject of inquiry under James the Second, and letters patent, setting out and confirming the privileges and liberties of the Tower, were

duly granted by the king. Under this Charter, all the places mentioned in the schedule were to be part of the liberty of the Tower, and free from all City control, and also from all government or correction of the Justices of the Peace, or Coroners for the County of Middlesex. It provides for the government of the district within the liberty, for the establishment of sessions to be held four times in the year, for the maintenance and powers of a Court of Record for all matters arising within the liberty, and for various other matters of internal government.

Various subsequent statutes have enlarged the powers of the Justices of the Peace within the liberties, but the area of their jurisdiction was curtailed by the Police Act. The Central Criminal Court Act also includes the liberty of the Tower, and the County Court Act makes no exception as to the liberty. These Acts have taken away the Tower jurisdiction in nearly all cases, and, except in so far as exceptional powers may be desirable for the governing of a Royal Fortress, there seems no reason for the longer maintenance of its shadowy authority outside the moat.

Burial Boards.

The Metropolitan Burial Boards are constituted under the Statute 15 & 16 Vict., c. 85. This Act provides for the discontinuance of burials in any part of the Metropolis, by Order in Council upon representation made by one of the Secretaries of State. The burial grounds of the Society of Friends and of Jews are (by section 3) excluded from the operation of this power, presumably on the ground that these two classes of Dissenters were not accustomed to disturb those who were dead by burying several in the same grave. Certain other private rights are excepted, including burials in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral,

when the order for such interment is under the Sign Manual.

No new burial grounds are to be provided within two miles of the Metropolis without the approval of the Secretary of State. Section 10 provides that, upon requisition of the ratepayers, the churchwardens of any metropolitan parish shall convene a meeting of their Vestry* to determine whether a burial ground shall be provided. In case the Vestry determine to provide one, then they shall appoint a Burial Board of not less than three, or more than nine persons; one-third to go out of office annually, but to be eligible for re-election. The Board are to meet at least once a month, and are to keep accounts duly open to public inspection.

The expenses of the Board in purchasing ground, constructing chapels, &c., is to be paid out of the Poor Rate (section 19), and the amount to be expended is controlled by the Vestry. They have also power, with the consent of the Vestry and the Treasury, to borrow money; such money to be repayable with interest within twenty years. The Public Works Loan Commissioners are authorized to lend money for such purposes.

Several Vestries are empowered to join in providing one burial ground for their united use. Section 24 provides for the incorporation of the Burial Boards, and section 25 deals with the situation of the ground taken for the purposes of the Act; such ground not to be within 200 yards of any dwelling-house, without the consent of the owner, lessee, and occupier. The Board may contract either for the purchase of cemeteries or for interment in such cemeteries. They may also fix the rate of fees for interments. The Vestry may fix the fees of the officiating minister, the

* This was of course the Parish Vestry, for as yet Vestries in the modern meaning of the word were not.

right to officiate being vested in the incumbent of the parish, or, if more than one, in the several incumbents; any case of difference being controlled by the Bishop (section 39).

The Board may make arrangements for the conveyance of bodies to the cemetery, and may also provide a house fit for the reception of bodies until interment. The Secretary of State may make general regulations for the control of the burial grounds provided by the parishes.*

The Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London are constituted a Burial Board for the parishes within the City. They have constructed a cemetery at Ilford in Essex, and this is controlled and regulated by the Act 21 & 22 Vict., c. 35. It covers an area of 91 acres

The Act 15 & 16 Vict., c. 85, was extended by the 16 & 17 Vict., c. 134, to districts beyond the metropolis, and by section 8, Registers of Burials are to be duly kept in every burial ground provided under the Act.† Additional powers as to Orders in Council, &c., are given by Act 18 & 19 Vict., c. 128. The Acts are again amended by the 20 & 21 Vict., c. 81, empowering Burial Boards appointed under the former Acts to provide more than one burial ground (section 3). Orders in Council may be made regulating burial grounds and containing other regulations as to fees, the exemption of funerals from tolls, &c. Power is given to Boards to borrow on terminable annuities for a life or lives, or for a term not exceeding 30 years (section 21).

The 44th section of the Act of 1852 gave the Secretary of State power to make regulations as to interments. Copious instructions have been issued in pursuance of this power. They deal with the position of the cemetery, its

* The "Inscription Difficulty" is expressly provided for in sec. 37, whereby the determination of any question affecting the fitness of any inscription in consecrated ground is to be decided by the Bishop of the diocese.

† See further as to Registration of Burials. Act 27 & 28 Vict., c. 97.

distance from town, drainage, nature of soil, quantity of ground, roads, fencing, planting, area of grave space, depth of graves, only one body in each grave,* vaults, the opening of graves, size of graves, registration of graves, filling up of graves, wood used for coffins, character of monuments, conveyance to burial grounds, necessity of dead houses, character of such houses, &c., &c. A more excellent and instructive set of regulations with respect to any subject, was probably never issued from any government office.

Name of Board.	Income.		Expenditure.				Outstanding Loans.
	From sources other than Poor Rate.	Total Income.	Burial Fees.	Loans repaid, and Interest.	Salaries.	Total.	
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Kensington .	681	3,031	232	717	301	2,288	2,050
Fulham . .	360	988	61	578	200	1,115	4,200
Hammersmith	533	1,533	120	1,003	60	1,560	14,081
Paddington .	4,446	4,446	824	—	972	4,390	—
Westminster	—	128	—	—	15	128	—
Marylebone .	1,640	3,140	345	1,174	266	2,702	1,800
St. Pancras .	3,303	3,303	595	1,788	911	3,743	4,717
Islington .	2,610	3,961	585	1,351	811	4,405	2,326
Shoreditch .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Southwark .	460	498	466	—	30	504	—
Lambeth . .	2,750	2,750	615	500	190	3,275	1,700
Battersea . .	679	1,186	—	520	107	1,173	4,800
Clapham . .	201	701	—	—	53	659	—
Putney . .	335	585	288	192	75	570	480
Camberwell .	2,229	2,629	684	1,067	150	2,615	2,647
Deptford . .	1,953	1,953	70	1,862	221	2,619	1,500
Greenwich .	1,379	1,370	186	813	318	1,379	2,835
Lee . . .	10,500	10,735	—	235	—	7,762†	13,100
Lewisham .	785	1,285	104	848	250	1,394	2,500
Charlton . .	520	620	—	364	170	632	975
Woolwich .	431	793	—	362	313	781	990
	35,786	45,635	5,175	13,374	5,413	43,694	60,701

* The Secretary of State lays this down as a "fundamental principle." A coarse contrast was recently afforded by one of the London Cemetery Companies boasting of their capacity to inter more than a million paupers, "with the usual complement of *ten in each grave!*"

† This large expenditure is accounted for by the expenditure of £7,000 in laying out a new burial ground. Lee also borrowed £10,000 in this year, and Greenwich increased her loan account by £784.

There are twenty-one Burial Boards in the Metropolis, and the preceding table sets forth their income and expenditure during the last year with respect to which it is published. The returns are complete with the exception of Shoreditch, which does not seem to have made any return.

In addition to the various divisions of London already mentioned, there remains the division into eight Parliamentary Boroughs, with an aggregate population of 3,008,101, according to the census of 1871. It will thus be seen that the Parliamentary district does not include the whole of the district under the Metropolis Management Act. The actual divisions are ten, the City of London, with a population of 74,732, sends four Members; each of the remaining seven Boroughs sends two Members, and their census population is—Westminster, 246,413; Marylebone, 477,555; Finsbury, 443,316; Tower Hamlets, 391,568; Southwark, 207,335; Lambeth, 379,112; Greenwich, 167,632; Hackney, 362,427; and Chelsea, 258,011.

London Charities.

London is especially favoured in the extent and variety of its charities. The City Companies returned in 1868 their gross income available for charitable purposes at £99,027 0*s.* 3*d.** Of this sum the Drapers returned £15,181 15*s.*, and the Mercers £13,147 17*s.* 4*d.* The remainder was divided in various sums amongst the different Companies, down to the £4 per annum available for the support of the almshouses, &c., of the Tilers and Bricklayers, Company. The total amount available for almshouses, pensioners, &c., is returned at £53,912 9*s.* 10*d.* per annum,

* Return to House of Commons, 1868, No. 433.

and for education, &c., £36,991 0*s.* 2*d.* We have no intention to dilate at present upon the way in which this money is expended, or the utter unreliability of the whole return as an estimate of what is *legally* available for the several purposes indicated. A very large proportion of the amount is returned as "Rentcharges and fixed annual payments." In this list is of course included the case of Robert Donkin, already set out, and how many more are within the same category nobody knows: probably most of them. So the true income may be two or three, or four times the amount at which it is returned. Forty years ago when the Charity Commissioners first reported, the Companies returned this class of their income at £67,735 12*s.* 3*d.* As it is notoriously charged upon real property in the City, and consists mainly of such property, it is very easy to judge how far an increase of 50 per cent. in income, as returned in 1868, is likely to be in any sense a fair return. Of course if many of the estates left to the poor are treated as fixed charges of the same amount as their value when given, no one can wonder at the income remaining stationary.

A return of the Parochial Charities of the Cities of London and Westminster was made in 1865 upon the motion of the Lord Bishop of London.* It is a most instructive return. The total income from Parochial Charities in the City of London is returned at £64,560 18*s.* 11*d.*, being nearly double the amount of the income returned forty years previously. Of the total sum £26,480 is available for purposes of church rate; £11,674 for education; £8,010 for the poor generally; £5,324 for distribution of money; £3,988 for the endowment of clergy; £2,865 for distribution of articles in kind; £6,096 for support of almshouses, &c. The parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, has the largest income from Charities, viz., £6,607, and the re-

* House of Lords' Papers, 1865, No. 243.

mainder is distributed over all the parishes. How these sums are expended was ventilated a few years ago in a series of able letters to the *Times*, from the pen of Sir Charles Trevelyan. The material point to recollect about them, however, is that the poor for whom they were given, and the congregations whose religious advancement they contemplated are now, by the force of events, extruded from the City altogether.

The Parochial Charities of the City of Westminster produced, at the date of the return, an income of £26,555 17*s.* 1*d.* These were divided amongst the parishes of St. Anne Soho, St. Clement Danes, St. George Hanover Square, St. James, St. John, St. Margaret (Dean and Chapter Charities), St. Martin-in-the-Fields, St. Mary-le-Strand, and St. Paul's, Covent Garden. There was available for almshouses and pensioners, £11,762; for education, £7,097; for apprenticing and advancement of children, £2,299; for medical charities, £1,200; and so on.

As to the remainder of the Parishes within the Metropolitan district, no exact return is available. Under section 199 of the Management Act, the Vestries are required to make out every year a list of estates, charities, and bequests under their control, with a full account of the same, and the condition and application of the funds. This is to be open to the inspection of the ratepayers. This clause, however, only appears to concern the Vestries that are also Parishes sole. Where a Vestry consists of an aggregation of Parishes, the charities are not under its control. A certain number of the Vestries (about ten) publish an account of their charities with their annual reports, but any estimate formed of the extent of Parochial and other charities coming within the classes included in the quoted returns, must be an estimate simply. They, however, certainly amount to at least £15,000 a year.

We should, therefore, estimate the yearly income of the Charities of the Metropolis, on the above basis, as follows:—

	£
City of London Parochial Charities	64,560
City of Westminster ditto . .	26,555
Other metropolitan parishes . .	15,000
Livery Companies . . .	99,027
Total . . .	£205,142

Independently of the delusive character of this return, already pointed out, it falls far short of the funds available for charitable purposes now in the hands of ecclesiastical or municipal bodies which ought to be included within it.

According to Sir John Bennett, the City Ward Schools possess, in addition to freehold and leasehold estates, invested funds to the extent of £50,000. The answer to this statement, as given by the City, is an exactly typical one. Firstly, that the amount is untruly stated; and, secondly, that its publication was a breach of confidence. We have already shown that no statement of any city authority as to the nature, extent, or appropriation of its funds, is worth, or, at the hands of thinking men, will receive, one moment's consideration, unless it is supported by reliable *data*, showing what is the true state of affairs. Then, again, there are large sums which are in the disposal of the Corporation of London for charitable purposes. These are duly set forth in the City accounts. Different principles will probably be found to apply to some of these charities as compared with others; and until we have an examination and analysis of them undertaken by a competent authority, it is by no means easy to say to what objects they can be most equitably applied, or how many of them may be fairly dealt with at all by any municipal authority.

Chapter XII.

Summary of Divisions of Metropolis for various Purposes.—Income and Expenditure of the Metropolis.—Metropolitan Loan Liability.

In the preceding chapters an endeavour has been made to ascertain and set forth the functions of the various bodies now exercising municipal or quasi-municipal powers within the Metropolitan area. It is not probable that there exists in any other large city on the face of the civilized earth, laying any claim whatever to municipal institutions, so extraordinary and incongruous a state of things as that which is here to be found.

From whatever point of view the conditions of London government be regarded, the results are equally anomalous, and present a conflicting and interlacing variety of jurisdictions, which have rendered their disentanglement a matter of serious difficulty.

Regarded from the point of view of territorial divisions, it is found that the areas of districts are rarely coterminous for any two purposes. If the dividing lines of the various authorities, whose jurisdiction has been considered, were printed upon the same map of London, it would present a confused network without a single square inch of vacant space.

And even the area of the Metropolis itself is different for different purposes, excluding the areas of gas and water supply; this is shown by the following table :—

London as divided for certain Purposes.

	Area in Acres.	Inhabited Houses, 1871.	Population, 1871.
Metropolitan and City Police Districts	441,587	528,794	3,885,641
Central Criminal Court District .	268,419	487,587	3,657,078
Metropolitan Board of Works District and London School Board District	75,490	419,642	3,266,987
London within Registrar-General's Tables of Mortality . . .	75,362	417,767	3,254,260
Parliamentary Boroughs, including the City of London . . .	45,841	382,126	3,022,066
City of London within Municipal and Parliamentary limits (included in all above tables) .	650	9,236	74,688

There are 56 separate divisions of the Metropolis for the purposes of the Building Acts; 39 for the purposes of local government; 37 for the purposes of Metropolitan Board representation; 30, Poor Law Unions and Parishes; 28, districts of the Superintendent Registrar; 21, Burial Boards; 20, divisions of the Police Force; 16, District Schools; 15, divisions for Militia purposes; 15, Police Court Districts; 13, County Court Districts; 10, School Board Divisions; 10, Boroughs; 10, Gas Companies; 10, Postal Divisions; 8, Water Companies; and 3 separate County Jurisdictions.

The organizations that we have considered cover the whole ground of municipal work—giving to those words their most extended signification—and we are now in a position to strike the municipal balance of the Metropolis.

The municipal income and expenditure of the Metropolis as set forth in the following table does not represent any single year, but the amounts are collected from the last year to which they have been made up. This is a matter of necessity as no complete year is available since 1872. There is not, however, anything sufficiently exceptional in the income or expenditure of the various bodies to make the estimate seriously in error. The accounts represent the fair

Income.

CURRENT INCOME.	£	£	£
Total Income of Gas Companies		3,703,198	
Income on Poor Rate Account, including £107,159 from the Treasury (this Rate includes County and Police Rates)		2,433,767	
London Vestries (exclusive of Subscription to Metropolitan Board)		1,576,425	
Water Companies' total Income		1,165,391	
City of London		1,146,444	
London Police, from Treasury and other sources (in addition to £482,785 included in Poor Rate)		543,892	
Metropolitan Board of Works (not including £247,566 received from Coal Dues, &c.)		489,507	
School Board		202,097	
County Income, Metropolitan proportion (not including County Rate, which is included in Poor Rate)—			
Middlesex	53,239		
Surrey	17,577		
Kent (including Loans)	20,563		
		91,379	
Thames Conservancy—			
Lower Navigation	60,734		
Upper ,,	10,280		
		71,014	
Metropolitan Police Courts		59,245	
Burial Boards		45,635	
Lee Conservancy Board		19,681	
Corporation of Westminster (exclusive of Fines, &c.)		500	
Total Current Income		11,548,175	11,548,175
CAPITAL INCOME.			
Metropolitan Board of Works		2,870,270	
Corporation of London		794,293	
School Board		593,925	
Total Capital Income		4,258,488	4,258,488
Total Income			£15,806,663

Expenditure.

CURRENT EXPENDITURE.	£	£	£
Total Expenditure of Gas Companies (exclusive of Dividend) . .	2,767,266		
Dividend and Interest Account	981,176	3,748,442	
Poor Rate, Payments out of, for Poor Relief and other Purposes, but not including County and Police Expenditure		1,784,519	
London Vestries		1,572,731	
City of London		1,121,518	
Water Companies		1,108,676	
London Police, less £51,050 repayment by Treasury . . .		1,048,800	
Metropolitan Board of Works (exclusive of Coal Dues) . . .		543,237	
London School Board . . .		310,850	
Counties—			
Metropolitan Proportion in—			
Middlesex	194,363		
Surrey	80,396		
Kent	31,134	305,893	
Thames Conservancy—			
Lower Navigation . .	57,885		
Upper ,, . .	18,604	76,489	
Metropolitan Police Courts . .		57,353	
Burial Boards		56,904	
Lee Conservancy Board . . .		19,593	
Corporation of Westminster (exclusive of Fees		500	
		11,755,505	
			11,755,505
CAPITAL EXPENDITURE.			
Metropolitan Board of Works . .		1,995,024	
City of London		856,849	
School Board		510,371	
		3,362,244	
			3,362,244
Total Expenditure . .			£15,117,749

current capital income and expenditure, and may be taken as approximately correct for the given year. The only material changes arise from the assumption by the Imperial Treasury of one-half of the Metropolitan Police expenditure, and the heavy Board of Works' loan. The details of the various amounts and the years to which they refer will be found in their places under the respective titles affecting them. The Loan liability of the Metropolis is as follows:—

OUTSTANDING LOANS.

	£	£
Metropolitan Board of Works (less Loans to Local Authorities)		11,179,639
City of London		5,213,500
Water Companies		2,273,147
London Gas Companies		1,729,212
London Vestries		1,560,942
London School Board		1,340,442
Poor Law Unions		957,201
Metropolitan Asylums Board		517,510
Counties:		
Metropolitan Proportion in—		
Middlesex	425,501	
Surrey	205,822	
Kent	46,415	
		677,738
District Schools		189,070
Lee Conservancy Board		176,756
Sick Asylum Boards		110,339
Thames Conservancy Board		100,000
Burial Boards		60,701
TOTAL LOAN LIABILITY OF LONDON		£26,086,197

LONDON UNDER A MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

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Chapter XIII.

CORPORATION REFORM.

The Municipal Corporation Act, 1835.—*Special Report of the Municipal Commissioners as to the City.—Recommendations of the Commissioners.—Reform thwarted by the City.—Condition of the Question of City Reform from* 1837 *to* 1853.—*Appointment of Corporation Commissioners in* 1853.—*Report and Recommendations.*

In the course of the debate on the Municipal Corporation Bill, 1835, Lord John Russell, answering Mr. Hume, stated that a separate measure would be introduced with respect to London.* Twice in the course of the succeeding session, he was interrogated as to the time when this pledge would be redeemed,† and upon each occasion represented the Government as only waiting for the special Report of the Municipal Commissioners.

No more excellent measure exists on the English Statute Book than the Municipal Corporations Act. After the passing of the Reform Bill, it had become manifest, that if the inhabitants of a given town were fit to elect members of Parliament, they were also fit to elect members of Local Corporations, and when the Report of the Municipal Com-

* Hansard, vol. xxviii., p. 571.

† By Mr. Williams, April 22nd, and Mr. Wilkes, August 19th.

missioners disclosed the enormous scandals which existed in the 183 Corporations, whose condition had been investigated, it was evident that reformation was a matter of urgent necessity. The measure for the purpose was introduced by Lord John Russell, then Home Secretary and member for Stroud, and was pushed through the Lower House with but little alteration. The House of Lords "amended" it by striking out a clause constituting the various town councils licensing authorities, and also altering the town population which should be divided into wards from 9,000 to 6,000. The dying Corporations made a defence of their "chartered privileges," which compensated in vigour for what it lacked in weight. They were allowed to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Lords, but their case was too weak to avail them much, and the recommendations of the Municipal Commissioners as contained in their report (that mass of "garrulous trash and ribaldry and gipsy jargon," as Sir Charles Wetherell, the Corporations' counsel, elegantly termed it), became, in the main, the law of the land.

The report of the Commissioners, with respect to London, was not ready so soon as the others, and to that reason alone may be ascribed the fact that no attempt was made to deal with the reform of the capital in 1835 or 1836. It was not pretended or suggested that London should receive any exceptional treatment, or that its charters were more sacred, or its freemen more pure than those of other Corporations. The address of the House of Commons moved at the commencement of the session of 1835, affirmed the policy of placing Municipal Corporations under "vigilant popular control," and the principle was of universal acceptation. Nor is it likely that the capital would have been able effectually to oppose any useful measure. They would, moreover, have had to fight any measure of reform alone.

They rendered practically no help to the other Corporations in their extremity, and they would have got none in return.

The powers of the Municipal Commissioners appointed in 1834 were of the fullest kind. They were instructed to collect information as to the existing state of the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales; as to their constitutions and their defects; their jurisdictions and powers; mode of electing officers and members; the privileges of freemen; nature and management of income, revenues and funds, &c. Full power and authority was given to call before them and to examine upon oath, such officers of the Corporations or other persons as they should judge necessary, and to cause the various Corporation officers to produce upon oath, all their charters, records, books, rolls, orders, &c. And finally, all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Constables, &c., and all "our loving subjects," were commanded to assist them in the execution of their commission.

We have shown in a previous chapter the disloyal manner in which the Livery Companies of the City—whose wont it is to prate of their loyalty whenever they congregate to dine—received the Commission.* The officers of the City Corporation proper were more courteous than those of the several bodies which composed it, but even they expressed their unwillingness to give evidence upon oath, and so no oath was administered in any case. Why this exception should have been made is not clear. It certainly could not have been on conscientious grounds, for it is in the City that the art of official swearing has been most elaborated, and has reached its fullest luxuriance.

The Corporation of London, including of course the Livery Companies, is made by the Commissioners the subject of a special supplemental report, which having regard to the obstructions placed in their way, is a marvel of com-

* *Vide ante*, p. 95.

pleteness and interest. The evils existing within the Corporation are, many of them, clearly pointed out, and their continued existence is especially commented upon, inasmuch as the Common Council claim to possess the power of internal reform.

Quoting the precedent established by the Municipal Corporation Act, in bringing all adjacent districts which could properly be deemed part of a town under the same municipal authority, the Commissioners say, "We do not find any argument on which the course pursued with regard to other towns could be justified, which would not apply with the same force to London, unless the magnitude of the change in this case should be considered as converting that which would otherwise be only a practical difficulty into an objection of principle." *

With respect to the small portion of the Metropolis comprehended within the Municipal Boundary, they say: "We are unable to discover any circumstance justifying the present distinction of this particular district from the rest, except that, *in fact*, it is and has long been so distinguished. It is evident that any reasoning, founded on the assumption that questions respecting the Corporation relate to the whole town of London, will be entirely fallacious; and this, necessarily, introduces much perplexity into all discussions on the corporate system, owing to the great difficulty which there is in preventing such an assumption being made.†

* Report, p. 4.

† The fallaciousness, and indeed falsity of this assumption do not, however, prevent the City making it, and allowing it to be made by those who are not better informed. Although they arrogantly deny to London without the walls any share in their government or in the expenditure of funds extracted from all, yet they quietly assume to be their representatives whenever an opportunity offers. Instances of this are of constant occurrence. They are not by any means confined to what is done on English soil. The visit of the Lord Mayor to Paris in 1875, and the remarkable circumstances which were attendant upon it, are best left

The "Municipal Boroughs' scheme" of later days seems to have been considered by the Commissioners; for they say,—"we hardly anticipate that it will be suggested for the purpose of removing the appearance of singularity that the other quarters of the town should be formed into independent and isolated communities, if indeed the multifarious relations to which their proximity compels them would permit them to be isolated and independent. This plan would, as it seems to us, in getting rid of an anomaly, tend to multiply and perpetuate an evil."

They add,—"a new and very important question, as it appears to us, must necessarily arise in a town which is the seat of the Legislative and Supreme Executive Power of the State, with respect to the proper division of Municipal authority between the officers of the Government, and a Municipal body which might be established in the Metropolis."

With respect to the Police Force they say,—"in one particular, and that a most important and practical one, the opinion of Parliament has been already declared by the establishment of a Metropolitan Police under the orders of Commissioners appointed by, and immediately dependent upon, your Majesty's Executive Government. We can scarcely anticipate that any argument can be brought forward to show that this system can be partially right. We can see no middle course for the establishment of an efficient Police throughout the Metropolis, between placing the whole under a Metropolitan Municipality, and entrusting the whole to Commissioners under the immediate control of your Majesty's Government."

The Commissioners had in view the constitution of a

to pass into oblivion; but it may be hoped that, for the common honour of our City, no repetition of them under any future Lord Mayor will be permitted.

nobler body than the Metropolitan Board of Works, when they pointed out some of the many questions as to which the controlling influence of a central authority is desirable. "Other topics suggest similar conclusions [to the question of the Police], as the paving, sewage, and lighting of the streets, which as it seems to us, can never be so economically and efficiently performed in one town as when superintended by an undivided authority: and the only real point for consideration is, how far these duties for the whole Metropolis could be placed in the hands of a Metropolitan Municipality, or how far they should be entrusted to the officers of your Majesty's Government." The absurdity of separate sewage direction is pointed out, and the Commissioners also point to the necessity of altering the constitution of the Thames Conservancy Board, an object effected about twenty years subsequently.

The criticisms of the Commissioners upon the various peculiarities of the City Corporation and its government, are marked by their same force and wisdom as those we have quoted. We have already, in a former part of this work, sufficiently dealt with the present constitution and work of the Corporation, and it is therefore not necessary to recapitulate the Report of the Commissioners in these particulars. There are a number of questions which present a different phase now to what they did then, and probably much of this improvement from within is to be ascribed to the terms of this Report.

But the Corporation only adopted such of the resolutions as suited them. The Commissioners for example, had spoken in strong terms of the system of compelling retail traders to become free and to join a Livery Company, on pain of expulsion from the City and heavy fines. They say that the Companies "possess no one feature from which we can discover any advantage in compelling the freemen to belong

to them. This part of the system is in fact no more than a troublesome and capricious method of taxing the inhabitants of London for the emolument of the Companies." And, as to the freedom of the City, they say—"As to the acquisition of freedom by purchase, it is practically a tax upon the retail traders of the City who are compelled to take up their freedom," a circuitous and inequitable process.

The Commissioners say what is tolerably clear, that the possession of the rights of freemen by non-residents appears to be "at variance with the true principles of Municipal Constitutions."

The Court of Aldermen is condemned as an instance of "that union of magisterial, judicial, and legislative authority which Parliament has recently condemned and dissolved in other Corporations."

In 1836 we find the same complaint as to the class of men in the Corporation as is now made. "The highest classes of commercial men do not ordinarily take a share in the management of the Corporation. Many causes have been assigned for this, no one completely satisfactory in itself. The fact unquestionably is that a large proportion of the highest classes of those who might if they pleased take an important part in the Corporation, feel a repugnance to doing so," and they suggest that an extension of the Corporation might cause this defect to disappear.

The Commissioners, as might have been expected, considered that "no good end is answered by the power possessed by the Aldermen of selecting as mayor one of two nominees of the Common Hall;" nor did they regard with favour the constitution and functions of the Common Hall itself.

The methods of electing City officers in the Court of Aldermen and in the Common Council is styled very objectionable, and with respect to the indefensible method still

pursued of remunerating the City Chamberlain from the profits of balances in his hands, they strongly condemn it, and say that, in their opinion, it is "nearly the worst manner of remunerating such an officer."

The powers of the City Aldermen to try prisoners at the Central Criminal Court are strongly condemned, and the Commissioners say, and very justly, that it is "anomalous and unreasonable" for such authority to be entrusted to any judges but those nominated by the Crown. And as to the answer which has often been given, and is still given to the objection, that in practice the Corporate Judges seldom try a prisoner for a capital offence or a serious felony, they reply, that "in a matter of such serious import, there should be nothing fictitious or unreal, but that every one concerned in the performance of such awful duties should undisguisedly assume the full and real responsibility." The Commissioners also point out the impolicy and disadvantage of having the large majority of the most serious criminal offences committed in the whole Metropolis tried before Corporate Judges appointed by the City: "Appointments which, in many instances, have been either matters of routine, or have been obtained by personal interest and solicitation."

As to the authority exercised by the Corporation of London through the Irish Society, the Commissioners say that they do not know of any "pretext of argument" for its continuance.

Other recommendations of equal weight and importance are made by the Commissioners in their report. Some of them have been adopted in a greater or less degree, but most of them have been wholly disregarded.

This Report of the Commissioners was supplemental to that upon the Corporations generally, and was not presented until 1837. In that year the strength of the Government was less than in 1835, and they concluded that, with their

small majority in the House of Commons, it was unsafe to introduce a measure which might alienate the City Members. The power of the City was soon afterwards remarkably exemplified with respect to the Police Bill. When first introduced, this Bill proposed to establish for the whole Metropolis one complete system of police. Every committee of the House of Commons, which had considered the question from 1792 to 1837, had advocated such a measure. The last of these committees, representing all shades of opinion, was unanimous upon the question.* They had even said, with respect to the City Police, that "if a scheme could be contrived for the purpose of increasing vice and crime, nothing could have been better calculated than the system of police in the City of London." It is of this severe criticism that Lord Brougham, speaking four years later, says: "In my whole experience I have never seen so strong a censure, so unsparing a condemnation, passed upon any system whatever; above all, upon any system venerable from its antiquity, and, most of all, upon any system touching nearly upon the attributes of justice." And yet the City, in the teeth of the Report of the House of Commons Committee, and contrary to the expressed convictions of Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel,† and all the leading men of the time, in Parliament and out of it, succeeded in persuading the Select Committee to whom the Police Bill was referred, to exclude the City from its action. The methods by which they accomplished this are set forth in a scathing denunciation of the City, delivered by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords in 1843 :‡ "It was found that the City did not approve of the Bill; that the citizens did not extend to it the favour which it found everywhere else among the

* Speech of Mr. Hawes on the second reading of the City Police Bill. Hansard, vol. xlvii., p. 1061.

† Hansard, vol. xlvii., p. 1290.

‡ Hansard, vol. lxvii., p. 216.

lovers of good government, and of systematic and efficient police; *the* greatest benefit that men living in a social state could enjoy." . . . "Taking an accurate observation of the state of the Government in the other House; discerning that their majorities were exceedingly small, varying from two and three to five—five was a great majority—the City gentlemen discovered that they had no small weight with the Government, and came to a common understanding as to the result of the Committee appointed to examine the Bill."

Thus it is to an advantage secretly taken by the City,* of the political exigencies of the government, that we now owe the existence of the present absurdity of separate Police authorities.† It is to the same discreditable cause, that Lord Brougham attributed the fact, that no Government Bill was brought in for the reform of the Corporation.

In March, 1843, Lord Brougham moved in the House of Lords that an address be presented to the Queen, praying her to take into consideration the Report of the Commissioners, with a view to some legislative measure for extending Municipal Reform to the City of London. Upon that occasion Lord Brougham delivered an oration of surpassing power, pointing out the scandals which abounded in the Corporation of London, and expressing his conviction that many of them could not survive another day. He was specially qualified to speak upon the question, being a freeman of the City, as well as a member of one of the chief Livery Companies, and he gave full weight to the "influence derived from the City's ancient fame, and the immortal services it had rendered to the state." But he did not

* Their underhand conduct in this matter does not appear to have been generally known until some time subsequently.

† Lord John Russell himself apologized for his change of policy on account of the "very great outcry raised in the City," and Sir Robert Peel described it as an "incongruity and absurdity."

allow his "gratitude for past services to blind him to the existence of present abuses." Strangely enough, notwithstanding his convictions of their early downfall, many of the abuses he so vigorously denounced still live and flourish.

He recalled the professions of Lord John Russell (who had been meantime elected for the City of London), and showed that it was not the intention of the Government in 1835 "to stop short at Temple Bar, and confine the benefits of reform to the lesser Corporations," and he called upon Lord John Russell to redeem his promise. After quoting the language of that minister when, in 1835, he stated that "existing Municipal Corporations neither possess nor deserve the confidence of Her Majesty's subjects," he says: "*If the smaller Corporations throughout the country needed reform I will maintain that the Metropolitan Corporation requires it a great deal more, and is in its various departments entirely deserving of the name heretofore given it, of the Giant Abuse of that class.*"

With respect to the conduct of City Aldermen as Magistrates, he says: "I complain of the administration of justice in the City of London, and I bring it before your lordships that you may pronounce sentence against it, and that that grievous abuse, which by a perversion often is called the 'Administration of Justice' in the City, may cease." He concluded his speech with the observation that he had "made it utterly impossible that many months should elapse before Municipal Reform should be extended to the City of London."

Lord Brougham was seriously mistaken. Thirty years later "the administration of justice" flourishes in the City on the old principle;* the enormous gratuities to City

* Lord Brougham again brought the subject before the House of Lords, July 24, 1846.

officials (which seem to have excited his especial ire), are still given as lavishly as ever; the unjust taxation of Metropolitan London still exists; the most important members of "the community" still decline to join the Corporation, and the indecency of the election of judicial officers by personal canvas is as patent and as scandalous in 1875 as it was in 1843."*

No immediate result was produced by Lord Brougham's motion, and two years later we find the Corporation setting to work to enforce one of the worst of their franchises, by an effort to re-establish freedom fines upon every tradesman in the City. Section 14 of the Municipal Corporation Act abolishes all exclusive rights of trading, and puts an end to the farce, whereby it was necessary for tradesmen to take out their freedom and pay certain fines before they were allowed to commence business was abolished. The City Corporation, by dint of the most unscrupulous use of its patronage and money, had succeeded in preventing the hand of reformation passing over it, and now, when the danger was thought to be over, commenced the persecution of the tradesmen, who, having their establishments in the City, had declined to become members of its Livery Companies. So it came about that, in the early part of the year 1845, 3,000 summonses were issued to recalcitrant tradesmen and journeymen, and the Corporation actually claimed to try the causes in its own Courts! It was bad enough to bring actions of a kind which the legislature had openly condemned as immoral, but to bring them in its own Courts, before a Judge dependent on its pleasure, and with no counsel available for the

* "Where is the decency of a Judge, who is to take his seat on the Bench of Justice, who is to be clothed with the ermine of the law, and who is to administer justice in the capital of the country to two millions of Her Majesty's subjects; only think of such a Judge being chosen by election after a canvas!" Speech of Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, Hansard, vol. lxvii., p. 231.

defendants but its own paid pleaders, was more worthy of the Spanish Inquisition than an English Corporation.

It is by no means clear how far the Corporation had a legal right to the privilege they claimed: they certainly were very far outside any moral right. But with a strong body of officers and unlimited resources they soon compelled traders to pay. The Ward Beadle, and the Beadle of the Company whose trade the poor retailer practised, had either to be bribed to omit his name, or he was compelled to pay the fines, which sometimes well-nigh ruined him. Watt, the engineer, had been thus driven from the City, and so was many another journeyman and artizan.

To what a level had the freedom of the City of London descended when its tradesmen were summoned and then fled the City rather than take it up. And of what value is it to-day? How many of the tradesmen in the City, who are not impelled by circumstances of interest, or family relationship, ever think of taking out their freedom? Not one per cent. The freedom of the City of London had a very high value in the days of the Plantagenets, in the privileges it conferred, and in its exemptions from certain taxes, and from personal service under feudal chiefs. The freedom of the City of London, in 1875, is something which not one in ten of its inhabitants would walk to the Guildhall to accept as a free gift.

Lord Brougham denounced the iniquitous system of the City trade prosecutions when presenting a petition against it to the House of Lords, March 13th, 1845, and he subsequently introduced a Bill to extend to the City of London the section of the Municipal Corporation Act, which abolished exclusive trading. This Bill does not appear ever to have reached its second reading, but its introduction caused great alarm in the City, and the Remembrancer was directed to write to Lord Brougham to the effect that the Lord Mayor

was "concerned that Lord Brougham had thought fit to introduce such a Bill into Parliament without communicating with the Corporation on the subject!" *

For several years after this the question slumbered. The nation was occupied with other concerns, and so far as regarded the Legislature, the question of Civic Reform was never approached. The City itself kept introducing various private bills affecting City matters, and these generally passed without discussion. The most notable of these was the Act of 1852, whereby the area of the City constituency was increased from 6,000 to 20,000, and whereby the toll up to that time levied upon all alien vehicles entering the City was abolished.† The measure was not without a certain merit, but being made an occasion for lavish self-laudation by the City, it did not go far to appease the desire for reform. This desire resulted, in 1853, in the appointment of a Commission.

In the month of June, 1853, a Commission, consisting of Mr. Labouchere, Sir John Patteson, and Mr. Cornewall Lewis, was accordingly appointed to inquire into the state of the Corporation of London. The powers of this Commission were quite as full as those which had been granted to their predecessors eighteen years previously. They had power to examine upon oath; to compel the production of all charters and writings belonging to the Corporation; and were enjoined to collect information as to the action and condition of the City in every respect.

They issued, in due course, a lengthy report, in which they deal with the questions submitted to them, and express

* When narrating this incident to the House, Lord Brougham said:— "Although this House is reduced very low, we are not yet reduced to so low an ebb as not to have the power of introducing into Parliament any Bill, without communication with and without the approbation of any Corporation whatever."

† This toll produced at the time about £6,000 a year.

the conclusions at which they have arrived. They allude to the passing of Acts affecting the City Police, elections, and sanitary improvements; but add, that no systematic reform has been attempted, either by Parliament or by the Common Council, since the publication of the Report of the Municipal Commissioners. With the experience of nearly twenty years to guide them, they speak in laudatory terms of the effect of the Municipal Corporation Act in the towns which it affected, and express themselves of the opinion that it is advisable to apply the main provisions of that Statute to the Corporation of the City.

They do not, however, consider the provisions of the Act with respect to boundary extension applicable to the City of London, and this mainly, as it would appear, because of the magnitude of the change; the absence of common interests between the extremities; the greatness of the area; the absence of minute local knowledge; and the difficulty of administering its government. The bisection of the Metropolis by the river Thames, with the consequent breach in the continuity of operations affecting streets, sewage, gas and water, is also noted as a difficulty. With respect to these objections, upon which the Commissioners base their preference for separate municipal organizations in the Metropolis, it is to be observed that many other questions besides sewage, and streets, and buildings are *now* under one control; that the difficulty of administration does not exceed that of governing a colony; that community of interests and of action exists upon a constantly increasing number of questions, and that the requisite local knowledge will be forthcoming if the system of administration be fixed upon a widely representative basis.

The chief part of the report is taken up with a careful examination into the actual condition of the Corporation;—a subject which we have already sufficiently considered. We

have also quoted the views of the Commissioners upon the unsatisfactory condition of the City Charters.* Their existence, and the action of the Corporation in dealing with them, are indicated as productive of much hardship to litigants, and the Commissioners naturally observe, that if the present state of these Charters be such that their publicity would be dangerous to the Corporation, whilst their secretion is unjust to litigants, it is time some remedy were devised, and they recommend the issuing of one comprehensive public Charter.

They comment unfavourably upon the power of electing the Lord Mayor being vested in members of trading Companies "who are not necessarily connected with the City by property, residence, or occupation." They also see much objection to the restriction of candidates to aldermen who have served the office of Sheriff. They recommend that the election of the Lord Mayor be vested in the Common Council, and that the range of candidates shall include all who are qualified for a seat in the Common Council. They point out the advantage which might thus arise in the election of the highest class of merchants with the consequent result of "a greater degree of sympathy between the higher classes of the merchants of London and the Corporation than now exists." The Lord Mayor would, of course, be a magistrate during his year of office, and also for the year succeeding it.

They propose that the office of alderman shall no longer be tenable for life, but only for six years; half the number going out in every third year, with eligibility for re-election. The Commissioners recommend that the Court of Aldermen be abolished, and its powers transferred to the Common Council. To this latter body they would still entrust the election of judicial officers. The Commissioners recommend

* See *ante*, pp. 20 and 21.

an equalization of the City wards, their number being lessened by one-half, and each of them sending one alderman and five councillors to the governing body. The number of the Common Council would thus be reduced to one-third of what it is at present: a number "abundantly sufficient" for the work to be performed. The number of members of the various Committees is also regarded as "inconveniently large," and "the practice of making a pecuniary allowance to the Members of the Committees ought to be discontinued." The constitution of the electoral body is, through recent legislation, now practically in accord with the recommendations in the Report.

The qualification of freedom for a Common Councilman was considered no longer applicable, and the suggested qualification was the possession of real or personal estate of the value of £1,000, or a ratal value of £30. All the electoral powers of the Common Hall are to be transferred to the Common Council; the heavy expense of the Common Hall elections being illustrated by that for the office of Chamberlain in the preceding year, when the two candidates—one of whom is the present tenant of the office—expended £8,000 to gain the suffrages of this enlightened and incorruptible body. The Commissioners consider that the Lord Mayor and Aldermen should no longer form portions of the Central Criminal Court. Recommendations are also made with respect to the consolidation of the City Courts, and the formal abolition of those which have fallen into disuse. The Commissioners propose to extend the section of the Municipal Corporation Act directed against exclusive trading so as to include the Metropolis. They also doubt the expediency of maintaining any system of Metage, except in a voluntary form. The inspection of Brokers exercised by the Court of Aldermen did not appear to the Commissioners "to be productive of any public benefit," and they accord-

ingly recommended the repeal of the Statutes under which it exists.

As to the City right of Markets, they say that it seems to them "unsuited to the state of things which has grown up since the reign of Charles the First, and that any restrictive privilege possessed by the Corporation beyond the City limits should be repealed." As to the system of separate City Police, the Commissioners are opposed to its continuance, and consider the incorporation of the City with the larger district around, is a measure "recommended alike by considerations of efficiency and economy."

With respect also to the Coal Duties, the Commissioners consider that the system under which the Corporation levies taxation over a large area, and "applies a portion of its proceeds to the exclusive purposes of the small area within the City proper, should not be continued permanently." The Commissioners condemn the system of keeping balances in the Chamber, not less strongly than their predecessors in 1837, and they also regard a revision of the establishments of the Corporation with a view to a more economical arrangement as imperatively requisite. The system of Audit is also condemned, but—as the former part of this work abundantly proves—these and most of the other useful recommendations of the Commissioners have been treated by the Corporation with the utmost contempt. A still more important recommendation in the Report is, that the terms of the 94th Section of the Municipal Corporations Act (restricting the power of Borough authorities to mortgage their land without the consent of the Treasury), should be extended to the Corporation of London. The extent of the liabilities of the Corporation at the date of the Report was about as much as the City Estates could comfortably have borne, if the recommendations of the Commissioners as to the abolition of indefensible and unjust "privileges" had

been adopted. Since the date of the Report the Corporation have increased their Loan liability by several millions, and it is high time that their abused jurisdiction was terminated.

The Commissioners avow themselves favourable to the extension of Municipal Institutions to the Metropolis, for "if it were held that Municipal Institutions were not suited to a Metropolitan City, no reason could be found except its antiquity and existence for maintaining the Corporation of London, even with its present limited area." The Commissioners therefore recommend the severance of the Municipal connection existing between the City and the borough of Southwark, and the creation of separate municipal districts within the Metropolis, and they recommend the creation of a Metropolitan Board of Works composed of a limited number of representatives elected by the various Metropolitan Councils, and controlling the management of public works in which the different parts of the Metropolis have a common interest. If such Board should be constituted, he Commissioners recommend the transfer to its administration of the entire proceeds of the Coal Tax, including the 4*d.* duty claimed by the City as its especial property. They further proposed that the Board should have the power of levying a rate upon the Metropolis for purposes of general utility; the construction of bridges; the opening and widening of streets, &c.

Chapter XIV.

BILLS IN PARLIAMENT.

Bill of Sir George Grey, 1856.—*City Opinion and Action upon it.—Bill of* 1858.—*Reference to a Select Committee and Withdrawal.—Government Bills of* 1859-60 *and their withdrawal.—Reports of Taxation Committees*, 1861-7.—*Police Bill*, 1863.—*Mr. Mill's Bills*, 1867-8; *their Provisions.—Mr. Buxton's Bills*, 1869-70.—*Lord Elcho's Bill*, 1875.—*Summary of Corporation Reform Bills, and what became of them.*

Although the recommendations of the Commissioners were considerably less extensive than those of their predecessors in 1837, inasmuch as they proposed to continue the existence of the City as a separate independent municipality, yet they were sufficiently serious to alarm the members of the Corporation. This alarm manifested itself in various ways, and the Commissioners had undoubtedly the honour, after the publication of their report, of being the best hated men in the whole City.

The Court of Aldermen specially considered the report and recommendations of the Commissioners, and came to certain "Resolutions" upon them. These Resolutions, although probably put into shape by some experienced City officer, are still sufficiently amusing to quote. In answer to the recommendation of the Commissioners that Aldermen should be subject to periodical election, they resolve that such a change would be "greatly injurious to the impartial administration of justice." We do not, of course, question their knowledge of themselves, but their bitterest enemy

could not have written a graver reflection on their honour and character.

The abolition of the Court of Aldermen, and the transfer of its functions to the Common Council, is "contrary to the principles of its constitution," and "constitutionally impracticable." How this would be so, or what are the principles of its constitution, it would puzzle a City alderman to tell.

They also resolved that no one was fit to be Lord Mayor who had not been Sheriff or Alderman. The appointment of Recorder they defended on the ground that they had elected to the post "a long list of distinguished individuals." The proposition to exclude them from the Central Criminal Court seems to have cut them to the quick. They referred to the judges the question whether their attendance was "merely nominal," as the Commissioners alleged, and they "willingly acknowledged the advantage they all received from being present at trials by the learned judges." It is clear from this that they regard the Criminal Court as a kind of university in which City tradesmen may complete their education. No more striking commentary than this resolution could have been given on the absurdity of giving judicial functions to people whose legal education has not begun.

The Court of Aldermen did not object to an alteration of the City wards, "provided the number of Aldermen remained the same." It would, indeed, have been too much to expect that any of this patriotic body would forego their turtle for the public good.

The other resolutions are of the same type. The City hoped that by this and other methods they might stifle any projected action upon the Commissioners' Report; but the public mind was ripe for reform, and Sir George Grey, being questioned in the House as to the intentions of the Government, stated that a measure would be introduced as soon as

possible. The promised Bill was introduced April 1, 1856. It was based upon the Report of the Commissioners of 1854, but did not adopt the whole of their recommendations. It proposed to deal exclusively with the City, and to introduce certain constitutional changes, to which some people might have thought that the most conservative Corporator could have offered but little objection.

The City was to be re-divided into sixteen wards, more equal in area than those then existing, and each ward was to be represented in the governing body by one Alderman and five Common Councillors. The qualification for a Common Councillor was to be the possession of £1,000 in real or personal property, or a £30 ratal. Aldermen were no longer to be appointed for life, but the tenure of the office was to be shortened to six years; one half of the number going out every three years. The Lord Mayor was to be elected by the Common Council, and all persons possessing the requisite qualification for the Common Council were also eligible for this office. The same qualification was adopted for the Sheriffs. The City Auditors were to be elected from amongst the same class of people, not being members of the Common Council, under a provision analogous to that in the Municipal Corporation Act.

The Court of Aldermen was abolished, and the election of all the great City officers was vested in the Common Council, with the exception of the Recorder. The election of this officer was left in the hands of the Aldermen. The custom of the admission of Brokers with its yearly payment was abolished, and the market jurisdiction of the City was taken away. The exclusive rights of trading, metage dues, street tolls, and the exclusive rights of fellowship-porters, were also taken away. The Court of Hustings, the Court of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and some other old City courts, were abolished, and it was provided that the Recorder should in

future be the judge of the Lord Mayor's Court, and not merely the Lord Mayor's assessor. The fourpenny coal duty was taken away from the City. The Aldermen were placed on the same footing as justices of a county, and the City brought within the Metropolis Police Court District. It was also proposed to apply to the City the restrictions of the Municipal Corporation Act, as to the charging or the alienation of property.

No practical effect, however, was given to the recommendation of the Commissioners as to the Irish Society; neither was any interference proposed with the duplicate system of the City and the Metropolitan Police. The reasons given by Sir George Grey for declining to interfere with so notable an anomaly were singularly weak, and rested mainly upon the ground that Parliament had, in 1839, given its deliberate sanction and approval to the existing system: a statement the value of which can be estimated from the disgraceful history of the passing of the Police Acts already detailed. Introduced April 1, 1856, the second reading of the Bill was fixed for April 22. Before, however, that day arrived, the City authorities gained their first point towards the failure of the measure. What we may term their "Backstairs Organization" became immediately active, and the "strongest representations" were made to Sir George Grey as to the necessity of delay. It was alleged that this delay was essential in order to enable the "City authorities" to study the measure. The pressure, as Sir George Grey subsequently admitted, was so severe that he was compelled to yield to it. As a matter of fact, however, the Bill being exactly on the lines of the Report of the Commissioners, before whom the City had been amply represented, and which Report they had had many months to consider, the claim for further time was the baldest subterfuge. It was simply part of the settled City policy, enacted with the single

object of defeating the Bill, by fair means or by foul, and the necessity for the further time "to study it" was simply the false excuse invented to carry it out.

To the great delight, however, of the City, their nefarious device was successful, and, on June 20th, the Minister announced his opinion that there was no reasonable prospect of being able to pass the Bill during the session. It was, therefore, withdrawn, "with the intention" of reintroducing it in the following session.

The pressure put upon Sir George Grey was not, however, confined to pressure in the House of Commons. There was considerable pressure from outside also, by what was sedulously represented as the "public opinion" of the City. Once again the redoubtable Court of Aldermen met in conclave, and on April 8th, or seven days after the introduction of the Bill, they brought it up for discussion.

They took credit to themselves for some important distinction between the City and other municipal bodies as they existed before the Municipal Corporations Act, inasmuch as whilst they in many cases existed independently of the surrounding communities, the Corporation of London had an identity of interests between themselves and the municipal community: and they expressed much surprise, that a measure should have been brought in "injuriously and unnecessarily affecting the ancient rights and privileges of the citizens of London:" and they referred the Bill to a Committee to take such measures in opposing it as they should be advised.

The various Wards in the City met in conclave during the same month and expressed the opinions of such of the citizens as attended them in unmistakeable terms. The Livery Companies denounced the measure as "unconstitutional and unjust:" the Common Council described it as a Bill of pains and penalties, and that in the opinion of

the Court the "honours, privileges and properties of corporations ought to be as inviolable and secure under the law as the rights of peasant or peer, or even of the Crown itself," and that otherwise "the pillars upon which the rights of property stand will be shaken to the foundation." The Wards, under the careful tuition of the Aldermen, who presided, were equally vigorous in their terms. "Walbrook" called the measure unconstitutional, unjust, and unnecessary, and used the same terms as the Common Council had used as to the taking "without compensation, of rights and revenues secured by Charters and Acts of Parliament, and purchased for valuable consideration." This resolution was moved by Mr. James Clark Lawrence, who appears also to have moved a resolution of even greater vigour in the Bread Street Ward. The other Wards all concurred. The Aldermen who presided gave the cue to the resolutions, while all rung the changes upon the same terms.

Mr. Norton, the talented author of the "History of London and its Franchises," and formerly a servant of the Corporation, entered the lists in its defence. In a pamphlet,* published at this time, he assailed the Bill and its promoters in terms very far removed from the historical calmness which distinguished his book. The Bill portended the "overthrow of the Corporation:" the honest opinions of the promoters of the measure that the dignity of the City would be fully maintained, are termed "whiffling inanities,"† and "specious verbiage appropriate to an after dinner speech."

The Bill "violates the fundamental laws of England," and is founded on the reports of "irresponsible Commissioners, inquiring by means unsanctioned by the law, into the causes of forfeitures of rights, &c." We are then treated to an

* An Address to the Citizens of London, 1856.
† *Ibid*, p. 4.

elaborate disquisition on political liberty being mainly dependent on the preservation of independent corporate institutions, which, by the way, may be fairly prayed in aid of any new municipality if independent of Government control. When, however, we are further told that "no parish club, parish vestry, cathedral chapter, charitable institution, borough meeting, sessions of justices, or body of law-benchers, would endure any meddling of the supreme government with its constitutional essence, any tampering with the internal administration of its affairs," we think Mr. Norton's ardour must have run away with his discretion, and if we had merely to prove our rights to deal with the Corporation of London, through the disproof of this proposition, our task would not be a difficult one. Still more terrible, however, is the threatened penalty than the denunciation of the crime. "If the principles of this Bill shall now prevail, and should they be allowed to run their regular course, it is possible, that even the liberties of England may have, hereafter, to be recovered through anarchy and bloodshed—liberties which other nations have failed to regain in passing through so terrible an ordeal!"

Mr. Norton objects to the "odious measure" on the ground that, if it had been really designed to increase the influence and efficiency of the Corporation, it might have been expected to "enlarge the civic bounds," and, so far, we think the measure was lamentably weak and inadequate to its purpose. But after the fearful and indiscriminate cursing to which the City treated Sir George Grey's bantling, who could measure the might of the anathemas that would have been hurled against any measure on so patriotic and just a basis?

Nothing but the conspicuous position which Mr. Norton occupied as a defender of the City, and the thoroughly representative character of his opinions, together with the

probability of any exhaustive measure in the future meeting with the same class of opposition, justifies our dwelling upon it. Yet we would fain hope that, since the danger has passed away, Mr. Norton has taken a broader and more patriotic view of this question. In the latest edition of his work, he speaks of the exercise of the elective franchise in the Common Hall by liverymen, "as adverse to the chartered rights and ancient customs of the City;"* whilst in the intemperate pamphlet which represented the views of the City in 1856, he says that "the total abolition of the Common Halls, whereby 15,000 men are at once disfranchised of their corporate privileges . . . is a stab that will prove fatal to the Corporation: from this wound its very life-blood will flow."†

When, after being publicly denounced and privately threatened, Sir George Grey withdrew his measure, he promised to introduce it in 1857. But the Corporation of London has many arrows in its quiver, and it determined to thwart this intention. So it came to pass that, the intention notwithstanding, Sir George Grey did not reintroduce the measure in 1857, and neither Sir John Shelley nor Mr. Laurie could obtain a good reason for this.

In 1858, however, the Home Secretary plucked up heart of grace once more, and early in the session introduced a Bill for "the better regulation of the Corporation of London."

The provisions of this measure were in the main similar to those contained in the Bill of 1856, and where it differed from that measure, it differed for the worse.

Contrary to his own better judgment, Sir George Grey had been "induced" to increase his proposed Common Council from 96 to 112, by allowing each of the sixteen proposed wards to send six Councillors and one Alderman to

* Commentaries, ed. 1869, p. 248. † See "An Address," &c., p. 10.

the Common Council.* Under the new measure, the City Aldermen were to hold office for life, according to former custom, instead of being subject to election as proposed by the Commissioners; but a power of removal upon representations from the wards was vested in the Common Council. Sir George Grey gave as the reason for this reactional change, that there was no example of the magisterial office being elective. As it had been already amply proved that the tenure of the magisterial office by City Aldermen was a gross abuse, we thus have the existence of one scandal quoted as the reason for the perpetuation of another.

During the interval between the two measures the Home Secretary had also been "persuaded" that the question of the 4*d.* Coal Duty need not be dealt with at the present time, inasmuch as the £600,000 which the City had borrowed upon it could not be repaid for some years.

Speaking in the House of Commons, in 1860, Mr. Ayrton dilated in scathing language upon the policy successfully adopted by the City, in arresting the progress of reform by electing the great Corporation Reformer as their representative in the House of Commons. Now, one of the best methods of defeating an obnoxious measure is by getting it referred to a Select Committee. It was clear that Sir George Grey's measure, which had been read a second time on February 12, would pass unless some great effort were made to stop it, and it was upon the motion of Lord John Russell himself, that the measure was referred. Such reference brought with it the coveted delay, and it was not until more than a month afterwards that the Committee was nominated.

The next step was to make the Committee as favourable

* The largest number of Common Councillors allowed by the Municipal Corporations Act was 64.

as possible to City interests, and, upon their nomination on March 19th, Mr. Ayrton protested against the names of the Committee as "not being likely to deal fairly with the question of the extension of corporate jurisdiction to the Metropolitan districts," including as they did, two City Members, two City Alderman and "several Hon. Members connected with the City," with only one representative of the other part of the Metropolis.

The next step in the concerted delay took place in April, when the Corporation asked leave to be heard by Counsel, before the Committee, against *one of the clauses* of the Bill. Eventually, however, the Committee reported, and it became necessary to devise some further excuse for delay.

The City, therefore, presented a petition to the House of Commons, praying to be heard by counsel against the *whole* of the Bill. The prayer of this petition was enforced in a partizan speech of great length by an eminent counsel, who moved that the Bill should be referred back to the Select Committee, and that the City should be heard before it.

Sir George Grey appears to have been justly angered by this mendacious proceeding on behalf the City, and in a speech of remarkable ability exposed the object of the application. He alleged that, notwithstanding the assertion of City Members to the contrary, the motion was simply one made for the purpose of postponing the measure, and as such he offered it the most strenuous opposition, although he was willing to admit that in the then condition of the Thames, "of which the City had so long been the Conservators," much might be said for delay. He pointed out that many concessions had been made to the City on the understanding that certain questions should be regarded as settled. An attempt was now made to re-open them. The City alleged in their petition that an understanding had been come to with him that the Corporation should be

heard by counsel on all the clauses before the Select Committee. He denounced this allegation as deliberately false, and pointed out that when this very question was debated before the Select Committee, nearly all the City representatives had voted against it, thus showing that it was an afterthought, and a pure fiction invented for the purpose of delay. On the merits of the application it was quite clear that counsel could do nothing more before the Committee than had been done before the Commissioners. The debate, however, was adjourned, and again there was triumph in the City, when in answer to Mr. Labouchere, the Government announced some few days later that they saw hardly any prospect of the Bill passing that Session.

In the Session of 1859, in answer to questions, the Government announced their intention of introducing a Bill similar to the one reported by the Select Committee in the previous year. But the measure was not introduced till July. The second Bill of Sir George Grey was a very small instalment of reform; and the emendations of the select Committee made it still smaller, so that the bantling of Sir George Cornewall Lewis was a Bill of very little value. But it also proposed to leave all questions of coal dues or metage dues untouched.

Such a measure was not merely not worth fighting for, but its passing would be a positive misfortune, as the Corporation would then have regarded the question of Reform as finally settled. They even pressed Sir George Lewis to be allowed to introduce it as a private Bill! The measure was, however, introduced too late, and had to be withdrawn. On January 30th, 1860, Sir George Lewis obtained leave to reintroduce the Bill. In its new guise, the measure dealt only with a few changes in the City constitution, and excluded every question affecting City finance.

Mr. Ayrton on this occasion rendered a public service by

his vigorous denunciation of this pusillanimous policy of truckling to the City Corporation; and Mr. Williams, the member for Lambeth, was probably not far from the truth when he said that the influence of the Corporation of London, through their convivial meetings at the Mansion House, had enabled it to triumph over the good intentions of the Government.

The second reading of the measure was fixed for April 24th, and Mr. Ayrton moved that it be referred to a Select Committee, with instruction "to inquire into the charges and taxes on the Metropolis, and the expediency of constituting the Metropolis a county of itself, for the purposes of local management and the administration of justice." The speech in which Mr. Ayrton moved this was probably his ablest effort in the House of Commons, and although marred here and there by some extravagancies of diction and looseness of historical illustration, was scarcely second to the speech of Lord Brougham in 1843. The debate stood adjourned till July 30th, and on that day the measure was withdrawn. A more unsatisfactory measure was never submitted to the House of Commons.

The Committee of Mr. Ayrton was appointed in 1861, the object being "to inquire into the local government and taxation of the Metropolis." We have had occasion more then once to refer to the proceedings and report of this Committee.

They reported in the same year, but although diligent in the collection of evidence, do not venture to recommend any specific line of action. Their report is mainly made up of a useful summary of certain parts of London Government at the time. In the draft Report submitted to the Committee there were some excellent clauses, pointing out the desirability of the establishment of a central municipal body. But these were struck out, and the City members on the

Committee are reported as having steadily voted against anything in the Report except simple narrative.

At this time, both in Parliament and out of it, the question of Corporation Reform had got into a sickly condition, and no one was surprised to hear Sir George Lewis state—in answer to a question—that he had no intention of introducing a measure for the purpose during the Session of 1861.

In the Session of 1862, nothing was done in Parliament in the direction of Corporation Reform.

In 1863 came a Coal and Wine Dues Bill, but no measure of Reform. Sir George Grey, however, introduced a Bill to deal with the very question he had previously neglected, viz., the amalgamation of the City and Metropolitan Police. When introducing the measure he gave utterance to some of his discouragement on the question of City Reform, and of his opinion as to the cause of its failure, and he says, "Whenever I touched any question which affected the alleged rights and privileges of the City, a power of resistance was shown which it is difficult to estimate too highly;"* and, he might have added, a *method* of resistance which it would be difficult to estimate too meanly.

The introduction of this measure had been precipitated by the debates on the inefficiency of the City Police, which had taken place in both Lords and Commons after the entrance of the Princess of Wales. On the introduction of the measure it was edifying—as being exactly on the line of the usual City tactics—to see the City advocates quote the City Police Act, obtained in the disgraceful method we have detailed in the preceding chapter, as evidence that the deliberate voice of Parliament was in favour of the systems being separate, and that in the face of such a measure it

* Hansard, vol. clxx., p. 491.

was idle to assert that Sir Robert Peel held a contrary opinion.* There was also the usual meaningless declamation—"This measure is not only unconstitutional, but also likely in every way to prove eminently mischievous, and if carried, will strike more deeply at the independence of the middle classes of the country than any measure which had been introduced or passed into law in modern times."†

But the Lord Mayor and Alderman Sidney were somewhat too hasty. Another method of stopping the measure was found, and these ardent champions were released from further unconscientious service in that Session by the remarkable discovery that, as the City Police Act was a private Act, this Bill ought to have been advertised in November, under the Standing Orders of the House! Possibly, as the City has used this subterfuge more than once, it may afford the reason why City Bills are always introduced as "private Acts."‡

During the years 1864 and 1865 no measure was introduced into Parliament for the Reform of the Corporation, and, except for the introduction of an abortive measure, abolishing the jurisdiction of Aldermen over

* Speech of Mr. Alderman Sidney. Hansard, vol. clxx., p. 495.

† *Ibid*, p. 501.

‡ The advocates of the City have, no doubt, had much to try the temper in the constant onslaughts that have been made upon their "cherished institutions," and during this, and the preceding sessions, they had to endure the savage assaults and the caustic wit of Mr. Ayrton. In the discussion of the measure just alluded to, we find him drawing the distinction between Metropolitan and City Members, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. "The City has always paraded the phantoms of the past before the people of the Metropolis, and employed their stipendiary corps of agitators to mislead the public, and to withdraw its mind from the consideration of really important questions; while the Metropolitan Members endeavoured to bring before the House questions of real permanent and practical advantage to the inhabitants, and did not trouble themselves about these mere parades of office, the gaberdines, gold-chains, and gew-gaws of municipal authority and institutions, the realities of which had been long since dead and buried!"

brokers, they and their privileges were allowed to rest in peace.

In 1866 Lord Robert Montagu called the attention of the House to the conflicting jurisdictions of the Metropolis and their effect on its government. In this year, also, Mr. Ayrton moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the Local Government and Local Taxation of the Metropolis. This Committee was re-appointed in the following year and we have already quoted from its report.

The only recommendation in their report germane to the present purpose is, that in any arrangement made with respect to the financial resources of the Metropolitan Board, a portion of the charge should be borne by owners of property. They did not finish their work during the year and were re-appointed in 1867. The Committee finally reported a number of resolutions,* recommending the issue of a new Commission of the Peace for the whole Metropolis. That some members of such Commission should sit as representatives of property owners at the Metropolitan Board. That the Board should also have members elected directly by the ratepayers, and that its members and representation should be more in accord with the population and rateable value of the represented districts. Its name was to be changed to the "Municipal Council of London;" that certain general functions over the whole Metropolis, including its gas and water supply, should be assumed by the Council; that the area of districts should be re-adjusted and their government remodelled; that the elections should be conducted in the same manner as those for the Poor Law Guardians; that there should be but one Police Force for the whole Metropolis: except this resolution, affecting the Police Force, the Committee made no recommendation affecting the City.

* House of Commons' Papers, 1867. No. 268.

The question of Corporation Reform, abandoned for the time by the Governments of the day, was now taken in hand by a private member, and, after availing himself of the assistance and advice of Mr. Beal, a measure was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Mill, on May 21st, 1867, for the purpose of establishing, in the several districts of the Metropolis, separate Municipal Corporations.

This measure provided for the division of the Metropolis, as divided by the Management Act of 1855, into ten boroughs besides the City. These were named respectively Westminster, Kensington, Marylebone, Bloomsbury, Finsbury, Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Lambeth, Southwark, and Greenwich. The names of the proposed boroughs sufficiently indicate the districts they embraced. The divisions were upon a parochial basis, and each parish was divided into wards.

Each borough was constituted into a body corporate, with mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, Westminster alone enjoying the title of City. The provisions of the Municipal Corporation Act were applied to each borough so created. The voters at the first election were to be those who had a right to vote for vestrymen, and notice of the election was to be given by the churchwardens of the various parishes. Subsequently, a burgess roll was to be created, and all the terms of the Municipal Corporation Act were to apply. The Justices of the Peace within every borough were to have the ordinary powers of Borough Justices as to licensing, &c. Each borough was to have a salaried Police Magistrate, and the various metropolitan Police Courts were divided amongst the boroughs, as set forth in the schedule to the Bill. The right of appeal from the conviction of Police Magistrates to the County Justices (given by the 2 & 3 Vict., c. 71, sec 50) was transferred to the Recorders established in each borough under the Bill.

The rating power given by the Municipal Corporations Act to the council of a borough was adopted for the new boroughs. The Council of each borough was authorized to provide a town hall and other necessary offices. Power was given to the churchwardens and overseers of any parish to transfer to the Council, with the consent of the Charity Commissioners, the land or funds held by them in trust for charitable purposes. The certificate of the Commissioners, given under seal, and entered on the minutes of the Council, was to be sufficient to vest the property in the borough.

The functions and powers of vestries were vested in the Council of the borough immediately after the first election, and all the jurisdiction of the former at once ceased. The Metropolitan Board of Works was retained with the same number of members divided amongst the boroughs, in the proportion set out in the schedule. The jurisdiction of local "Commissioners," &c., was abolished and transferred, and all the property of the vestries was transferred to the Councils; and, where necessary, a power of apportionment was given to the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Provision was made for the preservation and continuance of existing contracts, and the discharge of existing debts, also for compensation to existing officers, under the provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act. In two lines the Bill provided for the preservation of all the "powers, privileges, and jurisdiction" of the City of London. The Metropolitan Board of Works was also preserved intact. The Inns of Court were in the same category. Local Acts which were inconsistent were to be repealed. Any difference of opinion between any bodies as to the construction of the Act were to be referred to arbitration.

Finally, it was provided that the Queen might, by the advice of the Privy Council, constitute adjoining parishes into boroughs where there was adequate population, and

where a wish for such constitution had been expressed by a certain proportion of the inhabitant householders.

The names of Mr. Hughes and Mr Tomline were endorsed upon the Bill, in addition to that of Mr. Mill, but the measure did not progress so far as the second reading. Later on in the session—in August—a further draft Bill was introduced for the establishment of a central Municipal Government. Mr. Mill did not expect either of these measures to become law during that session, or to be carried by a private member at all, but introduced them so that the public might have an opportunity of considering the scheme.

The Bills were re-introduced by Mr. Mill in practically the same form on May 5th, 1868. The additional names on the back of the Bill were Mr. Hughes, Mr. Tomline, Mr. Buxton, and Mr. Layard. But the Bill, dealing with the constitution of a central corporation, was stopped upon the Standing Orders, in consequence of due notice of its introduction not having been advertised for the benefit of the City in the preceding November. A strong protest was entered by Mr. Mill against spending several hundreds of pounds in advertising for the benefit of the City the introduction of a measure, with the terms of which they were perfectly familiar

Once again, however, this remarkable City manœuvre was successful: and as it was undesirable to prosecute one half of the scheme alone, the measure was abandoned on the 30th of June, on the occasion of the adjourned debate on the second reading.

The cause of Municipal Reform now suffered a loss in the exclusion of Mr. Mill from Parliament. But the Bills which he had promoted were re-introduced by Mr. Buxton in 1869, and, on June 16th, he moved the second reading in a speech of much ability. Considerable discussion followed of the usual character, but the generally expressed opinion

of the speakers was clearly in favour of the measure being taken in hand by the Government. When, therefore, Mr. Bruce assured the House that the subject "would receive the attentive consideration of the Government," Mr. Buxton accepted his assurance and withdrew the Bills.

The assurance thus given did not, however, lead to the introduction of any measure by the Government during the ensuing Session, and therefore Mr. Buxton, upon whose shoulders rested the responsibility of proceeding in the matter, introduced the question again to the consideration of the House of Commons in 1870. The Bills now brought before the House were entitled respectively, the "Municipal Boroughs Bill," the "Corporation of London Bill," and the "County of London Bill."

The *Municipal Boroughs Bill* proposed to divide London into nine Municipal Boroughs, besides the City proper. The Vestries were abolished and their powers transferred to the Boroughs so constituted. The former proposal of separate mayors and aldermen did not, however, re-appear in this measure. They were replaced by wardens, one in each Borough. The number of councillors varied: Marylebone having 40; Finsbury, 35; and most of the rest, 20. The Boroughs, thus constituted, were then formally put under the provisions of the Municipal Corporation Act, 1835; with the exception of the provisions in that Act as to the appointment of a Watch Committee and the levying of Watch Rates. The various Boroughs were divided into wards, which were, in most cases, coterminous with parishes. Adequate provision was made for the continuance of all contracts, agreements, &c., then pending, the transfer of all rights, and the discharge of existing liabilities. Westminster was to preserve the title of City, a title to which, as we have seen, it has no manner of claim, and all cases of difference arising in connection with the establishment of

the boroughs were to be referred to arbitration. An examination of the Schedule to the Bill shows that the divisions of the boroughs were somewhat unequal. Marylebone, for example, comprised an area of twelve square miles, with a population of more than half a million, whilst other boroughs are very much less; but, as it would appear that the lines of the parliamentary boroughs are mainly followed, the reasons of this are not far to seek. The division of the boroughs into wards, and the apportionment of councillors amongst them, was to be effected by a committee of four, appointed by the Secretary of State. The aggregate number of wards in the nine boroughs was 92, and of councillors, 245.

The *Corporation of London Bill* had for its object the creation of a Metropolitan Corporation of London, and the continuance of the Municipal Government of the City of London. The government of the City of London, with its Corporation and officers, is preserved intact, with the exception that its chief officer is to be called Warden, instead of Mayor. The Court of Aldermen, as such, is to be abolished, but all the functions, rights, and authorities of the two governing bodies of the City are specifically preserved. Even the control of the City Police is to remain in their hands. The jurisdiction of the City over Southwark is abolished. The rights of the Commissioners of Sewers, of the Commissioners of Lieutenancy, and of Freemen and Citizens, are left untouched, and the chaotic, undefinable franchises, customs, usages, and prescriptions of the Corporation are also expressly preserved.

A central Corporation is constituted, the governing body of which is to consist of Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Metropolitan Councillors. The first Lord Mayor to be the Lord Mayor of the City for the time being, and every subsequent Lord Mayor is to be elected by the Metropolitan

Council from among the Aldermen. The provision which follows for such election being conducted in all respects like the ordinary mayoralty election in the City, would be found impossible in its practical working. The Warden of the City of London is to be the Deputy Lord Mayor. The first body of Aldermen is to be composed of the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, three from each Metropolitan Borough, and the whole of the Aldermen of the City. This would make the total number of Aldermen 54, but as provision is made for gradually reducing the number of City representatives to 8, the ultimate number would be only 35.

The Metropolitan Council is to consist of the members of the Metropolitan Board of Works, 32 members of the Common Council of the City, and 135 representatives of the boroughs, making a total of 212; but as the members of the Metropolitan Board were to cease their membership at the expiration of the term for which they were elected, the ultimate number of members would be 167. The final representation of the City would consist of 8 aldermen and 32 councillors, or about one-fifth of the whole body—a share in the representation to which it is not entitled upon any possible theory, and which failed in its object of appeasing the opposition of the City, while at the same time it discredited the measure. The central Corporation is to exercise certain powers transferred from the City, the extent of which it is not easy to measure, and is also to take over the whole of the powers and authority of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The realized property of both these bodies appears to be transferred to the new Corporation; but there are so many saving clauses in the measure, that it is difficult to say what would be its exact effect.

The Metropolitan Council are to have power to appoint committees, and the proceedings both of council and committees are to be regulated by the "charters and customs of

the City of London." If such a council had ever been constituted, we fancy the execution of this clause would have given them no little trouble. The quorum of the Council was to be 30, and powers are reserved for the making of byelaws subject to the certificate of the Recorder. The power of internal regulation possessed by the Common Council of the City is also granted to the Metropolitan Council. The Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, the Recorder, Common Serjeant, Chamberlain, and other officers of the City are to become servants of the new Corporation. So also are the officers and servants of the Metropolitan Board of Works. The Recorder and Common Serjeant are to be elected by the Metropolitan Council. Such Council is also to have power to fix the salary of the Lord Mayor, chairman of committees, and other officers. The Act contains other provisions for the purpose of putting the Council into working order.

The idea of this measure appears to have been the extension, in some measure not very easy to comprehend, of the Corporation of the City over the whole of London. If the measure had passed into law in the form in which it was introduced into the House, it would have been well nigh impossible as to part of it to construe its meaning. When the draughtsman of the Bill introduces in every point in the constitution and working of his Metropolitan Council the charters and customs of the present Corporation, he deals with an unknown quantity; and when the existing heritors of these "privileges" cannot construe them themselves, it is the refinement of absurdity to pass on their construction to a new body established to initiate a better system.

The *County of London Bill*, introduced in connection with the other two, was for the purpose of constituting the metropolitan area into one county. It provided that acting Justices of the Peace should reside within twenty-five miles

of the Guildhall; and for the transfer of the jurisdiction and power of existing county justices to those of the new county. The prisons within the three metropolitan counties are to pass under the control of the new county; the prison authorities to be justices of the county in Quarter Sessions. The Chamberlain of London was to be the County Treasurer. Provision is also made for the transfer of the authority over lunatic asylums. Appeals under the Licensing Acts and as to county rates were to be to the new justices. The power of levying county rates is to be transferred from the County Justices to the Metropolitan Council, The apportionment of the property and liabilities of the various counties between the parts transferred to the new county, and the parts which are left is to be made by the Secretary of State.

The second reading of the Bills was moved on May 18th, and for the third time Mr. Bentinck claimed the privilege of moving the rejection of a measure for Corporation reform. It was clear from the tenor of the debate that the question was one with which no private member could successfully grapple; but notwithstanding the opposition to which the Bills were subjected, they were read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee. As in so many other cases, so in this, reference to a Select Committee proved to be merely a courteous method of shelving the measure, and so ended the work of reform in the Session of 1870.

On February 20th, 1871, Mr. Bruce stated, in answer to Mr. Buxton, that the Government had decided, with the "greatest reluctance," that they would be unable to introduce a Bill during the session, and from that date until 1875, no further attempt was made in Parliament to deal with the abuses and anomalies of London Government.

Outside the walls of the House the question was not allowed to sleep, but in the press and on the platform, as

well as by deputation to the Home Office, the subject was thoroughly discussed. An important deputation, representing large interests in the Metropolis, and every shade of political opinion, waited upon the Home Secretary, October 28th, 1874, to urge him to introduce a Bill in the ensuing session. No pledge, however, to that effect was given.

It therefore became necessary, if any effect was to be given to the discussion of the year, that the matter should be taken in hand by private members. A Bill embodying the provisions of previous measures, and extending the Corporation over the whole of the metropolitan area, was accordingly prepared under the auspices of the Metropolitan Municipal Association.

It was duly introduced in the Session of 1875, by Lord Elcho and Mr. Kay-Shuttleworth. The measure aimed at the construction of one united Municipal Government for the Metropolis, based on an intelligible principle. That principle, however, was not so much the absolute creation of an original constitution, as the extension throughout the Metropolis of a modified constitution of the City Corporation; such new Corporation to absorb all the powers now vested in the Corporation of the City, the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the London Vestries. The area proposed to be dealt with was the Metropolis of the Local Management Act, and it was provided that this area should be constituted a county, by the name of the County of London.

The government of the new area was to be vested in one municipal body, to be incorporated as the "Municipality of London," with the usual powers. For the purposes of representation at this central council the Metropolis outside the City was divided into nine municipal districts, bearing the names, and in the main including the areas of the present parliamentary boroughs; each of these districts to be divided into four wards. The City was to be divided

into eight wards, of which it would appear that the Liverymen should constitute one. The boundaries of the whole to be determined under the direction of the Secretary of State. The smallest local sub-division would therefore be a ward, which, in the Tower Hamlets would have nearly 90,000 inhabitants, and in no district outside the City less than 50,000. The City wards, however, would not average more than 9,000 inhabitants.

Provision is made for the merger of the Corporation of the City; of the Corporation of Westminster; for the cesser of the Common Council of the City, and the London Vestries. Certain saving clauses, however, would preserve to the future Municipality the warlike body of City Lieutenants, and also the customs, usages, and privileges of the City Corporation, and the bye-laws of the Metropolitan Board, and of the Common Council, except where such are inconsistent with the provisions of the Municipal Corporation Act, which is incorporated with the measure, except in cases of express separate provision.

The electoral body of the new municipality is to be composed of the present city electors, and those at present qualified to vote in the election of vestrymen. The governing body is to consist of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors.

The first Lord Mayor would be the Lord Mayor of the City at the passing of the Act. Subsequent Mayors were to be elected by the Municipal Council. Any one qualified to vote for a councillor might be selected for the office. The ratification of the appointment by the Crown through the Lord Chancellor is retained. Tenants of the post are eligible for re-appointment. Provision is also made for the appointment of a Deputy.

The first Aldermen are to be the existing Aldermen of the City, the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board, and

three to be elected from each of the Metropolitan Districts. The number in the first Council would thus be 54, of whom the City would nominate 26. No vacancy occurring amongst the City Aldermen should be filled up until the number be reduced to 8, at which it is proposed to rest, being thus a representation nearly three times as large as that of any other municipal district. As, however, one other Alderman is to be regularly elected by the Liverymen, as representing them, the real number of the City would seem to be nine. It is provided that one-third of the Aldermen retire every year, being a variation from the Municipal Corporation Act, under which one-half retire every three years. The final number of Aldermen in the Council would be 36; one-fourth of whom would be elected by the City and the Liverymen.

The Municipal Councillors are to be elected by the present electoral body with the cumulative system of voting. As five members are to be elected by each ward, the total number would appear to be 220; of which number the City would send 40, and each of the other Municipal Districts 20.

The powers and functions of the Municipal Council include all those now possessed and discharged by either of the governing bodies of the Corporation of the City; by the Corporation of Westminster; by the Metropolitan Board of Works; by Vestries and District Boards; and by the various bodies of Commissioners and Trustees discharging municipal functions in various parts of the Metropolis. The Council is further to have the appointment of Coroners; Commissioners of Sewers; Clerks of Works; and various other officers as now appointed by the Common Council of the City. The powers of the City Corporation over the City Police are also transferred to the new Council. By section 35 the real and personal property, and the right

to tolls and duties, now in the hands of the various governing bodies of the Metropolis, and held in connection with any function transferred to the Council, are transferred to the new Municipality for the public benefit of the Metropolis. But an important reservation is made with respect to the City, viz.: that except by consent of its representatives, the Council shall not expend the proceeds of the present City property otherwise than for the benefit of the City municipal district.

The Council is empowered to appoint Committees, and to distribute amongst them such of its duties as it may think fit. It is also proposed to elect a permanent salaried Chairman of Standing Committees. A general provision is also contained for the adoption by the Council of existing charters and customs of the City. The Lord Mayor's Court is unaffected by the Act, and the "privileges" of freemen and liverymen of the City are especially reserved. The Bill contains formal clauses, providing for the continuance and validity of contracts, agreements, actions, &c., made or commenced by the bodies whose authorities are transferred, and also for the application of money due to, and settlements of the liabilities incurred by, the several existing authorities.

The Recorder, Common Serjeant, Chamberlain, Sheriffs, and all other officers and servants of the City Corporation, are to become officers of the new municipality. The same provision is also retained with respect to the servants of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and all the officials thus transferred are to continue to act in similar capacities to those in which they act at present. The functions of the Sheriffs are unaffected, and are to be elected in future from amongst the Aldermen. The offices of Recorder and Common Serjeant are to be in the appointment of the

Municipal Council, subject to ratification by the Crown through the Lord Chancellor.

The Council are to fix the salary of the Lord Mayor, which, however, is not to be less than that of the Mayor of the present Corporation, that is to say, £10,000 a-year. They are also to fix the salary of the Chairman of Standing Committees. This is not to be less than that of the present Chairman of the Metropolitan Board (who is to be the first Chairman), that is to say £2,000 a-year. It shall also be competent to them to make allowances to the Committees of the Council for "reasonable expenses."

The provisions of the Municipal Corporations Act as to compensation to officers of existing bodies, are adapted to the measure.

The powers of the present County Justices are to be transferred to justices to be appointed under a new commission, and it would appear that aldermen are to be *ex officio* magistrates. The new county is to have a separate prison jurisdiction, and all the prisons in the three home counties are to be transferred to it. The prison authority, so far as administration is concerned, is to be in the County Magistrates assembled at Quarter Sessions. The same body is constituted the authority for the Lunatic Asylums Act, 1853, except that in this case as in that of prisons, the powers of levying rates and raising money are in the Municipal Council. The power of hearing licensing appeals is given to the Quarter Sessions, as in other counties. The Clerk of the Peace, acting for the Corporation of the City, is to be the first Clerk of the Peace for the county, and the office shall subsequently be in the appointment of the Justices. The Chamberlain of London is to be the County Treasurer. County Rates may be levied over the Metropolis by the Municipal Council.

The apportionment of county property and liabilities

between the metropolitan and extra metropolitan districts of the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent is to be carried out under the direction of the Secretary of State. There are also other formal clauses providing for the adjustment of the relations of the old counties and the new one, including the continuance of contracts, actions, administrations, &c., and the payment of compensation to officers.

The new Municipal Council is to have power to make bye-laws for the better administration of the Act. They are to be certified by the Recorder as not being inconsistent with the Act, and are to be passed by such a majority in the Council as the Recorder may decide. Provision is made for the appointment of three stipendiary magistrates for the district now known as the City. Power is also given to the Secretary of State upon the application of interested ratepayers to enlarge the Metropolitan boundary by the inclusion of new parishes. The Bill does not in any way affect either the parliamentary boroughs or the electoral franchise, and the peculiar powers of the governments of the Tower and of the Inns of Court are also unaffected. There are useful schedules to the Bill, setting out the parishes and districts to be included in each Municipal district; the method of fixing the boundary of Municipal wards, and the arrangements proposed for the conduct of Municipal elections.

The Bill was withdrawn before it reached the second reading, and Lord Elcho announced his intention of proceeding by resolution. No suitable day was however available, and so ended the parliamentary discussion of the question in 1875.

The data available to those who framed this measure were necessarily incomplete, and there are thus a number of things for which no provision is made, but which would have to be dealt with in some form by the new Municipality. In view of the enormous trouble of collating and arranging the

requisite material, there is very high credit due to those who have been concerned in the drafting and introduction of this measure. It is probably mainly due to the indefatigable perseverance and tireless energy of Mr. Beal that the question has assumed so complete a form as it presents in this measure.

But without descending into criticism of detail, there is, as it seems to us, one cardinal vice existing in this Bill as introduced, which disfigures its fair proportions, and lays the scheme open at the hands of independent critics to severe animadversion. We are convinced that this vice is not inherent in the framers of the measure, but that it has been imported into the scheme from a conviction that it was a good tactical policy. We allude, of course, to the utter disproportion of representation given to the present city area, and to the exceptional method in which the present Corporation is dealt with throughout. For example, we find that the liverymen are constituted a Municipal ward for electoral purposes. These men would therefore have double voting power, first as citizens, next as liverymen. As the last thing that an ordinary liveryman cares about doing is about voting, this clause can have no effect in pacifying the class. The number of City wards is to be eight, whilst Municipal districts with five times the population have only four. The number of councillors (independent of the elect of the Livery), will be 40, and of aldermen, 8, whilst other districts have only 20 and 3. This has also been done to pacify them. The deputy Mayor is to be from the Municipal district of the present City. Why this limit of choice? Then again, as we have clearly shown, the City revenues are in large measure the common property of the Metropolis, and yet section 35 appropriates them for the purposes of the smaller district, except with consent that would never be given. This is a clear perpetuation of a great wrong. Then the

City police jurisdiction is transferred to the Council, but nothing is said of the large sum paid out of City funds towards the cost. The proceedings of the Council are to be regulated by the charters and customs of the present City, and generally these are preserved to the new Municipality. This is intended as a compliment to the City; but it would render the Act unworkable, inasmuch as a decision would have to be arrived at otherwise than by the *ipse dixit* of the Recorder as to what the customs were, and the difficulty of doing that we have already discussed. The privileges of the freemen and liverymen are preserved, except where inconsistent with the Act. But they are all inconsistent.

And so all through the Bill the indefinable customs of the City are to prevail, except where inconsistent with the measure. No living man could say authoritatively, upon the data now in existence, what would be the effect of these clauses in a number of matters. Even the Lord Mayor's salary and the Committee allowances are to be stereotyped. And why? For no other reason than a wish to conciliate the City.

Now, if the history of attempted Corporation Reform teaches anything at all it teaches this, that for the fullest concessions that any minister dare make, the City care not one iota: that they denounce the very mildest measure in the most revolutionary language, and that there are no means fair or foul within the compass of a soulless Corporation to which they will not stoop to defeat it. What has been the fate of the various measures introduced and promised for City Reform?

1. *Bill promised by Lord John Russell in* 1837. City take advantage of balance of parties and threaten the Government. Elect Lord John Russell as member for the City.

2. *Police Bill of* 1839. Coerce the Government by threatening to withdraw all available support.

3. *Government Bill of* 1856. City make strong representations as to necessity of delay. Sir George Grey yields to pressure, and the Bill is shelved.

4. *Government Bill of* 1858. Referred to a Select Committee on motion of member for City. Motion made on behalf of City, after Committee's report, that Bill should be referred back to same Committee, so that City might be heard by counsel, although Committee had already heard all that City wished to say. Consequent delay and withdrawal of Bill.

5. *Government Bill of* 1859. Introduced too late and withdrawn.

6. *Government Bill of* 1860. Withdrawn.

7. *Police Bill of* 1863. Defeated on Standing Orders, as the City had not had notice in November.

8. *Mr. Mill's Bills in* 1867. Withdrawn.

9. *Mr. Mill's Bills in* 1868. One defeated by City on Standing Orders; the other withdrawn.

10. *Mr. Buxton's Bills in* 1869. Withdrawn on assurance that the Government would "consider" the question.

11. *Mr. Buxton's Bills in* 1870. Read a second time, and referred to a Select Committee.

12. *Lord Elcho's Bill in* 1875. Withdrawn in order to proceed by resolution, for which, however, no suitable day was available.

Every one of these measures is largely founded upon the reports and recommendations of Royal Commissions. The subject-matter of them all has had all along the approval of a large majority of the House of Commons irrespective of party. The matter is one of imminent importance to the welfare, interest, and comfort of three millions of people.

Can it be that, in this year of Grace, there is no honest statesman who dare enter the lists with the Corporation of London, and give form and substance to the opinion of the House of Commons and to the aspirations of the capital City?

But if the supineness of governments still leave the work and the responsibility upon private shoulders, we hope that the scheme may be made more complete year by year, and that its promoters will remove from it the concessions to injustice and to chaos which disfigure the Bill of 1875.

Chapter XV.

METHODS OF REFORM DISCUSSED.

Opinions of Public Men.—Opinion and Action of the Corporation of the City.—Necessity for a Central Municipal Authority. — Community of Interest. — Necessity for Purposes of Protection. — Functions of the Central Authority.—Source of Reform.—Conclusion of Argument.

The necessity of reforming the Corporation of London, and of conceding Municipal institutions to the districts around it, has been widely recognised outside the walls of Parliament as well as within them. An association, known as the "Metropolitan Municipal Association," has been in existence since the year 1867, and has rendered valuable aid in the public discussion of both questions. This has been done in various ways, including the preparation of two of the Bills whose provisions we have quoted, and also including several influential deputations to Home Secretaries.

Many public men of repute have given their sanction and support to the agitation for reform, and more than once the Chancellors and Barons, to whom newly-fledged Lord Mayors have been presented, have availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by such presentation to extend advice and counsel to the Corporation. As Lord Chelmsford well expressed it, when addressing the Lord Mayor in 1866, "With regard to the rights and privileges of the Corporation, this is an age in which nothing can be expected to stand on foundations of mere custom and antiquity.

Everything is now fully canvassed and examined, and if it be found unsound, the title of prescription is pleaded in vain. Besides, institutions which may have been well-suited to earlier periods of our history, and to a different state of things, often become in the march of time—the great innovator—but ill-adapted to the changes which take place in the national life."

And, in the same year, Lord Chief Baron Kelly, whose former connection with the Corporation as "City Pleader," gave his words peculiar weight — was equally outspoken. "The Metropolis of this country has now become so great and extensive that it numbers no less than three million inhabitants, and it is therefore not to be wondered at that the inhabitants of the different portions and districts of the capital should lay claim before the Legislature of the country either to participate in the honours and distinctions enjoyed by the Corporation of London, or to secure to themselves the appointments of subordinate and independent Municipal Corporations in each of these districts, and, considering the amount of the population, the great, the increasing, and the increased wealth of the inhabitants of the Metropolis, it is impossible to deny that the claim which they have made is well-founded, and is well-entitled to the consideration of the Legislature."

The claim thus alluded to was that enunciated in Mr. Mill's Bill providing for Municipal boroughs. This is a scheme which has always had a certain *quasi* support from the advisers of the City; but they were always somewhat apprehensive of the Central Council, which was to be constituted as supreme. In addressing the Lord Mayor in 1869, after Mr. Buxton's Bill had been introduced in the House of Commons, Chief Baron Kelly spoke in terms of strong approval of the Bills as "worthy of the attention of

the Corporation." The Bills were "introduced by a gentleman and a scholar intimately and largely connected with the commerce of the Metropolis," and they were "such as the Corporation would do well to consider, and, if possible, to encourage and promote." In the same year the Home Secretary promised to support the second reading of these Bills in the ensuing session; and, when speaking at the Mansion House dinner, expressed the hope that it might be given to Parliament to complete "the formation of a great Municipal system in harmony with and with the full support" of the Corporation,

But neither Chief Baron Kelly, though an old familiar, nor Home Secretary Bruce, understood or duly gauged the secret moving "principles" of the Corporation of London. Mr. Bruce had told a deputation from the City that it would be useless for the City to "attend to oppose other plans" unless they had one of their own, and invited them to bring one in. In his innocence he supposed they would do so, just as the Lord Chief Baron imagined they would take his fatherly counsel. Not a bit of it. In public there was an apparent *quasi* consent to the Municipal boroughs part of the scheme, and a determined hostility to the Municipal Council—part of it; but the true policy was shown in the persistent opposition of Alderman Lawrence, Alderman Lush, and Lord Enfield to the whole scheme when it was brought forward in 1870, and in the refusal of any City member to serve on the Select Committee.

The true opinion of the Corporation was also found in the document with which the City Remembrancer came to the surface. Now, if the City has any single man of ability in high official position, prepared to defend its prescriptions and privileges, it is Chief Baron Kelly. We have already quoted the terms in which he recommended the Bills of 1869 to his old friends. The City Remembrancer, in a

document entitled of, and purporting to deal with, these measures, but really criticizing the Report of the Select Committee of 1867, says :—

"It is not necessary that we should point out that the recommendations alluded to tend to undermine Municipal and Representative government in the Metropolis and elsewhere throughout the kingdom. To reconstruct the local government of London on such a principle would not only be inexpedient and unjust as it regards the ancient City of London, but would disappoint the expectation of the inhabitants of other districts of the Metropolis, who naturally look for free Municipal institutions similar to those accorded to towns which have been recently incorporated under the Corporations Act of 1835, as well as to those 208 ancient Corporations under which the said Act was extended and regulated." *

How far this commentary is justifiable every one can judge by reference to the previous chapter. It will be noted that the City mind does not descend to reason. Therein it is wise ; for when the City begins to reason, it will be lost.

An eminent officer of the Corporation also gave in his adhesion at this time to a Municipal Boroughs' scheme. The reasons which Mr. Scott, the City Chamberlain, gives for the absence of Municipal institutions in the Metropolis are, however, so remarkable that we charitably hope that the due manipulation of City balances, upon which his salary depends, has prevented his devoting time to the inner history of City intrigue. It appears from the "*Statistical*

* The way the rulers of other districts of the Metropolis looked for free "Municipal institutions," &c., was remarkably shown in the turbulent meetings of vestrymen debating Mr. Mill's Bills in St. James's Hall, November 1867.

*Vindication of London,"** that "it is to the evident indisposition of the ruling party to bring their own principles to the test of experiment that we must attribute the reluctance which has been displayed to confer Municipal institutions on the unenfranchised districts of the Metropolis." This is particularly unkind to the Whigs, when we recollect that the City moved heaven and earth to prevent a measure being introduced, and threatened the withdrawal of their support from the party at a critical time, and then, as a *coup de grâce* to the whole thing, elected the Chief Reformer as their representative in Parliament. Nor does the City champion stop here. "It is painful to one professing Liberal sentiments to put upon record that, while the Whigs have been in power no efficient step has been taken towards conferring or improving Municipal institutions in the Metropolis; whilst no opportunity has been neglected to destroy, injure, or lower in public estimation the only Municipality in the capital of the empire based upon the tried and efficient system of our Saxon ancestors." This is in the best City style. Leave no stone unturned to defeat and burke a measure, and then rail at your friends for not passing it. The rest is presumed to be another stab at poor Sir George Grey. It is he also, probably, who is mainly responsible for the "persistent efforts to extinguish popular rights." By these, it is presumed are meant City rights; probably the last place in Great Britain where popular rights are recognised.

Mr. Scott quotes Sir Robert Peel, to the effect that the reason of the City Police not being extinguished was because of their efficiency! † Indeed it appears to have been a model force. We have also a pitiful complaint about the City not being permitted to embank the Thames. For

* Page 148. † As to this see *ante*, pp. 547 and 548*n*.

this also the Whigs are responsible. If they are, then, outer London owes them a debt of gratitude for keeping back the corrupt hand of the City.*

Our business with Mr. Scott, however, was to quote him as representing the views of the foremost City men upon the question of Municipal reform. We do not intend at present to deal with his remarkable theories on the question of police, or his still more remarkable method of quoting the larger or smaller statistics of the City as may best suit the "Vindication." Writing upon a Municipal Boroughs' scheme, he says much in which we can unite. "Any one provided with a pair of scissors can cut up the map of London into portions, but the test of statesmanship will be, who shall provide for and secure the harmonious and efficient co-operation of the whole?" There will be occasions in which London "will be expected to speak in the name of London. The absurdity of having, say, eleven voices for London on occasions of royal entries, public entertainments, and so forth, is clearly indicated. There must, therefore, be a Central Body. The question is, how is it to be constituted? We seek eagerly the answer to this question, and find—will

* The fact, however, that the City did not embank the Thames does not prevent it from gaining credit for this work whenever it can. At what were called the "Inter-Municipal festivities in 1875," the Prefect of the Seine was allowed to believe—what this empirical body carefully impresses upon foreigners — that the Lord Mayor ruled all London, and was entitled to all the glory attendant upon such sovereignty. The whole tenor of his address is based on this false, but carefully fostered, supposition. He even praises the Municipality for the "quais magnifiques" and the "grands voies de communication;" and the few City guests who had any knowledge of the French language, joyfully appropriated the best works of their quondam rival at Spring Gardens. But strangest irony of all, he says, "Vous, Messieurs, qui comprenez et pratiquez si bien le '*self-government*'"!—and this to the Corporation of London!—to the greatest burlesque on Municipal institutions at this moment in existence on English soil! It may be hoped that when another Prefect of the Seine comes to visit us he may find a Corporation worthy of the name.

it be believed?—that it is to be no other than the present City Corporation reinforced by representatives from the other Municipalities. This is to be "the *crême de la crême* of Municipal representation." Men of "sufficient social position," "Members of Parliament," and so forth, will then vie with each other for posts in the Local Municipalities, which might lead them to seats in the Federated Corporation! Mr. Scott has had a severe parturition, and this is the *ridiculus mus*. To sit down cheek by jowl with the present rulers of the City—what a glorious ambition! But the plan has one great virtue; it would preserve City privileges and property intact for all time. This might render it palatable to a few, but there are great risks to the City in creating any powerful Central Body. The true "Corporator" knows this instinctively, and if the City Chamberlain were to initiate any reform that should lessen a single City privilege, he would probably find that the £3,000 which he spent on the London livery for his election twenty-two years ago* would be forgotten, and after the next succeeding election day some unaccustomed hand would finger the balances.

It is admitted on every hand—by the ruthless Municipal Reformer equally with the champion of the City—that there must be a Central Body of some kind. Those who fear the City and those who wish to retain its powers, propose to establish separate independent bodies, so that questions of City property and privileges may not be raised. And so the powers of the Central Body are to be as small as possible, and the independence of the subordinate bodies as complete as possible. Lord Elcho's Bill of 1875 was an effort to weld the whole together, and therefore it excited much opposition.

* Report of Commissioners of 1854. Examination of Mr. Scott, Q. No. 4,639.

The independence of the subordinate districts was taken away.

The present existence and functions of the Board of Works, with its constant increase of powers, is a concession to the principle. It is absolutely necessary that there should be a central authority for various purposes. The number of these objects is very considerable, and, as to nearly all Municipal purposes, they can be admittedly better performed for the whole than a section of an aggregated population.

If then there must be a Central Council with large powers, what would be the functions of separate Municipalities? Could they be such as would attract the best men? We think not. Stuart Mill writes in his work on "Representative Government":—"It is quite hopeless to induce persons of a high class, either socially or intellectually, to take a share of local administration in a corner by piecemeal, as members of a Paving Board or of a Drainage Commission. The entire local business of their town is not more than a sufficient object to induce men whose tastes incline them and whose knowledge qualifies them for national affairs, to become members of a mere local body, and devote to it the time and study which are necessary to render their presence anything more than a screen for the jobbing of inferior persons under the shelter of their responsibility." And no language could well be more true. But it does not follow from this argument that no sort of local Council could usefully exist. The whole scope of the argument embraces the supposition of local *independent* authorities. The London School Board have District Committees performing a work of exceeding usefulness, but they are not independent and irresponsible. Very much otherwise. They extend to the School Board valuable assistance in arriving at a conclusion as to the educational wants of any locality, but they have no sort of direct control over the action of the Board. Practically, for

educational purposes, the London School Board is a Central Council aided by District Councils. No Municipal function affects so closely the actual personal life and status of every citizen of London as this. The inspectors of the School Board know far more about the inhabitants than the Nuisance Inspectors and the Sanitary Inspectors know about the houses, and yet the former information is infinitely more difficult to obtain than the latter.

Great objection to any unified system is constantly raised upon the ground of the absence of what is called "community of interest." The argument is put in its most forcible manner in a speech by Mr. Newton, addressed to the Metropolitan Board of Works, March 19th, 1875, criticising the Bill of Lord Elcho. "In provincial towns you have a complete community of interest, the manufacturers in the town are mainly of one class. Everybody knows everybody else within the town and the district, and there is a complete community of interest. There is no such thing in London. One man scarcely knows his next door neighbour, and one manufacturer has little to do with another. Will you tell me what community of interest there is between Bow Common and Belgravia: what feeling of joint interest there is between Hampstead and Bermondsey? Why, the principle which governs one of these Districts would be out of place in the other. The same sanitary regulations cannot obtain. What would be poison in Belgravia must be borne on Bow Common, or the people could not live for want of industry, and you could not with any degree of reason commit to a single central authority the entire management of this Metropolis."

This question of "community of interest" is a modern invention. No such argument was raised with respect to the incorporation of the large towns affected by the Act of 1835. Nobody ventured to suggest that the button and pen

factories of working Birmingham had no community of interest with aristocratic Edgbaston, or that the difference of occupation and habits of different sections of the inhabitants was any objection to their united government. Nobody suggests that the Mohammedans, Hindoos, and English in an Indian town should each have a separate Government because they inhabit separate quarters of the town. And yet the difference between the sanitary requirements, the occupations, the habits, and the tastes of all of them are immeasurably greater than any that exist in London. The reason is simply one invented for the purpose of helping to clog the wheels of Reform.

Municipal government exists for the united benefit of aggregations of people, not for the cultivation of their tastes, or their acquaintanceship. It exists because there are many requirements born of proximity which may be best met by united action. The Main Drainage system is a strong illustration of this, and in the very year when these observations are made about different "sanitary regulations" this very Board of Works issued a circular to all the London Vestries upon the question of Slaughter-house Regulation. The same regulations are made for slaughter-houses on "Bow Common" as in "Belgravia," and no latitude is allowed to the Bow Common people on account of their habituation to "poison." It so happens that certain noxious trades have established vested rights in Bow, but if they had done so in Belgravia they would be subject to precisely the same rules, and could only be removed upon the same conditions. And, unless we are mistaken, the Act 37 & 38 Vict., c. 37 (see p. 257 *supra*), dealing with offensive trades and enabling the Board of Works to make bye-laws for their regulation, was introduced by Dr. Brewer, a member of the Metropolitan Board! So that the very body of men that applaud Mr. Newton when he alleges the absence of

community of interest as the strongest reason against unification of government, is itself at the time exercising a central control, *and this over the very matters which he quotes as illustrating the separation of interest!* Surely absurdity could go no farther. It would seem that the Board—for Mr. Newton's friends says of him that "*He is the Board*"—are attempting to vie in unreason with the City.

The "community of interest" between a retired Bermondsey bone-boiler and a retired Major-General is absolutely nil from a *personal* point of view, but when they live in the same street in Tyburnia, their community of interest from a *municipal* point of view is absolute, and it is the municipal interest with which alone we have anything to do. The Board of Works itself illustrates the number of things which Londoners must have in common. But if this infantine theory were carried out its functions would end, and every householder would have his own fire-engine, sewer, dust-heap, water-cart, and so forth, unless he happened to have a neighbour with the same religious views and carrying on the same trade, in which case they would join at the contrivances.

The community of interest is really very great. Mr. Scott talks of half a million people marching on the City every day. They come from east and west, north and south. Mr. Scott says that the City is where they "live," and that Kensington and Camberwell are only "bedrooms." Thus, on his own showing London, is like a vast house, but it has this peculiarity, that whilst the housekeeper takes wages from both bedroom and counting-house she only really looks after the latter; the lodgers have to clean out their own "bedrooms." Is it not time that the housekeeper was dismissed? We are told that "there are 38 non-municipal districts, offshoots from the parent stem, places of refuge for a commercial population which cannot find convenient space

for their families within the restricted area of the municipal City." If they are "offshoots" surely the parent stem ought to supply Municipal sap. And this the more certainly as it is admitted that our present condition is due to the "short-sighted and perhaps selfish" policy of the City of London in not dealing with the question "piecemeal."*

Formerly the City added ward to ward as its size increased. This method of increase is the constitutional one, and if the City had carried it out, methods would have been devised to meet the increasing wants of an increasing City. But the City disregarded its duty, and its obligation to the suburbs, stereotyped its ward boundaries, and with small alteration continued their unwieldy representation. The old method of extension is now impossible. If a Common Council were constituted for the whole of London, with a representation proportionate to that now existing in the City, it would have about 10,000 members, more than 1,000 of whom would be aldermen.

And there are many ways in which Londoners are practically unprotected. If a Bill is introduced for the better government of the Metropolis, the Board of Works will oppose it with ratepayers' money, but although it appears to be able to protect us from fancied dangers it cannot deal with real ones. Suppose, for example, a dozen competing railway schemes are presented to Parliament, each of them proposing to drive its way through the Metropolis and to break up the homes of thousands of people. The matter is relegated to a Committee of the House of Commons. It is brought more or less before the Vestries and the Metropolitan Board,† but unless the scheme proposes to trench on the sacred ground of the City it is

* "Statistical Vindication of the City of London," p. 171.

† By virtue of a Standing Order of House of Commons, 1860. There is no Statutory authority.

well known that there is no guarantee whatever for the interests of the citizens being duly regarded. It is quite impossible for a Parliamentary Committee, no matter what be the amount of care taken in its selection, to be able to grasp the requirements of London or measure the merits of a scheme of the kind so well as a Committee of a Municipal Council appointed for the purpose, and advised by men of experience and ability, acting upon recognised principles.

Every ratepayer has a right to have his property defended against schemes affecting him prejudicially in his business or person, and offering no corresponding amount of public advantage. And yet, unless he is prepared to go to the trouble of associating those who are in like case with himself, and of expending enormous sums of money in protecting his interests, it may and does constantly occur that they suffer.

Speaking of Private Bill legislation generally, Mr. Serjeant Pulling says.:* "The Committee of the House without any trustworthy information of the requirements of the locality or the effect of the undertaking on the public interest, is dependent on the interested representations of the promoters or of opponents rich enough to interpose—no witnesses of the naked truth are in request; no one professionally or otherwise is prepared to advocate the interest of the public or the locality, and persons indirectly but most deeply interested are unheard." These strictures are not without their bearing on the present proceedings in Bills affecting the Metropolis and the interest of its inhabitants.

Had London possessed a Municipal Representative Council—as contrasted with an overworked and non-representative body of doubtful authority—the great railway companies that have obtained powers to make of some parts of London a desert and call it improvement, would have

* "Transactions of the Social Science Association," 1862, p. 129.

never obtained such power except on the condition of making full provision for the dispossessed thousands of poor.

Under a Municipal Council every measure affecting London; every Private Bill proposing to take by process of law the property of any of the citizens, would necessarily first pass through the ordeal of the Committee of the Council. This Committee, in the exercise of its duties, would avail itself of the assistance and knowledge of local authorities and of the representatives of the district affected; and every private citizen would have a right of personal audience before the Committee. When a proposed measure had passed such a Committee, the labours of the Parliamentary Committee would be greatly lightened, and there would be the best possible guarantee that the scheme was beneficial; but, on the other hand, if the Standing Committee of the Municipal Council reported against it, the Council itself would endorse such a report, and would appear before the Parliamentary Committee to justify their opposition. No body of promoters, no railway company, nor any other great corporation, would be able to sway the Committee when such opposition was united and intelligent.*

The necessity for a central authority for many purposes is therefore clear; we shall hereafter discuss the constitution and functions of such a body. It is patent to every one that, if the Board had been a strong representative body, it would long since have had many other powers in addition to those it now possesses. The functions of the Vestries

* The present position of the Metropolis between the Corporation of the City and the Board of Works, compelled as it has been to pay the expenses of both sides when they fight each other, is not unlike the condition of the City in 1820, when the Court of Aldermen ordered the prosecution of Alderman Waiteman and others, and the Common Council disagreed. The two bodies fought each other for some time and incurred very heavy costs on both sides. When they came to terms, the Court of Aldermen ordered *all the costs* to be paid out of the City funds.

over streets and roads are surely such as could be fairly discharged upon a central principle applicable throughout London. Commercial Road East is quite as essential to the traffic of London as Bayswater Road West, and street paving ought to be carried out over the whole of London on certain well-defined principles. The heavier traffic of one street may require granite where macadam would do for others; but a Central Road Authority with adequate local inspection and engineering, and under intelligent control would vastly improve our present condition. There are very few scientific road surveyors in London, and even that over-grown and much belauded body, the City Commissioners of Sewers, with its monstrous staff of officers, does not by any means deserve unmixed praise. For example, it has been shown to demonstration that asphalt paving is fairly safe when either very wet or very dry, but that in the "greasy" state it is particularly dangerous, and yet these ninety-five Commissioners never dream of watering the streets when in this condition.

And again, with a Central Council we should get rid of the constant pipe-laying nuisance. Southwark Street was constructed at great expense and with an ample subway, and forthwith a gas company tear it up from end to end, because they dare not lay their defective pipes in the subway, where their defects would be at once apparent. It is the same all over London every day. In the autumn of 1875, Kensington Vestry laid down Earl's Court Road with macadam. The road was steam-rolled and well made. Forthwith came an independent company and tore it up to lay down pipes. The crown of the road was broken, and in two months the whole was worse than before the repair. The Vestries are powerless. The Board of Works cannot control the companies. So also with Nuisance Inspection, and Sanitary Inspection; properly paid and qualified inspectors and

officers would be better insured by a Central Authority, than by the single authorities now appointing them. The serious inequalities of the present street-watering system are fully set out in the chapter on Vestries. Here, also, one uniform system upon an intelligible basis, would be a saving every way. Another great difficulty of the London Vestries is the question of "Dust." It is alleged to be the custom of Dust Contractors to agree as to who shall tender, and to divide the spoil. Dust must be disposed of, and all kinds of devices are resorted to to get rid of it. A Central Body, with a proper staff of officers, would solve this problem. Artizans' dwellings and lodging-house inspection; baths and wash-houses; public libraries and mortuaries, are all questions neglected in many of the Vestries, which a Central Body could well undertake.

The constitution of separate independent Municipalities, was regarded by the Commissioners of 1837, as a plan that would "in getting rid of an anomaly, tend to multiply and perpetuate an evil." And one great question to be solved is, whether to constitute local bodies at all, and if so, upon what basis, and what powers must be given to the Central Council? Practically, the main difference between all the proposed plans, is in the powers and functions of the Central Body. We have as we think shown clearly that such powers ought to be absolute.

The London Vestries and their method of working have been fully treated of in a previous chapter. The greatest defect in their constitution is their practical irresponsibility. The same defects would exist, and the same unsatisfactory results would ensue, if the Vestries were simply enlarged, unless London could obtain for the larger bodies the best type of men, and this there is no prospect of doing. The really powerful parts of the Municipal Government would be absorbed by a Central Body, and the independence and

irresponsibility of the Local Body, whatever might be its name, would be as bad in its effect as at present.

Several years ago the *Quarterly Review* forcibly delineated the evils attendant upon bodies of this kind. "Owners of ill-conditioned tenements take local office expressly to defeat measures within whose scope their own neglected property would fall. It is a matter of course for tradesmen to get themselves elected, or to procure the nomination of their friends, with a view to lucrative parish contracts, or to secure clerkships, &c., for their children. And each, as soon as his private ends are gained, shakes off by resignation his share of public responsibility for extravagant or defective works. Fluctuating thus, and unpaid, so as to be practically as irresponsible as they are interested and ignorant, these little knots of men nevertheless despatch offhand, at occasional meetings held in snatched intervals of private business, sanitary problems involving the health of vast populations, and almost baffling by their extreme complexity the unintermittent study of the ablest engineers."

Men acquainted with the inner life of London Local Government could readily name more than one London parish to which these sentences have a startling application. And if the establishment of a number of separate Municipalities would be simply the reproduction of these evils on a larger scale, it would furnish a strong argument against such a course. How far it would be an object of ambition to be an Islington Common Councillor, or a Mayor of Bethnal Green, where it is not now an object to become a Vestryman of Islington or Bethnal Green, it is difficult to say. But the experiment would not be worth the risk even if this were the only reason against it.

The constitution of a powerful and representative Central Body being thus an immediate necessity, it becomes necessary to consider in what method it may best be brought

about. This can only be through the direct action of the Legislature.

The Corporation of the City have more than once succeeded in beguiling advocates of London Reform, by the assertion that the Common Council will exercise its power of internal reform. Probably that delusion has now run its course. Even if they were inclined so to do, it is no longer a matter of interest or concern to the inhabitants of outer London. It *is* a matter of concern that we have to support the poor who are extruded from the limits of the City Charities founded for them; it is a matter of concern that we are taxed without representation: but as to what may be the number of City Wards, or the numbers of the Common Council, it does not in any way affect us. Poor Sir George Grey once interfered with these things, and was, in consequence, abused worse than a pickpocket. The men who abused him have now risen to honour in the City.

There are those who have thought that the Corporation might introduce a measure to extend London upon the old constitutional principle. If there were any chance of this, we might—recollecting the ancient honour of the Corporation—give it consideration. No such possibility exists. Again and again has the offer been made to the City. They have repeatedly been requested to introduce a measure which would give them the government—the representative government—of London.

As a rule, men do not rudely thrust away the hand that tenders them power and influence, and yet the offer of the control of the millions of London, which has been made—foolishly made—to the City has been spurned. Why? The reason is simple enough. They know that neither their sources of income, their method of expenditure, their government, their privileges, nor their rights would ever

survive the investigation which an enlarged constituency would demand.

There is much of reverence and much of respect due to the traditions of the City of London. Those traditions must be preserved, and will be preserved, and will be succeeded by greater. But we owe none of those traditions to the rulers of the City to day. *They* have been careful of this. Their own connection with the City is in many cases merely that of a man with his club, as the residential statistics set forth in the fourth chapter clearly indicate. There is nothing due to the men who technically inherit the greatness of mediæval London. There is, on the other hand, much due *from* them.

To expect reform or any useful municipal scheme from within the City is idle. Who is there that dare initiate it? No candidate for the Common Council accused of reforming tendencies would have much chance of success. No candidate alderman who was known to advocate the regulation of the Livery Companies would ever be elected. The pecuniary value of the aldermanry of London, with a seat in the Court of a good Company, was recently valued by a candidate at some thousands a year. This must be forfeited if he talks of "reform." And if any Corporator cast aside these considerations and determined to propose reform, he would find the task very arduous, with its sundering of old friendships and severance of life-long ties, and with the "hospitable" doors of the City Companies closed upon him. No! Reform cannot come from within. Outer London must undertake the task.

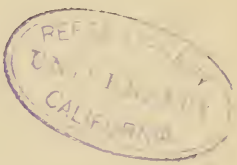
A Central Council will also be able to relieve the Imperial Legislature of much that now incommodes it. The questions of Police and of Poor Relief we shall discuss in their place, but with a Council there would be no longer any

necessity for Scotch and Irish members to waste public time in discussing the terms on which Londoners might hire their cabs, and the questions of London Gas and Water Supply would not occupy the time of half-a-dozen Committees every year. The centralization which people profess to deprecate so much would be lessened, and the whole scheme would be a distinct gain to the cause of popular government.

Our argument is now complete. If it be true that a central governing authority is in London, an urgent and supreme necessity; if it be true that there are vast municipal powers now in the hands of a body unfit to exercise them; if it be true that other municipal functions are in private hands, because there is no public body to whom they may be safely assigned; if it be true that the relief of the poor and the education of the people are undertaken by separate bodies constituted for the purpose; if it be true that the Imperial Legislature is hampered with local questions, because there is no Council to consider them; if it be true that statutory provisions made for the public benefit are systematically disregarded, because the local enforcing authority is utterly irresponsible; if it be true that three millions of people are unjustly taxed, because the taxing authority is strong in influence though weak in principle; if it be true that vast sums of money are misappropriated every year, because there is no body in existence with the strength and the will to enforce justice; it it be true that antiquated charters, purchased for money, are now enforced over densely populated areas which were uninhabited when the charters were granted, and this in violation of free trade, of the opinion of Parliament, and of public right; if it be true that the first City in the world—the centre from whence are governed larger areas and greater populations than ever were ruled from any city since the world

began—is itself without any method, or system, or order in its government; if it be true that this disorder, injustice, and chaos are mainly due to the interested opposition of the rulers of the one hundredth part of the area: if these things are true, surely the time has come when, for the common honour of our common citizenship, the stigma should be removed.

Let us now consider how this may be done.



Chapter XVI.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

Desirability of establishing Local Councils considered.—Division of the Metropolis into Electoral Districts.—Divisions of Representation.—Numbers of the Supreme Council.—Election of Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors.—Qualification of Members of Supreme Council.—Extent of Suffrage.—Time of Election.—Voting Papers.—Cumulative Voting.

In a previous chapter we reviewed the various proposals which have been made in Parliament, and by Royal Commissioners, for dealing with the government of the Metropolis. Those measures and recommendations all show a gradual advance in one direction. The Commissioners of 1837 reported that they saw no valid reason for not extending a Municipality over the whole of London, unless its size raised some new principle. But they do not say that it does. The Commissioners of 1854, reporting especially upon the Corporation of London, express an opinion that the concentration of Municipal functions would be attended with serious difficulty; but the outcome of their report was the establishment of the Metropolitan Board of Works, a body which has gradually increased its powers until it possesses nearly one-half of all the Municipal functions which would belong to a central Municipality if created, and which now exists as the strongest possible practical argument for a central representative Municipal Council. The Committee of 1867 went still further, and

proposed the constitution of a Municipal Representative Council with the widest possible functions.

In the same manner the Bills in Parliament indicate the direction which public opinion has taken when the question has been thoroughly considered. Sir George Lewis proposed to alter the City only. Sir Benjamin Hall constituted a central body, which, within its jurisdiction, controlled all London, but created also a number of irresponsible bodies exercising Municipal functions. Mr. Mill's Bills enlarged the local bodies and strengthened the Central Council. Mr. Buxton's Bills went still further in the same direction, and lastly, Lord Elcho's Bill in 1875, brought down a chorus of approval from the whole Metropolis, because it proposed to sweep away the local governments altogether, and to direct everything from one centre. This remarkable progression of opinion cannot be regarded as the result of mere chance. Every new Royal Commission had the labours of previous Commissions to guide it, and every new Parliamentary measure was brought in after careful consideration of all that had gone before it.

Whether, therefore, we take the reports of Royal Commissions or Parliamentary Bills, we have the same goal indicated, namely, the direction of the Government of London from one recognised centre, so far as regards nearly the whole of its Municipal work.*

The Bill of 1875 contemplated the entire abolition of Local Governing Bodies, and the transfer of their functions to a central organization. And the first problem to be solved in this question of London Municipal Government is, whether it is desirable to supersede all local organizations, or whether there is any form in which they can be usefully continued?

* See hereon *Times* Article, Oct. 7th, 1874, and others during same month.

There can be no doubt that the highest type of Municipal Government is that which succeeds in uniting effective central with adequate local control. The provisions of the "Municipal Corporation Act, 1835," have worked well to this end in all the English towns to which it has been applied. How far a similar system could be made effective in a city of nearly four millions of inhabitants is the question to be considered.

It would no doubt be perfectly possible to construct Local Councils which should govern areas analogous to the present Vestry Districts, and to make such Councils responsible to a Central Body. But having constructed them, the question of the apportionment of duties would arise, and if no functions were conceded to a District Council, and no administrative work given to it, except such as could be better performed by a Local than a Central Body, it would probably be found that its functions would be exceedingly limited. If this be demonstrated, then the question of the desirability of establishing District Councils becomes a very narrow one, because we may safely lay down as the first principle which ought to regulate the construction of any government for London, that we must obtain the most effective and economical discharge of Municipal work, and that irrespective of how the constitution of the Governing Body through which it is attained, may affect existing personal interests or systems.

The best method of arriving at a conclusive decision as to the necessity or otherwise of Local Councils, would seem to be, to consider the leading subjects of Municipal work in London, and see in which of them local bodies could render useful assistance. We may then consider what class of local body is best fitted to undertake such functions—if any—as may seem to call for local aid.

The first Municipal work to which this test may be

applied is Main Drainage. This is now managed by the Metropolitan Board, and no one would propose to consult any local authorities upon the question.

In the same category come the Fire Brigade, Control of Buildings, and Public Improvements.

The direction of the Police could not in any form be entrusted to a local body. Nor has it ever been proposed that each local authority should have separate local control over Gas or Water, or over Public Parks, Markets, or property of the kind, common to the whole of London.

The direction of Public Justice, the control of Prisons, and so forth—if exercised by a Municipal Body at all—would necessarily be so exercised by a single body representing all the districts interested, and so also with any control of Hospitals or Asylums, or of Rivers or Bridges.

At present a large amount of Municipal work in London is done by Inspectors and Medical Officers. Some of these are appointed by the Vestries, and in a few cases by the Metropolitan Board of Works. The matters so regulated and controlled include Nuisances, Noxious Trades, Underground Dwellings, Lodging-Houses, Cow-Houses, Pigsties, Bakehouses, Workshops, Slaughter-Houses, Baby Farming, Contagious Diseases (Animals), Food and Drug Adulteration, Sale and Carriage of Petroleum and of Explosive Substances. The control which any District Council could exercise over these questions may be regarded as fairly illustrated by the control now exercised by the Vestries in such of the matters as are under their direction, and which seems to consist simply in the appointment of Inspectors, and the issuing of bye-laws and orders which differ infinitely in their terms. The disorganized way in which these matters are now directed, is sufficiently set out in the chapter on London Vestries, and the lesson of such disorganization seems clearly to point to the appointment of Inspectors by

a single authority, and the direction and oversight of their work from one intelligent centre.

There are other matters connected with Public Health which ought to be directed in the whole Metropolis on an uniform and intelligible basis. Such questions are, Mortuaries, Baths and Wash-houses, Burial Grounds, Abattoirs, and the Removal of Dust.

The direction and control of Public Traffic; of cabs, omnibuses, tram cars, road locomotives, steam-boats, and of street arrangements generally, must also be in the hands of a body making—and able to enforce—bye-laws for the whole Metropolis.

The paving, watering, and cleansing of Streets, are Municipal functions of the greatest importance. The chapter on London Vestries sets forth the extraordinary differences which exist in method and in cost, in districts under practically the same Municipal conditions. Where the given Municipal conditions are the same, it is clear that some of the systems now pursued must be very far wrong. If we were to confer upon new District Councils the functions of existing Vestries in these matters, what guarantee should we have for any different result? None whatever, if they were to be irresponsible. And if they were to be made responsible to a Central Council, which should decide for them how to pave, and to water, and to cleanse, and so forth, their own original functions would be infinitesimal. It is as clear that certain methods of paving are best suited to certain streets, as that different kinds of pavement require different methods of cleaning, and a different quantity of water in dusty weather. These differing requirements can be best settled by a staff of responsible officers acting upon recognised principles; and best carried out by an efficient body of workmen constantly engaged in the work, and able to despatch it in the shortest possible time. In the matter then of Street

Control there seems everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by placing it entirely in the hands of a Central Authority.

The subject of Poor Relief presents a somewhat different aspect. The Local Government Board exercise, as set forth in Chapter XI., a considerable central control, but the Boards of Guardians retain much of administrative and financial power in their hands. The Local Government Board have taken in hand the question of salaries, and classification, and so forth, but the Boards of Guardians are still a rating and spending authority. It is contended that great saving, results from having the control of the money expended in relief in the hands of the people who have to pay, and that the larger the area, the less the impulse towards economy. This is in a measure true, but the economy of some Boards of Guardians is an economy of inefficiency and of neglect of duty to the Poor. The construction of workhouse buildings, the payment of officers, and the raising of money, are all better in the hands of a Central Authority; but a question may arise, whether, in addition to the Committee of the Central Council, there could not be efficient service rendered in the administration of relief by a locally selected body? There is but little doubt that investigation into the infinitely varying circumstances of applicants for relief, may usefully be undertaken by men who do not otherwise mix in Municipal work. To this extent, and for this purpose, therefore, a Selected District Committee would be useful. Such a Committee could only usefully exist on condition that its spending power was clearly defined, and its action would be subject to the recognised and adopted principles upon which Metropolitan Poor Relief would proceed.

The question of Education presents a similar necessity. The regulations of the London School Board provide for the division of the Board into ten Divisional Committees. These

Committees are to consist of the Board Members for that Division, and of "such other persons, if any, as the Board may from time to time appoint, upon the written nomination of the said Members, or a majority of them." These Divisional Committees are again sub-divided into Sub-Committees, reporting only to the Divisional Committee. The Divisional Committees so appointed and nominated, are entrusted with the carrying out of the bye-laws, the recommendation and control of Visitors, and the consideration of applications for the payment or remission of School Fees. They report to the Board, and the Board reserves full powers of control and decision in every way.

Under these provisions, Committees have been nominated in various parts of the Metropolis, and an adequate number of men have been found willing to be put in nomination, and to undertake the somewhat limited but useful functions of the Divisional Committees. If the numerous applications, constantly arising in connection with the working of the Education Act, could in London only be heard before the Members of the Board, these useful officers would have no time for any other work.

In considering what form the District or Divisional Committees, for matters connected with Education and Poor Relief, should take, we find so good and so successful an example in the London School Board—already covering half the ground—that the safest course would seem to be to follow it, and in each of the districts constituted, as hereinafter set out, let the elected Councillors nominate in writing, for the approval of the Central Council, persons to serve on both these Committees; the Central Council preserving the fullest and most absolute controlling powers. All elected Councillors would be *ex-officio* members of the District, Poor, and Education Committees, and these Committees would report to the Central Council.

The net result of these considerations seems to be that, ranging over the whole field of Metropolitan Municipal work, there are not more than two questions which may not be better managed by a single Central Body than by Local Bodies or Local Bodies with a controlling Central Council. If this be so, we have the strongest possible argument against the establishment of Local Councils for any other than these two purposes. The object of Municipal institutions, like other forms of government, is the greatest good of the greatest number; and, if that be best attained in nearly every branch of Metropolitan Municipal work, by a Central Council managing the whole, then clearly the citizens have a right to demand the constitution of such a Council.

Although the consideration of the question seems to lead to the conclusion that the formation of Local Councils is eminently undesirable, except for the purposes set out, yet it will clearly be necessary to have local divisions for electoral purposes, and for the convenience of Municipal administration.

London as it at present exists, is divided for the purposes of the Local Management Act, into thirty-nine districts. A reference to the map of the Metropolitan Board of Works Districts will show what a hetererogeneous division it is. There is no approach to agreement either in area, population, rateable value, or anything else. The sole recommendation that these divisions possess is, that they proceed upon the boundaries of parishes. They are essentially parochial divisions. We are therefore confronted *in limine* with the question: "is there any good reason for the continuance for any purpose of the parochial boundaries as boundaries of districts for ordinary Municipal Government?"

No such good reason has yet been advanced, and it is not easy to conceive of one that would not be immediately and altogether outweighed by the public benefit attendant upon

their abolition, and upon the substitution of lines selected for their adaptation to Municipal uses. An exact subdivision of the present population of London amongst the thirty-nine divisions according to number, would give each about 90,000 inhabitants. But, as is shown in the table of Vestry Statistics (pp. 318-9), no approach to equality is made in any respect.

When the subdivision of the Metropolis is only made for the purpose of the more convenient working of a Municipal system, the only object sought after will be that of having the requisite number of people in as compact an area as possible. The abnormal shape and size of the districts must therefore be changed, and they may be made nearly uniform in population, with the lines of separation clear and well-defined. When the executive control of the roads is in a Supreme Council, there will be an end of the disputes as to what part of any given road any particular Vestry is bound to repair, and so the natural boundary lines of public roads are in nearly all respects the most useful to select.

Taking the prospective population of London at 4,000,000, a division into 40 districts would give each 100,000 inhabitants. But as the population is at present only about 3,600,000, it would seem well to give the outer districts the smaller numbers. In a short time these districts—in which alone the increase of population is going on—will come up to the maximum. The annexed map shows this theory worked out for a population of 3,600,000, and room for prospective increase on the outer lines. The City boundary is preserved intact in the plan. It will thus be possible for the members for the City District to represent at the Supreme Council the same inhabitants as are now under the immediate government of the Corporation of the City.

The districts as set out in the plan, would bear the names and populations following :

Strand	100,000	Newington	100,000
Westminster	100,000	Kensington	100,000
Chelsea	100,000	Poplar	90,000
Kensington	100,000	Clapton	80,000
Paddington	100,000	Stoke Newington ..	80,000
Portmanbury	100,000	Hackney	80,000
Marylebone	100,000	Highbury	80,000
Holborn	100,000	Canonbury	80,000
Camden Town ..	100,000	Kentish Town	80,000
Islington	100,000	Hampstead	80,000
Clerkenwell	100,000	Hammersmith ..	80,000
Shoreditch	100,000	Fulham	80,000
Bethnal Green ..	100,000	Wandsworth	80,000
Whitechapel	100,000	Lambeth	80,000
Bow	100,000	Brixton	80,000
Stepney	100,000	Camberwell	80,000
Limehouse	100,000	Streatham	80,000
Bermondsey	100,000	Greenwich	80,000
Deptford	100,000	Woolwich	80,000
Southwark	100,000	The City District ..	75,000

There are thus twenty-two districts with a population of 100,000, one district with 90,000, sixteen with 80,000, and the City with 75,000, making a total population of 3,645,000, a number closely approximate to the estimated population of London in 1876. The Central Districts are made up to the full quota because they are fully built up, and there is no prospect of any material increase or decrease in their population. All the districts (excepting the City) whose number is less than 100,000, are increasing, and some of them exceedingly rapidly. And in these smaller districts the work to be performed by any representative Supreme Councillors would be probably greater, owing to the necessity of making original Municipal provisions for a growing population, in the way of local sewerage, paving, lighting, laying out of new streets, and so forth. In the settled and fully populated districts these Municipal requirements would be, in a large measure, already provided. The exceptional circumstances of the City would also justify the retention of the stereotyped boundary, even with a failing population.

The fewer numbers of the outlying districts would be rapidly replenished by new populations, and if the number of the representatives from each of the forty districts, at a Supreme Council were made the same, there would be no just cause of complaint. The number of representatives would be allotted upon a basis of uniform population, and the districts which departed from it would be those that were burdened with the heaviest share of Municipal work.

The number of members of the Central Governing Body, or as it may be called, the "Supreme Council," is a matter of some difficulty. There are reasons for thinking that somewhere between 200 and 300 would be the most useful number. A larger number, if elected to work, and not for personal reasons, would be found too many, and a smaller number would not admit of the requisite division into Committees for detail working. The present number of the Common Council of the City is 232. It is very much too many for the purposes of the work it has to do; but this would probably be found somewhere about the most workable number for a body upon whose shoulders would rest the Municipal responsibility of London. Taking the initial divisions upon the basis of population at forty, an assembly might be usefully elected, consisting of six members from each district, five councillors and one alderman. This would give a total for the Supreme Council of 240.

If, however, a system be devised by which every group of 100,000 people in London has six representatives in the Supreme Council, and yet the work of that Council be so arranged as to be got through without difficulty, we have advanced far towards giving direct representation to every district.

No system of Municipal Government has yet been devised better suited to English tastes or adapted to English

requirements, than that of Mayor, Aldermen, and Council: and this system would be retained for the Metropolis.

Taking the number of the Supreme Council at 240, it would be made up of 40 Aldermen, and 200 Supreme Councillors. The Lord Mayor would also be an *ex-officio* member of the Council, making a total of 241. This number has many recommendations besides those that belong under this scheme, to its facility for electoral purposes. It is a number only nine in excess of the present Common Council of the City: it is a number which has been closely approximated in more than one well-considered proposition for London Government; it would be ample for the purposes of adequate Committee sub-division, and would, probably, be found the most workable number for purposes of Central Municipal action. If the work of the Supreme Council were circumscribed and defined in the manner hereafter detailed, it would also be found amply sufficient for its performance.

The Supreme Councillors ought to be elected directly from the ratepayers. The system of double election is bad in every way, and it has proved in the case of the Metropolitan Board so egregious a failure, that it is not needful to expend much time in arguing against it. Let every Member of the Council owe his seat to the votes of a large constituency, and he is much more likely to feel his responsibility and to discharge his duty, than when elected by a number of personal friends in some subordinate body.

Under the Municipal Corporation Act, the Mayor is elected yearly by the Council, out of the Aldermen and Councillors. This system has a good deal to recommend it, and is much better than the remarkable system which obtains in the City. The 121 and 163 voters who, in two City wards elected Aldermen in 1875, practically also elected the future Lord Mayor, because although there is some show of choice between two Aldermen selected by the Common Hall,

yet practically, it is nothing more than a sham. The next Alderman on the rota for 1876-7, has filled a useful sphere as a Livery Stable Keeper. He is, it is believed, a most amiable and respectable man, but an effort is, it is said, being made in the City, to induce him to forego what is plainly regarded as his "right," and not take the Mayoralty.*

Clearly the post of Lord Mayor of London ought not to be a matter of right, but a special honour. Nor ought it to be as a matter of necessity confined to Members of the Supreme Council. Municipal training is an excellent and useful thing in its way, but there are men of high position who would reflect great honour upon the office, who might be willing to accept it, but who would not care to go through the excitement of a district contest for Alderman or Councillor. With a well-organized permanent staff, there ought to be no more difficulty in this than there is in taking some innocent man from his farm and putting him over the Admiralty—nor indeed so much.

The Lord Mayor of Municipal London ought to be elected by the Supreme Council from amongst any of the citizens who are qualified to be Aldermen. This proposition is closely analogous to that of the Commissioners of 1854, and seems to be the best.

As to the mode of election, nothing could well be worse than the present system. When the Liverymen of the Companies were admitted to the franchise in 1475 they were all of them traders carrying on business within the City: living there and paying their share of City taxes. Practically, every trader in the City had the franchise, and all

* We should think the honour need not overpower the worthy Alderman, for as we write, the goods of a recent Lord Mayor are advertised for sale. Two shillings in the £ is the amount of this City Baronet's dividend.

the leading men possessed the needful qualifications. But a widely different state of things obtains to-day. Any one who chooses to purchase it may obtain the freedom of a Company and be entitled to vote. Residence within the City limits is of no importance, and many of the electors have no house or office within the corporate limits. The Companies which confer the franchise have long ceased to possess any of the ordinary constituent elements of an electoral body. Probably the electoral franchise of the Liverymen of the City of London is the most anachronous and absurd franchise existing in any corporate city in the world.* No reform can therefore be even temporarily acceptable that perpetuates it. The Lord Mayor may usefully be elected by the Common Council in each year, and be eligible for re-election. Such election to take place at the same time as other corporate elections throughout the country.

Although the procession on Lord Mayor's Day will probably be abolished, unless it be retained for the purpose of the visit to the Chancellor, there will still be considerable expense attendant in various ways upon the due maintenance of the dignity of the office. The chief magistrate of the English capital will be expected to play the host in a manner not inferior to his predecessors. Kings and princes have been wont to honour the Lord Mayor of London with their gracious presence, and when from the great Municipal London of the future a Lord Mayor shall arise representing and embodying still greater interests and

* The Commissioners of 1837, dealing with this question, say—"We "cannot discover in the constitution or practice of the governing bodies "of these Companies any single circumstance which shows, or even pro- "bably suggests, the propriety of their being fixed upon for the respon- "sible office of selecting the electors to the high offices of the Corpora- "tion."—Report p. 37.

a more extended area, it will be his pride and his duty to take care that the capital city shall not lose in the future the renown it has won in the past.

Provision will be made for the election from amongst the Aldermen of a Deputy Mayor in case of necessity.

Under the Municipal Corporation Act, Aldermen are elected by the Council from Councillors or from those qualified to be Councillors. One-half go out of office every three years, and are qualified for re-election. Under the custom of the present Corporation of London, Aldermen are elected for life by particular wards. The two Aldermen elected in 1875, were elected by 121 and 163 votes respectively. Neither of these systems are fitted for a renovated system in London. Life elections are quite unsuited to modern institutions. The system of election by the Council is well suited to towns of ordinary size where citizens are known and appreciated in the whole town, but it would lead in London to the election of men as Aldermen of districts with which they had no connection.

The post of Alderman of London would be one of great honour. Probably there would come into competition for it in London men to whom Municipal questions have hitherto been merely a name. As the recognised Head of a district of 100,000 people, and as a possible candidate for the Mayoralty, the office would be sought after by men of position and influence. Such a post ought to be secured by the direct vote of the constituency.

In the "Report of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners on London" in 1837, they say, "The Aldermen chosen do not appear to be in general taken from the higher classes of the merchants or bankers of the City. There is a disinclination to serve in civic offices which appears to be a very prevalent feeling in these classes, and

which has latterly much increased." * Whilst testifying to this fact the Commissioners seem to have been greatly puzzled to account for it. The expensive incidents of the Mayoralty and Sheriffwick did not seem to them sufficient to account for it, as the apathy was amongst the wealthier classes. The unpopularity of the Court of Aldermen and its secrecy of procedure was a reason which was lessening every day and seemed of little weight. But the most remarkable reason of all, and the one which seems to have conveyed to the Commissioners the idea that it was the true one, was that the higher classes connected with the City and the monied interest, finding that the line of demarcation between themselves and the aristocracy is becoming less and less definite, object to assume those civic honours which they regard as typical of the trading class, which they suppose themselves to be escaped from. Such were the conclusions to which that important Commission came. The same results are as noticeable now as they were then, and every one must form his own ideas as to the cause. Whatever that cause be, a strenuous effort ought to be made in the constitution of the new Municipality to remove it.

The 200 Supreme Councillors ought to be elected directly by the ratepayers throughout London, and the forty divisions will be readily available as separate electoral centres. Each of such divisions will elect one Alderman and five Councillors.

Under section 28 of the Municipal Corporation Act, the qualification of Councillors and Aldermen in the larger towns is that they either are, or are qualified to be on the burgess roll, and that they either possess £1,000, or are rated to the relief of the poor at £30. The qualification for London Vestrymen varies according to the rateable pro-

* "Report of Municipal Corporation Commissioners on London" p. 33.

portions of the district, being either £40 or £25, whilst that of the Poor Law Guardians is fixed at £40 rateable value.

Rateable value is probably the best possible basis of qualification. In order, however, to provide for the cases in which non-householders are candidates, an alternative property qualification may be admitted. It is, probably, a mistake to fix that qualification too high, as it is desirable that all classes should have their share in both voting and in representation, and with a popular Municipality there is no danger of the representatives being all of one class. Nor does there seem to be any valid reason for continuing the distinction between districts. The qualification of Members of Parliament is abolished, and although, perhaps, having regard to the character of their work, it is desirable to retain a qualification in a Municipality, it should simply serve the purpose of insuring that those who are elected, are either ratepayers or persons of some means. The requirements would, therefore, be fully met by making the qualification for Councillors the possession of £1,000, and being on the list of voters for Members of Parliament,* *or* being rated to the relief of the poor on an annual value of not less than £30.

Aldermen are in a somewhat different position, and the qualifiation should here, probably, be higher, say £5,000, or rateable value of £60.

The other qualification provisions of the Act may be adopted.†

Every householder rated to the relief of the poor, irrespective of sex, ought to have a vote in the election of

* The "Burgess Roll" qualification in section 28 of M. C. Act has given rise to much controversy and doubt, so it is not here reproduced.

† The balance of arguments seems somewhat in favour of the continuance of a qualification in Candidates for Municipal honours; but there is much to be urged on both sides of the question. There is no present qualification in case of the London School Board.

Councillors, and there seems no reason why the lodger franchise should not be introduced, and the burgess list and the list of voters for Members of Parliament be made the same.

A more difficult question arises in considering the time at which elections may take place. Under the system in general adoption, one-third of the Councillors retire every year, thus necessitating a yearly election, but taking three years to change the whole Council. This method is supposed to guarantee the constant presence of a number of practised and experienced Councillors, so that public work may suffer no interruption. But this system is by no means of universal adoption. The London School Board recognises the term of three years as a desirable one, but the whole Board go out of office simultaneously. It is found in such cases that a sufficient number of the old members are re-elected to prevent any interruption of the continuity and routine of official life. A still better illustration is given by the Imperial Government itself where the defeat of a party brings with it a change in the whole governing body. But many of the new rulers have had previous experience, and the permanent staff of officials is as complete as possible.

Applying these considerations to the matters before us, there seems no valid reason for disturbing the Metropolis with an election every year, unless one year should be deemed as the longest time which a Municipal Councillor ought to be allowed to stay in office, without coming to his constituents for re-election. Three years has been, however, generally adopted as the tenure of office of a Municipal Councillor, except where the re-election was, as in the City of London, a matter of course. The life of a Member of Parliament may extend to seven years, and surely it is safe to trust a Municipal Councillor for three.

The best method of election would therefore seem to be

to elect the whole of the Supreme Councillors once in three years.

Nor does there upon consideration, and with the experience of the Municipal Corporation Act available, seem to be any sufficient reason for giving Aldermen a six years' tenure of office, and electing one-half every three years. With a direct election by each district the electors ought to have an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion upon the conduct of the Municipal Head of each district at least once in three years. It would, therefore, seem desirable to have an election for Aldermen at the same time as that for Supreme Councillors, and at each such election the whole of the Municipal Governors of the City would come down to their constituents for re-election.

As to the method of voting the choice seems to be between personal voting and voting by voting papers, and as we have examples in London of the working of each system, we are enabled to form a fairly conclusive idea as to which is best. The voting for the School Board has been numerically the best by far that has ever taken place in London for any Municipal purpose by open voting. But there have been certain religious and social questions introduced into School Board contests which have given them an especial colour and force. Yet even here the apathy of the Metropolis is beginning to show itself, and there is a very great falling off in the numbers going to the poll. There remains then the voting for Poor Guardians and for Vestrymen. The former is conducted by a system of voting papers already described, the latter by open voting. The latter has been shown to be a miserable failure, and the former has been a comparative success. The occupations of the people of London; the long distances to be traversed; and the difficulty of obtaining any fair expression of public opinion seem to point to the voting paper system as the best.

A voting paper ought to be left at the house of every ratepayer, as is now the case in voting for Poor Law Guardians, and it may be subsequently called for. This work would be performed by the Police.

In the system of voting now adopted in the election of Guardians, a number of votes up to six is given to each ratepayer, according to the rateable value of his house, &c. To a certain extent, this may have succeeded in protecting the interests of the large proprietors against the poorer voters. But such a method, whatever might be its effect in limited communities, would be out of place in a system where every interest would receive due recognition, and by the establishment of which the interests of property and of order would have guarantees hitherto unknown in London. Every voter would therefore have an equal voting power.

Mr. Hare has advocated before the Social Science Congress,* and elsewhere, a method of election as adapted to London, which may be fairly represented in the following quotation:—

"Suppose there were 4,000 electors on a Municipal register, and 40 town councillors to be chosen, the names of all the candidates might be placed separately on desks in the Town Hall, with a paper ruled to contain 100 names of voters placed below that of every candidate, and when any paper had been subscribed by 100 voters, the candidate at its head declared to be elected. To give further effect to all the active and thoughtful elements of the constituency, suppose no more than 3,000 of the voters had taken the trouble to poll, giving a quotient of 75, then the first 25 on the lists of the candidates who had received 100 votes, may, on a subsequent day, be allowed to withdraw their names, and add them to the lists of any of the candidates who had less than 75, which has become the quotient of actual voters,

* Sessional Proceedings, 1869-70, p. 457.

and thus the most complete expression of the public opinion would be obtained by the election."

Upon the intrinsic merits of this proposal, it is not necessary now to offer an opinion, as although easily intelligible, and probably easy in its working, it is desirable to have the details of any new system in its inception so simple that no objection can be raised on any minor issue of procedure which shall divert public attention from the main object of the scheme.

The School Board are elected on the cumulative system of voting. If we judge of a system by its fruits, we may say that it has worked well in London. To extend it to the whole Municipal system is a wide proposal. It is a system, however, that enables voters who have a clear opinion of the suitability of a given candidate for a given office, to enforce it, as against those who vote hap-hazard, and it also effectually provides for the representation of minorities.

The polling-booths ought to be kept open upon the day of election till eight o'clock in the evening, and the provision of booths and clerks ought to be made entirely at the cost of the Municipality, so that no barrier should be raised against the admission into the Council of some of the intelligent working men with whom London abounds.

At the close of the election, the candidate who headed the list would be the Alderman of the District, and the next five names those of the Supreme Councillors representing the District. It would be readily possible, if it were considered desirable, to divide each District into five wards, of 20,000 inhabitants each, and allow each one to elect one Councillor, the united whole voting for the Alderman; but the other method seems to present the most advantages.

The Constitution of the Supreme Council, and the election and qualification of its Members, would then stand thus—

Lord Mayor.—Qualification, same as Alderman; tenure of office, one year; elected by Supreme Council from whole body of citizens; method of election, by elimination of lowest.

Aldermen.—Qualification, possession of £5,000 in real or personal property, with a vote in London for a Member of Parliament, *or* the occupation of a house of a rateable value of £60 a year; tenure of office, three years; parliamentary suffrage; voting cumulative, and by voting papers.

Supreme Councillors.—Qualification, possession of £1,000 in real or personal property, with a vote in London for a Member of Parliament, *or* the occupation of a house of a rateable value of £30 a year; tenure of office, suffrage, and method of voting the same as that for Aldermen.

Chapter XVII.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

The Livery Companies in the future.—Transfer to Supreme Council of powers of City Corporation over Livery Companies.—Appointment of a Royal Commission.—Probable result.

The position, character, and work of the Livery Companies of London has been so exhaustively considered in a preceding chapter, that it is not needful to add much to it here. It will be seen that, although the information possessed by the outside public with respect to these Bodies is considerable, yet that in consequence of their conduct in 1837 as well as of their general policy, it is necessary that more should be known before an accurate judgment can be formed as to what is the best course to pursue with respect to them.

Whilst, therefore, the consideration of the method of dealing with them, and the property which they claim to administer, is somewhat premature, there are two measures which may be recommended as preliminary to any decisive action.

The first of these is to formally transfer to the Supreme Council the power over the Livery Companies now possessed by the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, or any of them.

The second is to grant a Royal Commission with the fullest powers of ascertaining everything with respect to the property, income, expenditure, and management of these

Companies, together with the objects for which the various funds possessed by the Companies were given, and everything about them. There is nothing to which the right is more clear. It is true that it will excite the strongest opposition, but this has its limits, and probably the Companies will have exhausted their vocabulary in defending the Corporation. The appointment of this Commission is a matter of immediate and most urgent necessity.

These two measures will put the matter in train for equitable settlement, and prevent the constituting Act from being burdened with any special provisions for dealing with these bodies. Upon the report of the Commission the Supreme Council would be in a position to initiate a measure which would have the merit of resting upon reliable data. The sooner such a commission is appointed the better.

Taking the maxim of the Fruiterers' Company, "*Fructu non foliis arborem æstima*," as the principle applicable to the Livery Companies, it is not possible to deny that their day of practical usefulness is now over.

In a preceding chapter certain propositions have been laid down which the report of a Royal Commission would probably emphasize.

1. The London Livery Companies are an integral part of the Corporation.

2. The property of the Companies is public trust property, and much of it is available for Municipal purposes.

3. The Companies are trustees of vast estates of which London tradesmen and artizans ought to be the beneficiaries, but such trusts are disregarded.

4. The Companies are also trustees of estates applicable to charitable uses: they fail to apply to such uses the whole of the funds fairly applicable to them.

5. The Companies were incorporated to benefit trade, to

train artizans, and to repress bad workmanship: they perform none of these functions.

6. The Companies are, by Charter, to be composed of members of a given trade in many cases, and are legally compellable to admit members of it. They admit members irrespective of trade, and impose restrictions on those who are admissible.

7 The Companies are subject to the control of the Corporation, but as the members of that body are members of the Companies also, and are promoted in the latter concurrently with their advancement in the former, such control is never enforced.

8. The Companies are subject to the control of the Crown, and their lands and monopolous privileges were only granted on condition that they performed certain duties: they have ceased to perform the duties, but they continue to hold the lands.

9. The continuance of a large amount of land in the heart of the City, and in the north of Ireland, in the hands of corporate and unproductive bodies, is a hindrance to commerce and a loss to the public revenue.

If these propositions are established by the Report of such a Commission, there will not be much doubt as to what ought to be done with the Livery Companies. But at present it is submitted that *primâ facie* evidence has been given of their truth, and it is difficult to conceive stronger reasons existing in any possible case for investigation than exist here. If in any way the immediate appointment of such a Commission is thwarted, it will be needful for the citizens of the Metropolis to consider the other remedies open to them.

It is not therefore, needful to intimate further the method of dealing with those bodies. It may suffice to say that, when a Royal Commission has reported, the public will

be in a fit condition to grapple with the question. It is not unlikely that intricate questions, as to the method of dealing with vested interests, will arise in connection with some of the Companies. What is the exact pecuniary interest of a Liveryman with a prospect of getting on the Court some ten years hence, or of having a pension in case he should fall into a state of "decaie," is a matter not easy to estimate. And still more difficult will it be to measure the value of the social benefits, in the way of periodical dinners and so forth.

Chapter XVIII.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

Origin of Charters.—Subject to change by Crown.—Custom of yearly re-grant and consent of Parliament.—Present character of Charters.—Classification of same.—Method of dealing with them.

The establishment of a new system must mean also to a greater or less degree the supersession of the old. The object to be arrived at is not the destruction or removal of anything old merely because it is antique, or even because it is useless. But where existing institutions are calculated to interfere with the successful working of a scheme designed for the general good, then it will be necessary to modify them so that they may coincide with it.

So also where property is held or administered by small bodies to which larger bodies have an equal legal or moral claim, and where property is held in trust for certain public purposes, which may be usefully modified and extended, it will become needful to consider in what way such property and such trust funds may be most usefully dealt with.

With respect to existing officials and existing organizations, it will have been noted that, in more than one of the Bills introduced into Parliament, provision has been made for the transfer of their functions to some new body. Where these functions are in connection with the management of the private property of private companies, as in the case of the companies dealing with gas and water supply, the best

methods of acquisition, and the rights of the public in respect of the matter of supply generally, present more serious difficulties. When the property and the Municipal functions are in the hands of public bodies, performing public duties, with means provided directly or indirectly by the public, it will only be needful here to indicate generally the method of modification or transfer.

The first of the various questions requiring consideration, is how to deal with the City Charters.

Whenever an exhaustive measure for London Reform is next presented to Parliament, it may be hoped that this question will be dealt with in a broad and statesmanlike manner. There is a theory held by some interested City people, as well as by some who ought to know better, that Royal Charters are superior to Acts of Parliament, and that they cannot be weakened or abrogated except by other Royal Charters. It is simply necessary to recall to mind that the Municipal Corporation Act, 1835, was the clearest possible assertion by Parliament of an opposite and true principle. As Sir Robert Peel said at the time, the Act "suspended all prerogatives of the Crown, and assumed for Parliament a right to supersede Charters,"* In the face of that single measure—to say nothing of some still more forcible ones which have succeeded it—it is superfluous to discuss the question. Of course the Corporation of London may be expected to claim some special virtue for the Charters they bought of various Sovereigns, but any attempt to set up a theory that they are better, or more sacred than the Charters of the various towns that were affected by the Act of 1835, will never convince intelligent and independent men. Whether their having been confirmed by Act of Parliament does not necessitate an express enactment to repeal them, is a different position entirely. The terms of

* Hansard, vol. xxviii. p. 1020.

the Act of William the Third are, that the City should have again what it lawfully had before the *Quo Warranto*, and so we are simply relegated to the legality of the Charters themselves.

Independently of the powers of Parliament as illustrated by the Municipal Corporation Act, the history of the City furnishes fruitful illustrations of the exercise of control over the City by the Crown and by Parliament. In the argument in the *Quo Warranto* case in 1682, great stress was laid by the City upon Magna Charta, and its exception of the "*antiquas libertates et liberas consuetudines*" of London. But most of the "privileges" of London have taken their rise at dates subsequent to Magna Charta, and the other cities alluded to in Magna Charta have long since lost their "privileges."

The history of the City during the various reigns from the date of Magna Charta down to the reign of William the Third, is a history of a constant regrant of Charters. These Charters which, with rare audacity, the City has for the last 180 years asserted to have been final and conclusive for all time, were not so regarded when they were granted. And it is quite outside the purpose for Mr. Scott and other City writers to talk about every immunity having been forfeited and confiscated by "arbitrary power," and then reconferred or "wrested from unwilling hands by the happy conjuncture of events, by tender of political support, or by payments in hard cash." Neither can the position of the City be strengthened by showing that it successfully took advantage of the necessity of monarchs, and bribed them by money or support to grant these Charters. No claim to exercise large rights over others in England rests at this moment on so rotten or immoral a basis.

Possibly, if it had not been for the exigencies of the Government the decision in the *Quo Warranto* case would

to this day have been unrepealed. But when these City Charters were granted and regranted, they were confined to the reign of the granting monarch. Hence it was for centuries the custom for the City authorities to prostrate themselves before every newly-crowned monarch, and to pray humbly for a confirmation of the privileges and the monopolous rights which they had previously enjoyed. This prayer was generally well-recommended by heavy bribes in money. When the City saw that any claimant for the Crown was likely to succeed, they deserted the sovereign *de jure*, and took to the aspirant bribes in the way of promises of support.

The political history of the City is one of great worldly wisdom, and one that shows that she never stooped at any measure to attain her ends, from the days of the Plantagenet Kings to the days of William the Third, when, as already noted (p. 183), she succeeded in bribing the Speaker of the House of Commons.

It is since the reign of this latter monarch that a complete change has taken place in the conduct and pretensions of the City. Having succeeded, by availing herself of the "happy conjunction of events," in getting her privileges confirmed by an Act of Parliament, which did not define them, but, practically, put her in the *status quo ante*, she has now ceased to tender submission to new Sovereigns, and has even developed a capacity for denying that such was ever anything else than the exercise of arbitrary power. Much may be forgiven to the gross ignorance of their own history and constitution which distinguishes even professed City advocates,* but it is not the less needful that the truth should occasionally be contrasted with it. In that complete settlement of the customary and written law of the City which

* See examination of Mr. Medwin, before Committee of 1867, Q. 1020, *et seq*.

was made in 12 Edward the Second (see *ante* p. 9), certain articles were presented to the King for him to accept and confirm. But some of these articles were rejected and others were modified. Dealing as they do with much of what was included in Magna Charta under the term "*antiquas libertates*," the conduct of the City in thus submitting the articles to the King and accepting his alterations, clearly showed their acceptance of his prerogative power, even as against Magna Charta itself. Again, the first Charter of King Edward the Third, after setting out a number of City privileges which had already been the subject of repeated Charters, adds, "the King grants that for the allowance of their Charters one writ shall suffice in each reign." The inference from this is not merely that it was needful to have such writ from every sovereign, but *that in default of it the Charters would lapse.* And such writs were never granted without good reason. This very Charter was, "in consideration of the good services which the citizens had rendered to the King and his progenitors," and, what is not less important, was granted "by the assent of the Prelates, Earls, Barons, and all the *communitas* of the realm then assembled in Parliament at Westminster." The statute of William the Third simply restored the condition of things as they existed before the *Quo Warranto*, and the City Charters to be of binding validity at all would seem, constitutionally, to require a special writ in each reign, and also the consent of Parliament. This the City has now carefully ignored. No remonstrance was made to King Edward by the City on account of the ephemeral title upon which their Charters and privileges were thus shown to rest, and in succeeding reigns, the City proceeded on a full recognition of its character. Thus in 1 Richard the Second, a Charter setting out and confirming previous Charters, was granted by the King, with the assent of Parliament, upon the petition of the citizens of London. Henry

the Fourth and Henry the Fifth followed suit, and Henry the Sixth, after granting the City's Charter, seems to have subsequently resumed, upon the prayer of the Commons, all the rights, townships, honours, fees, &c., previously granted by him during his reign, *and this was deemed to have revoked the City Charter among the rest.*

Henry the Seventh only granted the City a Charter confirming their privileges, upon the payment of a large sum of money. This money was not paid for any new privileges, but merely for the confirmation of old. Nor did any succeeding kings in any way change the principle. Charles the First threatened the withdrawal of the privileges, and Charles the Second did actually withdraw them, but in both cases after a previous grant of a confirmatory Charter. But since 1690, the City have asked neither consent of King, nor consent of Parliament, although these were necessary in every previous reign to the exercise of the privileges at all. And yet they are in exactly the same position before the law now, as they were before the *Quo Warranto* case. In that notable case, which was argued twice at the bar by Mr. Finch, and afterwards by the Attorney-General for the King, and by Sir George Treby and Henry Pollexfen for the City, the impeached privileges of the City were the claim to be a body corporate, by the name of the "Mayor, and Commonalty, and citizens;" to have Sheriffs and nominate them; and that Mayor and Aldermen should be Justices of the Peace. The City pleaded in its defence, Magna Charta and other Royal Charters; and the Attorney-General replied by taking issue on this plea, and then adding that if they were a Corporation, they had, in view of private gain alone, assumed unjust authority in the levying of tolls upon people coming to the markets, in sending seditious petitions, &c.*

* See "The pleadings, arguments, and other proceedings in Queen's Bench, in *Quo Warranto*."—London, 1696.

It is not needful to consider the questions of the legality of that decision, which, as far as regards its forfeiture, was reversed by the Statute of William the Third, but the unjust market authority has become tenfold more unjust in these latter days. The terms of the 2 Wm. and M., c. 8, are, that "the citizens of London should have and enjoy all their rights, gifts, charters, grants, liberties, privileges, franchises, customs, usages, constitutions, prescriptions, immunities, market duties, tolls, lands, tenements, estates, and hereditaments whatsoever, *which they lawfully had at the time of the recording or giving of the said judgment.*" The City has accepted the Act with gratitude—though how many Members of Parliament besides the Speaker were bribed in this reign by them is not known—and have neglected the conditions upon which their Charters were previously held, pretending that this Statute gave them some new one, but still taking great care to procure the insertion in every Act of Parliament affecting them, of indefeasible and indefinable reservation clauses.

A review of the constitutional position of the Corporation of London, shows to how large an extent its claim rests upon simple assumption and daring assertion. Taken upon their legal merits, the privileges of the Corporation would not be easy to defend: of morality there is nothing about them so long as they decline to admit the suburbs to property and privileges which were intended for both.* And, although exception could not be taken to any Parliamentary measure upon the ground that it did not go on the lines of old Charters, yet it is not the less satisfactory to know that they are morally and probably legally indefensible.

There are other charters besides those to which the City

* Many of the old City Charters contain the word suburbs, and it may be noted that the articles set forth *ante* p. 9, are for the government of City *and Suburbs*.

still clings, that rest upon precisely the same title, but which are not enforced, either because the City is fearful of the hubbub such enforcement would create, or because the advantage formerly conferred is now seriously lessened. But where there is anything to be gained in the way of money or prestige, a custom is often stoutly maintained, except when as in the case of compulsory freedoms, popular indignation proves too much for them.

The passing of some measure dealing with the customs and franchises and privileges of London is an urgent necessity. They are, as has been abundantly shown, undefinable either in their character or their extent. They are especially harsh in their action, for one of them declares that none of the rest lose their power either by abuse or non use. Thousands of men have been ruined by the action of the City in enforcing them during the present century, and if the Corporation were to put in force to-day the laws and customs which it claims to be unrepealed and valid, it would be in its power to depopulate the City. This power ought long since to have been taken away.

Many City customs as that of free testamentary disposition have become the law of the land, but the number and extent of those charters that absolutely conflict with our statute law is very considerable, and one great obstacle to the systematization of the latter is the existence of the City, whose opposition can only be brought off by the insertion of saving clauses in statutes.

In dealing with these charters as with the Corporation itself, there is one other view of the case which must never be lost sight of, and which puts the absolute justice of any measure proposing in the name of the Metropolis to control or extend City charters, customs, or property beyond question, and that is, that these charters were granted to the *entire* capital: the customs arose as customs of the entire

capital, and the right of holding lands in mortmain and the possession of property was the right and possession of the whole capital as such and not of a confined area. In the charters granted before the beginning of the seventeenth century there was no need to specify the area benefited, as it was compact and mainly within the walls. But the Charters both of Corporation and Companies included the suburbs. When the City had burst its bounds, the idea of the *whole capital* was always the central idea in the grant or perpetuation of any privilege. Thus, the great Inspeximus Charter of Charles the First, confirmed by Charles the Second—the charter and confirmation still referred to by the City as indicating their rights—clearly contemplates the government of the whole of London. It restricts trade carried on from the port of London or within ten miles by non-citizens, and requires that citizens shall not take any apprentice in the City or within ten miles for less than seven years' service, and provides for enrolment.

And it is upon this very Inspeximus Charter that much of the title to City property rests. It grants to the Commonalty certain lands, &c., within the City, and on the shores of the Thames, which have increased enormously in value, and much of which are now covered with valuable houses, bringing in a large revenue. This is a material fact in considering the appropriation of City property.

As to the City Charters—that is to say, the titles to the rights, privileges, franchises, &c.—of which we hear so much, the facts, therefore, seem to stand thus:

1. They are to a large extent obsolete, and not adapted to the present day.

2. They are mostly undefinable in their terms.

3. It is matter of much doubt whether they have not all lapsed.

4. They were purchased of needy monarchs, for money or promises of assistance.

5. They were, when granted, intended for the benefit of the whole Capital, and have been appropriated by part to the prejudice of the rest.

In considering how to deal with the rights, privileges, franchises, &c., granted or confirmed by City Charters, the subject-matter may be safely divided into three classes:

a. Those which may be adopted by a new Municipality, with benefit or advantage. These include the rights of the City over property held by Royal grant, or in trust; the power of internal regulation possessed by the Common Council; coal and wine dues, &c.

b. Those which do no injustice and have their antiquity to recommend them; and those which, though unjust now, when confined to the City, would not be so when extended to the whole Municipality. Of this class are the title of Lord Mayor, the appointment of Sheriffs, the Chief Butlership of the Lord Mayor, his annual presentation to the Lord Chancellor, for the Royal Assent to his appointment, the right to carry gold maces, &c.; and also over the extended area the control of markets, but this only within Municipal limits.

c. Those that are obsolete or mischievous. The number of these is very large, and as one of the Charters provides that abuse or non-use in no way affects the validity of a Charter, they are still in force. Of this class are all the numerous Charters in restraint of trade; many of those affecting the enforcement of justice; the metage of corn and fruits; the certification of customs by the mouth of the Recorder; the Magistracy of Aldermen; penalty on all who trade in the City not being freemen, &c.

Subject to these considerations, the Constituting Act

ought formally to repeal every existing or claimed City Charter, and all confirmatory Acts of Parliament, and then to re-enact those of them which belong to the first two of the above three classes. It is better to do this than simply to transfer the rights of the present Corporation as to any matter where such rights rest upon Charters that are not easily defined.

The rights of the Common Council over the Livery Companies would be transferred as before suggested, and as to the property of the Corporation this would be formerly transferred, subject to considerations hereafter stated. Such property mainly consists of land over which there is now a good title ripened by prescription but as to which in its relation to the rest of London the character of trust property attaches.

The simple proposal as to City Charters then is to formally repeal them all; to re-enact in a new Constituting Act those that are not obsolete and mischievous; to transfer to the new Municipality the City's title to property held under Charters or Royal or other grants made to the capital as such, and to transfer also the control over the Livery Companies, in default of those bodies being effectively dealt with in the same Act, or previously.

Chapter XIX.

CONSTITUTION OF SUPREME COUNCIL.

Method of dealing with the Corporation of the City and City Property.—Appointment of a Commission to settle Boundaries, ascertain rights, &c.—Adaptation of City Institutions and Officers, and the work of City Committees, to the new System.

The Supreme Council must of necessity delegate to Committees most of the detail of Municipal work, and some of these Committees in their turn would divide their work amongst Sub-Committees. The duties of these subordinate bodies would be mainly directory, and they would have the assistance of a well-organized permanent staff.

The method of work of the Supreme Council, the appointment of the Committees, Sub-Committees, and permanent staff, and the division of Municipal work amongst them, are fully detailed in a succeeding chapter and set forth in the Tabulated Summary.

It will be there seen that the Municipal work of London, whilst under the final direction and control of the Supreme Council, might be usefully placed under the immediate control of fourteen chief Committees, viz. :—

1. Drainage. 2. Water Supply. 3. Gas Supply. 4. Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing. 5. Public Education. 6. Poor Relief. 7. Public Works. 8. Public Property. 9. Fire Brigade. 10. Public Property. 11. Taxation, Assessment, and Finance. 12. Law and Parliamentary. 13. Audit. 14. Special Purposes.

As the consideration of the work of the new Municipal body will cover a more extended area than is now occupied by existing Municipal institutions, it may be most convenient here to indicate the method in which all existing Municipal or quasi-Municipal bodies would be absorbed by a new system; how the work they now perform would be divided amongst the Committees of the Supreme Council; and in what manner and to what extent the property they possess ought to be utilized or dealt with under a Municipal Council established for the government of London.

The real property administered by the City Corporation has been claimed by some defenders of the City as the private property of the members of the Corporation. The absurdity of such a claim needs no further discussion here, but it is quite possible that, as respects part of that property, there are objects to which it ought equitably to be applied; and as respects other parts of it, a good case might be made out for its appropriation for the benefit of the limited City area. The *onus* of proof in such cases ought, however, to rest on the Corporation; the general ruling principle being that, in default of such proof, the property should be transferred to the Supreme Council, as trustees for the whole Municipality.

The appointment of a Commission for the settlement of boundaries, and the ascertainment of rights between various parties affected by the establishment of a Municipality, seems a matter of necessity. To this Commission the question of title to City Property would be referred, and the Corporation would have to prove, with respect to any particular property, or class of property, any good ground for its exclusion from the effect of the general principle above stated.

The Bridge House Estate would be transferred, together with the liabilities charged upon it. Probably, however, the Supreme Council would assume the City liabilities as a

whole, and this estate would then be relieved from the lien existing upon it from bridge repair, &c., and the general control of the bridges would be in the hands of the Public Works Committee. The management of the Bridge House Estate would pass into the hands of the Public Property Committee.

The Gresham Estate would be subject to the same considerations. The Public Education Committee would undertake educational work of the character contemplated by the founder of this fund, and in such case there would be no need of specific appropriation of the income of the estate to such purpose. It would pass into the hands of the Public Property Committee.

The investments of personal property which now appear as assets in the City's Estate Account, would be transferred to the Supreme Council by a clause in the Constituting Act of a similar character to section 92 of the Municipal Corporation Act.

The City Markets would be transferred to the Supreme Council; so also would be the Coal Exchange, and the Mansion House and Guildhall; a right of meeting in the latter being reserved to the City District Committee.

The 4*d.* coal and wine duty appropriated by the City would cease to have an unjustifiable local application merely, but would be available for the purposes of the Supreme Council.

The grain duty and the fruit metage would be formally transferred to the Supreme Council, which should have power to decide on the desirability of their continuance, and the method of their extinction.

The income from brokers' rents and the control over brokers, would also, *pro formâ*, be transferred to the Supreme Council, not for the purpose of continuance, but in order to prevent a needless burdening of the principal Act, and in

order to give the question of the desirability of Municipal Control over brokers a fair opportunity of being discussed and decided upon.

The income derived by the City from its prison jurisdiction, and from fees in connection with the administration of justice, would be simply transferred subject to the observations hereafter contained as to City Courts.

The method of dealing with City schools would be left for the Commission to report upon, as to whether there were any equities affecting particular classes of persons that prevented their being handed over to the Supreme Council; and how such equities, if existent, could be best provided for. When handed over, the real estate would necessarily be under the control of the Public Property Committee, and the schools themselves would pass into the hands of the Public Education Committee.

The various "Improvement" Estates in Holborn Valley, Smithfield, and elsewhere, would be transferred as they stand.

So also with respect to West Ham Park, the control of which would be in the Public Property Committee.

The City prisons would be transferred to the Supreme Council, and their control placed in the hands of the Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing Committee.

The rating authority of the City would of course come to an end. In the Constituting Act it would also be needful to have a clause similar to section 97 of the Municipal Corporations Act, for the purpose of preventing collusive purchases or sales of Corporate property by the City Council, or any one else, before the Act came into force.

The loan liability of the City in 1875 was £5,213,500. The property of the City is the final security for a large part of this, and in case the Commission reported in favour of the retention of any of the present City property by its present

holders, the question as to its proportion of loan liability would have to be considered. Practically, the City property is managed on so extravagant a scale and is so burdened with debt, that if its monopolous privileges were removed, say, for example, in the matter of markets, it would at once turn the balance the wrong way.

The Supreme Council would be compelled to assume the City loan liability as well as the City property, and the balance on the transaction would be infinitesimal, unless, indeed, the City is soon delivered from itself, it is likely to follow some of its leaders into financial difficulty.

One of the clauses in the Constituting Act will undo the work of the Remembrancer, and formally repeal such sections in various Acts of Parliament as have interposed reservations in favour of the City.

The Court of Aldermen of the City would necessarily cease to exist, nor is there any good reason for the re-establishment of such a Court in connection with the Aldermen of the Supreme Council. So also with the functions of the Court. The Gaol Committee would give place to the Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing Committee of the Supreme Council, and the prison control would pass to the same body, together with Newgate and Holloway Prisons.

The work of the Finance Committee of Aldermen would cease when both Aldermen and money came to an end. The Committee on Privileges would not be needful in a new Corporation, whose position and powers were clearly defined by the Constituting Act. The question of Brokers and their control would be transferred to the Supreme Council, with full power to deal with the subject.

A Livery Cloth Committee would not be needful in a Corporation with nobler ambitions than to clothe officers of the Crown. The power of voting pensions so largely

exercised by the Court of Aldermen at the present time, would be under the control of the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee of the Supreme Council, and the Constituting Act ought to provide that no pension voted within one year of the assumption of power by the Supreme Council should be valid without confirmation. No attempt would be made to grant to the new Aldermen of London any powers analogous to those now possessed in the matter of the City Magistracy.

The ward divisions of the City as they now exist are absurd to a degree, and have not even the poor merit of coincidence in boundary with parishes to recommend them. After the establishment of the new Municipality, there will probably be no object of any kind to be attained by their perpetuation. Many antique things have special interest because of their antiquity, but the boundary line of a City ward as it exists now and has existed for 500 years, is surely of the least possible interest. Such boundaries are a matter of painful recollection to many who were compelled to mark them, and by all means let them be perpetuated on a vellum map and hung in that murky vault ycleped the "Guildhall Museum." The appropriation and method of dealing with the property of the several Wards is a matter for the Commission to report upon.

The representatives of the City at the Central Council will be elected directly from the ratepayers as in the rest of London, and membership or otherwise in a Livery Company, if such still exist, will no longer have influence as a qualification.

The Committee system of the City would disappear and come forth in a purified and practical form under the Supreme Council. It will, however, be not unlikely that one or two of the best features of the City system may be usefully introduced.

The Irish Society would probably be dissolved, and no better method of dealing with it has ever been proposed than that advocated by the London Corporation Commissioners of 1854, set out *ante* p. 119.

The functions of the City Lands Committee would be transferred to the Public Property Committee of the Supreme Council, and the Bridge House and Gresham Estates have been already considered.

The duties of the General Purposes Committee in connection with City buildings, would be transferred to the Public Works Committee of the Supreme Council.

The duties of the Epping Forest Committee would be transferred to the Public Property Committee.

The duties of the Royal Reception Committee and everything connected with the extension of civic hospitality to public or private individuals, would be undertaken by the Special Purposes Committee.

The control and appointment of the servants of the Municipality would be in the hands of the Supreme Council.

The appointment of Sheriffs has already been included in the list of City privileges, which might be transferred to the Supreme Council without mischief. When London is all formed into one county it might be well to have two Sheriffs, one for each side of the river.

There is no advantage in preserving the title of Comptroller, the duties of his office would be performed by other officers under the direction of the Town Clerk.

The new Municipality will probably have a Recorder. The privilege of appointing this officer ought to be in the Crown.

His functions will be considerably different from those of the present Recorder. So long as the Mayor's Court exists he would be nominally as well as really the Judge; and until some alteration in the constitution of the Central

Criminal Court, he would remain a Judge there also. Officially, he ought to be present at the meetings of the Supreme Council, and also to present the new Lord Mayor to the Lord Chamberlain.

The Common Serjeant would remain as Deputy-Recorder, and sit at the Mayor's Court and Central Criminal Court as at present. The office ought to be in the appointment of the Crown. Probably the present excellent tenant of the office would be willing to transfer his service to the Supreme Court upon its constitution.

The Town Clerk would be preserved as the chief permanent officer of the Law department, under the control of the Law and Parliamentary Committee. The office of City Solicitor, as such, would cease to exist.

The Library of the Corporation would be under the control of the Public Education Committee.

The City Markets would pass into the hands of the Public Property Committee, and their immediate control would be under the direction of the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee.

The City of London School, and Freemen's Orphan School would pass, so far as regards their buildings, into the hands of the Public Property Committee, and, so far as regards their control, into the hands of the Public Education Committee, but the action of the Supreme Council in relation to these schools, would be regulated by the report of the Commission, as to equitable interests affecting them.

It is not probable that any attempt to deal with the whole of the City Courts would be made by the Constituting Act. There are certain of them whose extinction ought however to be formally notified. These are the Court of Hustings, the Court of St. Martin's-le-Grand, the Courts of Southwark Sessions and the Borough of Southwark, and

the other minor Courts detailed on pp. 134 and 135 *ante*. The control over the Lord Mayor's Court exercised by the City might be formally transferred to the new Supreme Council, with the exception of the jurisdiction of the Mayor and Aldermen. The Court and its constitution would then probably be dealt with in some general Government measure, or in some measure initiated by the Supreme Council. The Recorder and Common Serjeant would remain the Judges so long as it continued to exist.

The City of London Court ought to be constituted a County Court pure and simple, and put under the same regulations as to appointment of Judges as the rest of the Metropolitan County Courts. The jurisdiction of the present Judge at the Central Criminal Court ought to be abolished.

The Central Criminal Court would remain untouched as respects its jurisdiction, but no Act purporting to confer any reform on London Government ought to be passed which did not at once put an end to the participation in the judicial functions of this Court by any of the City officers. The Law and Parliamentary Committee of the Supreme Council would have this Court within their province, and would recommend to the Supreme Council such reforms as might be from time to time needed.

The Treasurer or Chamberlain of the new Corporation would cease to exercise the remarkable master and apprentice jurisdiction now exercised by the City Chamberlain, and the two classes would be left to their ordinary remedies before the law. The office of Chamberlain would, however, be retained under the control of the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee.

The Remembrancer would be abolished alike in name and office. A new Corporation would not need to bribe Members of Parliament, and no City officer would be parted

from with less regret. The functions of examining the contents of various Parliamentary Bills, would devolve upon the Law and Parliamentary Committee.

The duties of the Local Government and Taxation Committee would be adopted by the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee.

The functions of the Gas and Water Committee would be transferred to the respective Supreme Council Gas Committee and Water Committee. The work of the Improvement Committee would go to the Public Works Committee.

The Commission of Sewers of the City would divide its functions amongst the Drainage Committee, the Public Works Committee, the Public Health Committee, and the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee.

The functions of the City Police Committee would be transferred to the Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing Committee of the Supreme Council, who would control the whole Metropolitan Police Force.

The above paragraphs indicate the method in which existing City institutions would fall without much friction into the new groove.

Some of the standing orders of the City Common Council are so good that they might be adopted by the Supreme Council.

The constitution of the Thames and Lee Conservancy Boards will be considered in their place, but the appointment of City and Metropolitan Board representatives would be replaced by members of the Public Works Committee of the Supreme Council.

The hospital control exercised by the City may be referred to a commission to ascertain what are the equities affecting it, and to recommend the best course to be pursued. The London Almshouses and the Ward Charities would be referred to the same commission. The provisions of the

Municipal Corporation Act, sec. 71-72, as to the method of dealing with Corporation Trust Estates applies here. In 1835, Mr. Spring Rice proposed that the Ecclesiastical patronage of the Corporations should be sold, and the price be invested so as to be applied to the public good of the Boroughs. Without endorsing the desirability of sales of patronage, this seems the best method now available for dealing with this class of question.

It would be as impossible as it would be unjust to construct a Municipality round the City of which it should form no integral part, but which it should be permitted to interfere with as it now interferes in various ways with the Metropolis; which should break the continuity of London Municipal government without any corresponding advantage; which should constitute an *imperium in imperio;* and which should still hold property and exercise rights to both of which the outside Londoner could advance substantial claim. When it has been shown how readily City institutions can be adapted to a new system, the last argument in favour of such a state of things is removed.

If it is useful and just that the roads and buildings, the gas and water, the police and fire brigade, should, for the purposes of Kensington in its relation to the rest of London, be directed from one centre, there is no exception to the argument that can be urged in favour of the City area. It may be necessary to station the police closer together and to expend more money on the streets, but the conditions of life are in no way so materially different as even to require a different character of staff. Some of the work which would be heavy elsewhere would be light in the City area, from which the force of circumstances has extruded some classes of houses and people.*

* One of Mr. Scott's strongest arguments in favour of the excessive goodness of the people of the City, is derived from the fact of the absence

After the adjustment of the various equitable interests affecting the Corporation, it would be found that the City District would not differ from any other district except in the changing character of its population requiring special conditions of control. It would be represented by the same number of members at the Supreme Council as any other district, and probably its Selected District Committees would not be larger.

In Educational and Poor Relief matters the City District would have the same control as any other district, but there is no absolute necessity that it should be exercised by a nominated District Committee if the City area prefer to have an elective one. It is likely, when a measure is enacted of any kind similar in principle to the one now proposed, the City will care very little for a District Council rather than a Committee, but the choice may fairly be given them, and even the functions of such Council might be larger than those of ordinary Metropolitan Districts if the Supreme Council think that such additional powers may be safely conferred, but the discretion ought only to be granted on the vote of the whole Supreme Council.

But the whole of the City organization as it exists would have been extinguished or transferred, and as it would not be desirable to have two kings of Brentford on one throne, the Lord Mayor would also have gone.

of certain classes of people and houses that have been actually driven out by the increase of property value.—See "*Statistical Vindication of the City of London*," *passim*.

Chapter XX.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

Rights of Londoners with respect to Gas Supply.—Necessity of Supply being in Municipal Hands.—Methods of Acquirement considered and illustrated by Example of other Towns.

The London Gas supply being in the hands of private and independent companies, it is necessary to devote special consideration to the method in which it can be acquired by the Supreme Council.

It is in the first place desirable to deal with certain assertions constantly made on behalf of the Gas Companies, and then having cleared the ground, to indicate the basis upon which action in the matter of supply may best be taken.

There are four leading propositions which seem to be generally enumerated by the defenders of the Gas Companies, and which it is desirable to deal with. These are:

1. That the Act of 1860 was a Parliamentary contract accepted by the Companies and the public, as a solution of the question.
2. That the Companies have, or ever have had, a statutory right to a dividend of 10 per cent. payable by consumers.
3. That in any scheme for purchase, the Companies' capital must be taken at its present rate.
4. That Londoners are precluded by legislation from supplying themselves.

The points may be taken *seriatim*—

1. Before the Parliamentary Committee of 1868, Mr. Denison, the leading counsel for the Companies, said: "The Act of 1860 was a Parliamentary contract, and you cannot depart from it;" and throughout his address it was represented as a fair settled agreement from which the Companies had never departed. Again: "It is no longer open to the public of London, and therefore no longer open to Parliament, to consider whether that bargain was reasonable or unreasonable, because it was an agreed matter between the public and the Companies."*

And in the "objections" supplied by the Gas Companies to members of the House, when the Bill of 1867 was before them, we find the statement that "the Act of 1860 was regarded on all hands as a Parliamentary settlement of the rights and obligations of the Gas Companies."

These statements are remarkable, and have been frequently reiterated since; but it is not less remarkable that if they were true, a Parliamentary Committee should have reported that "*no monopoly has been granted which the House of Commons is bound to respect:*" and the Act of 1868, as well as other measures, have materially interfered with the provisions of that statute. As a matter of fact—as may be seen by reference to the history of the Act of 1860—no statement could be more distinctly untrue than to say it was "accepted on all hands." The Companies, by their conspiracy against public interests, brought on the opposition which resulted in the introduction of the Bill in 1860. They utterly failed before Mr. Sotheron-Estcourt's Committee to depreciate the evidence of their misconduct, but by bringing the whole joint-stock interest to bear, got the Bill re-committed by the House, and, as has been seen, from that moment it became their own creature. Probably no

* Minutes of Proceedings, May 1st, 1868.

public body other than a London Gas Company, trading on the forgiveness and forgetfulness of London consumers, would have the audacity to foist a measure framed as was that Act upon them as their "voluntary" agreement. Even if in any sense the Act could have been regarded as a bargain, it is not a bargain in perpetuity. The same Parliament that made it can repeal it, and the people of London were not represented in any fair way before the Committee of 1860. Bad as Gas legislation has been for the interests of Londoners, it is not quite so bad that we are delivered over bound hand and foot to these monopolists. Acts of Parliament from 1810 to 1860, and since 1860, all affirm the clear right of the Legislature to deal with the question, and Committees of the House of Commons treat the matter as one admitting of no doubt whatever.

2. It has been constantly asserted since 1860 that the London Gas Companies had a "right" to a dividend of 10 per cent., payable by the consumers. The claim is so beneficial a one for Gas shareholders, that one cannot wonder at their doing their best endeavour to persuade the public that it is their vested right. If it were in Magna Charta it could not be more vigorously insisted on. The minutes of proceedings before the Parliamentary Committees are fairly redolent of "statutory dividends," "authorized dividends," "Parliamentary 10 per cent.," and similarly misleading terms. In the speeches of Companies' counsel, and in the pages of their pamphleteers, any measure tending to imperil this 10 per cent. is called "confiscation," and in the present day they have actually beguiled innocent Londoners into an arrangement whereby the Board of Trade may appoint Commissioners who can raise the price if they are of opinion that the Companies cannot with "due care and management" make this 10 per cent. The absurd futility of this arrangement as any protection of

public interests, has been sufficiently shown by the proceedings before the Commissioners in 1873 and 1874. But an intelligent consumer will ask, "Where and when, and how, did I agree to pay any public body supplying me with an article of necessity, 10 per cent. upon whatever sum it might be pleased to call its 'capital'?" And to that question the answer is simple, "You have made no such agreement."

As has been noted, when the Act of 1860 was passed, no London Gas Company was paying a 10 per cent. dividend, and only two Companies had ever done so; but that Act soon immensely improved their condition, and enabled them to increase their profits by stereotyping their district monopoly. As to dividends, they were expressly placed under the Act of 1847, the provisions of which in this regard have been already enumerated, and which, as will be seen, merely provide that no Company under the Act may divide "more than 10 per cent."

In 1867, Mr. Cardwell's Committee gave the most laborious consideration to the "dividend" question, and as to it they report:—"Your Committee do not recognise as just the construction which the Companies appear to place upon the combined operation of the two Acts of 1847 and 1860. When the Act of 1847 was passed, it was intended for the regulation, not of thirteen Companies in London acting upon an exclusive system, but for the regulation of all the Companies which might be established throughout the country, and which in general would be subject, not only to the limits of the Act in respect of dividend, *but also to the competition of other Companies in the same districts.* When the Act of 1860 was passed, the Metropolitan Companies had not generally attained the limit of 10 per cent., and the possibility of that limitation being imputed to convey a right to a statutory dividend of 10 per cent., may

not have been as clearly understood as from recent experience and discussion is now the case."

There is thus the highest Parliamentary sanction for the opinion that there is no statutory right to a dividend of 10 per cent.; and yet even as late as 1872, the "Gas Light and Coke Company," was allowed to earn this rate upon its million of new capital to be issued to shareholders at par and soon afterwards at 80 per cent. premium.

Nothing but the very strongest and clearest proof would lead us to believe that Londoners, so shrewd in their ordinary business transactions, would be such arrant dullards as *voluntarily* to deprive themselves of the benefits of competition,—to concede their own right of self-supply, and then to undertake to give the supplying Company a dividend of 10 per cent. But all the demonstration is—as we should expect to find it—in the contrary direction.

The simple effect of the Act of 1860 was to provide that the Companies should not declare *more* than ten per cent., and that, after paying back dividends and other expenses, they should give the public the benefit of extra profit. This restrictive provision is now treated as though it provided that they must in any case have 10 per cent. What have the Gas Companies ever done for London, that such abnormal privileges should be conceded them?

3. And the enormity of the position is greatly increased when we consider what it is upon which this 10 per cent. is declared. The Gas Companies have funds, which they call "capital," and upon which this dividend is payable. Now, this capital *has never been investigated.* It has never been verified. And there are vast sums which are now entered as capital in the books of the Gas Companies, and upon which the London consumer is compelled to pay this abnormal dividend, which were never, in any true sense, capital at all. The capital of the various Water Companies

was thoroughly overhauled in 1852, and was reduced by the abstraction of sums, improperly charged to this account, amounting in some cases above 40 per cent.* If precedent were wanting, there is therefore here an excellent one.

Applications have been made to have these capital accounts investigated, in nearly every year when Gas legislation has been recently before Parliament, but they have been *always successfully resisted.* An attempt was also made before the Commissioners in 1873, but it was held to be without the scope of their powers.

London consumers have wondered how it happened that the provisions for reducing the price of Gas when dividends reached 10 per cent., was so seldom productive of any good, even when nearly every Company paid this maximum dividend. It probably never occurred to the innocent citizens that the more money the Gas Companies could spread the dividend over, the greater would be the benefit to these monopolies, and that when all existing capital was paying ten per cent., the next best thing would be to pull down their old works, and issue fresh capital to build new ones. Money could, of course, be borrowed at 6 per cent.; but why borrow at 6, when you can issue shares to yourselves, and make the London ratepayers give you 10 ?

The Companies have been wise in their day and generation, and have lost no good opportunity of increasing a capital that bore so good a rate of interest. But this only

* The accounts of the Water Companies were investigated by an able accountant, with result of reducing the nominal capital by which term would appear to have been meant the original issue price *plus* the premium value of the West Middlesex Company from £830,000 to £506,300; that of the Chelsea Works, from £428,243 to £300,000; Grand Junction, £523,735 to £354,000; Southwark and Vauxhall, £439,662 to £303,600, &c., *vide* pamphlet of Mr. Hughes. And since this time the Gas Companies have had twenty years of freedom!

applies to recent years. Prior to 1860 there was, as we have seen, the most ruinous competition. Money was spent recklessly in pipes and works, and all the incidents of an expensive Gas War. *And yet, upon all that money, the London consumer is now paying* 10 *per cent.*

Before 1860, the capital of the Companies was entirely uncontrolled, and manipulated nobody knows how. Since 1860, when some sort of control in the public interest was supposed to have been obtained, it has been immensely to the interest of the Companies to enlarge their capital as much as possible. If ever the Gas capitals should be verified, it will be found how well they have availed themselves of this power.

There is one other aspect of this Capital question, which perhaps may best be introduced here. The price of Gas shares has, of course, varied largely in the market, but during long periods of time they have ranged about 50 per cent. premium. When, therefore, a Gas Company obtains power to increase its capital (say, by such a measure as that of the "Gas Light and Coke Company," in 1872), it goes on to the market for a certain sum which is really worth a good deal more. At present prices, the million which the "Gas Light and Coke Company" obtained powers to issue in 1872 would be worth, if issued, £1,800,000. What becomes of the £800,000? A million sterling could be raised in the market by a loan of the nominal value of a little over £600,000, taking the £10 shares as worth £18. But is this thrown on to the open market? It has been so done by the Company supplying Liverpool for years, and the result is a saving of more than 40 per cent., as each nominal £100 fetches £160 to £180. But in London this capital is taken up, and has always been taken up, by shareholders at par. So that if the shareholders choose to sell

their shares as soon as allotted, *they realize* £800,000 *net profit upon each million that Parliament permits the Company to raise.*

This is sufficiently startling; and there is one conclusion that may be very safely deduced from it, and that is, that *any system of purchase based either upon nominal capital, or upon the price of Gas shares in the market, would be grossly unjust to the London consumer.*

The "South Metropolitan Company" has probably a smaller proportionate amount of fictitious capital than any other London Company. What is the result? The Company paid in 1874 10 per cent., and supplied fourteen-candle Gas at 3*s.* per 1,000 feet. The "Gas Light and Coke Company," burdened with a vast amount of fictitious, lost, or wasted capital, required 5*s.* per 1,000 feet to pay 10 per cent., supplying sixteen-candle Gas: that is to say, at the rate of 4*s.* 4½*d.* for fourteen-candle Gas. A large portion of London was therefore paying 1*s.* 4½*d.* per 1,000 feet more that another portion, simply because it is decreed that we shall pay 10 per cent. on all moneys that two generations of Gas directors have put in capital account. If London had a really representative central authority, such a monoply could not exist for a single year.

Existing legislation is bad enough, and indefensible enough, on any fair principle of justice to consumers; but it must be remembered that every day that the capitals of the Gas Companies remain unexamined, we are paying a vast sum for which, even under that legislation, we are not liable.

4. As to the last question—our right to an independent supply. This, although constantly denied, is hardly worthy of serious discussion. The principle was constantly affirmed by the creation of new Companies, prior to 1860; and when

these Companies coalesced against us, we have it again affirmed in the Act of 1860 (Section 6, Sub-sec. *d*), whereby no Company or person shall supply Gas in the districts "*unless authorized by Parliament so to do.*" The Committee of 1866 reported in favour of facilities for Gas acquisition by the consumers. The Committee of 1867 say, "a compulsory and unconditional interference with the prices already conceded to the producer is not the weapon by which Parliament is accustomed to secure the rights of the consumer. *The legitimate weapon to be resorted to for that purpose is the enactment of an independent supply.*"

Having thus dealt with a few of the leading fallacies so persistently urged by interested parties, we may consider the remedy, if one can be found, for the evils under which the Metropolis labours in its Gas supply. If we had no lessons in Gas history to warn us, we might probably be beguiled by some small measure of reform, which the Companies would make much of as a concession, but which would, in the end, turn out to be as disastrous as all remedial measures have hitherto been. Thus, we might obtain the appointment of permanent Inspectors, as provided by the original Act of 1860, but expunged at the instance of the Companies, or we might have elected representatives of the public on the Boards of Gas Companies, as Sheffield has; or a sliding scale of prices, as adopted in the case of some Companies in 1875, so that the cheaper the Gas, the higher the permitted dividend, or a lowering of the maximum dividend rate, &c. All these are good in their way, but, with the lesson of the past before us, we think the day for their adoption as panaceas is gone by. Probably no system of regulation that could be devised would give justice to the consumer, as between him and the manufacturing and distributing Gas authority. And the propositions may be abandoned the more readily, as

they are all denounced as "confiscatory" by the Companies, who always seem carefully to ignore the fact that their organizations are simply "regulated monopolies."

The case of the Gas Companies supplying London differs widely from that of ordinary trading Companies. They are indeed not liable to the ordinary incidents of trade. If coals rise in price, they simply go to the Board of Trade and raise the price of Gas. Their *clientèle*, too, is constant and assured: Gas is now a necessity of life, and we must have it.

The broad question, then, is simply this. Have the London Gas Companies, by their conduct, justified the policy of the legislative exemption from competition, and from the ordinary incidents of trading Companies which we have given them? It may be certainly answered that they have not. And an appeal to the history of the supply will amply justify the answer. The time has therefore come to repeal the special legislation in their favour, and to initiate a new state of things.

The first proposition which may be laid down is, that *a monopoly to supply the public with an article of necessity should belong to the public.* If there is, therefore, to be a restriction upon the ordinary law of supply and demand, the resulting monopoly should be in the hands of the London consumer. Gas is one of those necessities of life which it is clearly within the function of a Corporation to supply to citizens. The citizen of London being without a Corporation, is compelled to take his Gas from the Company in whose dominion he may happen to live; and if he lives on the confines of one Gas territory, paying possibly more than his neighbour across the street for the same article. He has no control over the "capital" upon which he pays 10 per cent., nor upon the management, which he disapproves. There is no inducement to improved machinery or plant, or methods

of manufacture, where the dividend is secure, and so he has to content himself with such Gas as he can get.

Is there any reason in history, in justice, or in common sense, why three millions of sentient beings should any longer remain under the galling domination of this Gasarchy? All efforts made to establish mutually satisfactory relations with it have failed. So far as we know, there is no instance where a local authority in England, having once obtained the possession and control of its Gas supply, has ever relinquished it. When the first 14,000-feet gasometer raised its puny head in Westminster, men had little conception of the giant proportions which this "supply of inflammable air" would assume. But as the century has grown older, the question has increased in importance rapidly. And this not the less because it was soon found that the interests of the Gas Companies and of the public were antagonistic. As Mr. Joseph Fletcher clearly demonstrated so far back as 1846, in a paper read before the Statistical Society, it was impossible to have the interests of the public and of the Companies coterminous. If competition is encouraged, the public streets are impassable: if the Companies are allowed to district, then the public are fleeced by monopolists. So in London it was found that, one by one, the Companies established to overthrow monopolies became monopolies themselves. In 1842 the "Equitable" was permitted to oppose the "Chartered:" the "London" had been established for a similar purpose; and yet both applied to Parliament in 1850 to be allowed to amalgamate with it! Later still, the "Western" was allowed to invade the districts of all these three Companies; and yet in 1857-8 the "Western" was the leader in the scheme for uncontrolled monopoly!

If it be conceded that this monopoly to supply an article

of necessity should belong to the public, then the time has come to devise the method in which London consumers can obtain this right. Whatever method may be adopted, it will be sure to evoke strong opposition. Those who direct Gas Companies to their own great profit, will fight hard to maintain their position. It was recently soberly contended in a legal journal, by a solicitor, that his class ought to be compensated if Lord Cairns' Bill for facilitating the transfer of land became law, on account of the loss of profit on the drawing of windy conveyances, if a short method of transfer were adopted, and that the training and pupilage through which those who aspired to this art were compelled by law to pass, amounted to an undertaking by Government that in case they should pass this ordeal there should always be long and profitable deeds! So the London Gas director thinks that he has a vested right in the London consumer. He is as much an appanage of his district as were the *adscripti glebæ*, in the days of Justinian, bound to the soil, and he has the right to levy on him what tax he pleases. Both pretensions are equally absurd.

There would seem to be four methods in which the evils under which the London Gas consumer labours may be met; and excellent illustrations of each method are available, so as to enable us to estimate their relative advantages.

1. By payment of perpetual annuities for purchase.
2. By paying a certain number of years' purchase on the nominal capital.
3. By purchasing the plant at a valuation.
4. By providing an independent supply.

We shall take four of the largest towns now supplying their own Gas, viz., Glasgow, Leeds, Bradford, and Manchester, as illustrations of these various methods.

1. Glasgow purchased its Gasworks by payment of annuities. In 1869 the two Companies supplying the town

had Bills, for increase of capital, before the House of Commons, and the town presented a measure for the purchase of both of them. A compromise was eventually effected in Committee, on these terms: "That the whole heritages, plant, stock-in-trade, outstanding accounts, reserve and contingent funds of the Company be vested in the Corporation, from a day named, the Corporation relieving the Companies respectively from their mortgage debts, and paying them in perpetuity an annuity of 9 per cent. on the capital created prior to 1847, and 6¾ per cent. on the 7½ per cent. stock." The first year's gross profit under the Corporation *régime* was £61,745 5*s.* 10*d.* Out of this, £13,908 8*s.* was written off for depreciation, and the balance permitted the payment of annuities; of interest on borrowed capital; of the whole expense of the Act in Parliament and out of it (more than £14,000); and of the transfer of the property from the Companies to the Corporation, and of the payment of £5,000 to the Corporation for its general purposes. This sum was, however, not paid over, but the consumers had the full benefit of it. At the end of the first year there was a reduction made of 5*d.* per 1,000 feet within the municipality. Notwithstanding this reduction, however, the gross profit of the year 1870-1 was £68,203 4*s.* 4*d.*, after all payments. A considerable net profit was again the result, and again the price of Gas was reduced.

In the following year the price still remained at the low rate of the previous year, notwithstanding the great rise in the price of coals and labour, and the fact that, according to the Act, a considerable sum must be set apart in that year as a sinking fund.

The last account before us is for the year 1872-3. The increase in the cost of coal for this year was £37,000; so that whilst practically the same excellent ratio of profit had been maintained, this increase of price necessitated the

resumption of an increased rate of charge. The cost of the year 1873-4 was estimated at an advance of £70,000, or 1*s.* 2*d.* per 1,000 feet in the cost of the Gas; and to meet this the price was advanced from less than 2*d.* to 2½*d.* per candle. It stood in 1874 at 2½*d.*, with a prospect of a great reduction during the succeeding year.

The terms upon which Glasgow acquired her Gasworks were by no means favourable to the Corporation, and the Gas fund is burdened with large sums for annuities and interest; yet still we find it paying its own way successfully, until stopped by the high price of coal, and even then supplying Gas at 2½*d.* a candle, whilst London paid the "Gas Light and Coke Company" 6*s.* 3*d.* for cannel Gas, and 5*s.* for common Gas, that is, 3¾*d.* a candle. Even, therefore, if we could make no better bargain than Glasgow did, and taking the price of coal at about the same, we should have cannel Gas at 4*s.* 2*d.*, and common Gas at 3*s.* 4*d.* per 1,000 feet; and when the normal price is reverted to, cannel Gas at 3*s.* 4*d.*, and common Gas at 2*s.* 8*d.*, which are prices at which Gas may be fairly supplied in London.

2. On the 1st of September, 1870, the works of the "Leeds Gas Company" and the "New Leeds Gas Light Company" were transferred to the Corporation. The agreement as to terms of purchase was arrived at before the Committee of the House of Commons. The two Companies, whose works were purchased, were limited to a 6 per cent. dividend, and it was ultimately agreed to give them £140 for each £100 of 6 per cent. stock. The aggregate sum thus paid for stock was £696,443.* The terms were, however, onerous to the Corporation, as may be well surmised from the fact that the value of the stock

* The stock of the two Companies amounted to this sum, but the debenture and mortgage debts were £116,785, thus aggregating the whole to £813,228.

advanced from 10 to 15 per cent. upon the conclusion of the negotiation, and so the shareholders received a bonus of some £50,000.

The net profit for the year ending June 30th, 1871, was £13,803 3*s.* 6*d.*; and, in the year 1871-2, £12,758 0*s.* 10*d.* In 1872-3 the price of coal affected it, and there was a loss of £6,924 12*s.* 4*d.*; and it was likely that, from the same cause, there would be a loss in the succeeding year.

But it is to be remarked that, in the year 1872-3, a sum exceeding the loss by £1,700 (£8,616 7*s.*) was set apart for the sinking fund. It is also to be remarked that no compensating raising of the price of the Gas took place. When taken over, the price of the Gas was 3*s.* 6*d.* per 1,000 feet, and the illuminating power, seventeen and a-half candles, or about 2½*d.* per candle. It was afterwards raised to 3*s.* 9*d.*, so that it was still considerably under 2¾*d.* Leeds is, however, quoted, not as an illustration of successful working, but of the great advantages accruing to the public from acquisition under the worst conditions. In 1874 the difference between Leeds and London was 1*s.* 8*d.* per 1,000 feet.

3. On June 30th, 1871, the Corporation of Bradford purchased the Gasworks of that town. The original capital of the Company was £55,000, but considerable sums out of revenue had been expended on works, so that the total expenditure had been £236,563. The amount of purchase-money asked by the Company was £325,000, but eventually the sale was negotiated for £210,000, which would appear to be the estimated value of the works and plant, and of the Parliamentary expenses. Under section 57 of "The Bradford Gas and Improvement Act, 1871," the Corporation obtained power to borrow £260,000. The net profit on the working of the first eighteen months (June 30, 1871, to December 31, 1872) was £22,818 8*s.* 9*d.*, which, by a resolution of the Council, was appropriated this way:—

In aid of rates—				
Borough Fund - - -	£8,000			
General District Rate Fund	4,500			
		£12,500	0	0
Balance carried forward		10,318	8	9
		£22,818	8	9

The cost of each public lamp for lighting, cleaning, and extinguishing, was £2 per annum; and in 1872, £2,126 was paid towards a sinking fund.

In 1873 the accounts showed a profit of £4,808 0*s.* 6*d.*, notwithstanding the price of coal, and the price of public lamps was still retained at £2 each. Up to July 1872 the price of Gas was 3*s.* per 1,000 feet of eighteen-candle Gas, or 2*d.* per candle; but in that month, for the exceptional causes affecting all Gas Companies, it was raised to 3*s.* 6*d.* per 1,000 feet, or 2¾*d.* per candle. There is, however, a liberal scale of discounts, amounting, upon a half-yearly consumption of £100, to 20 per cent.; so that large consumers payed in 1874 less than 2*d.* per candle, and consumers to the extent of £60 per half-year pay about 2*d.* per candle.

The works and plant taken over are estimated in the stock account at the value given for them, and more are added each year. The sinking fund is in full operation. The 1874 rate in Bradford would, therefore, in London, have amounted to about 3*s.* 4*d.* per 1,000 feet for cannel Gas, and 2*s.* 8*d.* per 1,000 feet for common Gas.

Bradford, as we have seen, affords an excellent illustration of a large town purchasing the plant of a Gas Company at a fair valuation, and achieving immense pecuniary advantages in several ways, both to the consumer and to the Corporation.

4. We shall now take an illustration of the possible

effect of good Gas management by a Corporation—the City of Manchester. It is the largest town that has been a manufacturer of Gas for a lengthened period, and may fairly be taken as showing the possibilities of Corporate Gas management, in a case where no exorbitant price has been paid for pre-existent and defective systems, and where the capital account is not clogged by heavy payments to retired proprietors.

We have been favoured by Alderman King, the Chairman of the Manchester Gas Committee, and lately Mayor of the borough, with the Gas accounts of the Corporation of Manchester for the twelve years ending December 31, 1873, and they are worth quoting, not merely as models in every way of Gas management, but as showing how fallacious it is to suppose that a Corporation is unable to manage Gas supply as well as a private body, whose interests are in constant opposition to the interests of the ratepayers.

In the twelve years, 1862—1873, the gross declared profit has been £688,135 19*s.* 3*d.*, or an average of £57,344 13*s.* 3*d.*

Of this sum, £186,659 19*s.* 11*d.* has been appropriated in payment of interest upon borrowed money; £263,887 8*s.* has been employed in liquidating the mortgage debt; and no less than £237,508 11*s.* 4*d.* has been paid over to the Improvement Committee of the Corporation, for municipal purposes.

The aim of the Gas Committee of the Corporation is to make 10 per cent. gross profit on the full capital sunk in the works. This would then be appropriated—5 per cent. to the sinking fund, 4 per cent. to the interest account, and 1 per cent. paid over to the Improvement Committee. But in the course of years a large amount of the debt has been paid off, and so the 4 per cent. upon this is saved, and also the 5 per cent. sinking fund; so

that, upon the amount of fund in excess of liabilities, there ought to be for the Improvement Commissioners 10 per cent. clear, and upon the rest 1 per cent. The Common Council have decided that 10 per cent. is a fair rate of gross profit, and the price is now raised to bring about this result.

Contrary to the custom of many Gas Companies, the Manchester Corporation deduct every year for depreciation—

4 per cent. on building account,
5 „ on apparatus,
2½ „ on main pipes,
10 „ on meters let out for hire;

and instead of charging all new service pipes to capital, 50 per cent. of their cost is charged to revenue account.

Thus, in the twelve years we are noting, no less than £191,727 13*s.* 9*d.* has been charged to revenue account in depreciation of works and mains; whilst the gradual paying off of the debt, the excess of assets over liabilities had risen from £126,591 4*s.* 6*d.* in 1862, to £370,307 7*s.* 2*d.* in 1873; and this represents a nice little property owned by the Corporation.

From 1865 to the first quarter of 1873 the price of Gas was 3*s.* 2*d.* per 1,000 feet. In that year, in consequence of the price of coal, it was raised to 3*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1874 to 3*s.* 8*d.* This is twenty-candle Gas.

Thus, for many years the price has ranged under 2*d.* a candle, and for the last two quarters of 1874 was less than 2¼*d.*; being, therefore, even then, with the new rate of prices charged June 30, 1½*d.* per candle less than London, and supplying the same Gas for 3*s.* 8*d.* for which Londoners paid 6*s.* 3*d.*, or a saving of 2*s.* 7*d.* per 1,000 feet; and this after paying off a sinking fund at the rate of 5 per cent., and large sums on depreciation account.

Liverpool, a neighbouring town, with about the same rate of consumption, and the same facility for supply of the

raw material, charged at the same time 10*d.* per 1,000 feet more than Manchester. But Liverpool was supplied by a Company.

We enumerated four methods of acquisition, of which the four towns we have instanced afford illustrations. There are many others, some worse, some better, but those we have quoted are sufficient for our purpose, and the magnitude of the several illustrative undertakings enable us to form some estimate of the result of similar measures here.

We will now consider how far they are adapted for our adoption.

1. By payment of perpetual annuities, or by payment of a guaranteed rate of dividend upon capital.

There are many objections to this method being adopted in London. The first step to be taken towards it would be the rectification of capital accounts. We have already shown how entirely fictitious large amounts of the capital of London Gas Companies are, and the difficulty of rectifying them is greatly enhanced by the number of years that they have existed, the immense number of complex accounts to be overhauled, and the complications introduced by recent amalgamations. The task, which was difficult enough in the case of the Water Companies in 1852, would be well nigh impossible with these larger bodies in 1874.

In Glasgow, as we have seen, the capital, limited to 10 per cent., was brought out at a guarantee of 9 per cent., and the capital limited to 7½ per cent., was brought out at a guarantee of 6¾ per cent. And London Gas Companies have claimed to be guaranteed 10 per cent. on their nominal capital in case of purchase! Taking the example of the "Gas Light and Coke Company's" £10 shares, say at £18, and taking the rate at which the money could be borrowed as 4 per cent. (as a matter of fact it would be somewhat less) a 10 per cent. guarantee on a £10 share would

raise its value to £25, and would be giving a bonus to shareholders of £7 per share, that is to say, £700,000 on each million of capital now limited to 10 per cent.! A guarantee of 7½ per cent. would about meet the market value in this case, and that would of course be only paid upon the rectified capital. But the rectification of capital seems almost insuperable; yet supposing it to be overcome, and a 7½ per cent. guarantee given, it would still be unfair to the consumer, as the present premium on the price represents a sum *given* to the shareholders by the system of issuing the shares to the shareholders alone. If they had been thrown on the open market, as we have already shown, the premium would, as respects large amounts of the capital, have been saved to the public.

If a body representing the ratepayers took over the Gas-works, there would be a great saving in salaries and in many other ways; but supposing a 7 per cent. guarantee were given, there would in the interest account alone be a gain to the ratepayers of £30,000 a year in each million now paying 10 per cent.

2. As to the system of purchase by payment of so many years' purchase upon the rate of dividend, adopted in Leeds, it is still less fitted to the requirements of London. It is quite certain that to pay a large number of years' purchase, which would have the effect of largely increasing the value of Gas shares, would be most unfair to the ratepayer, and conferring a boon on Companies, whose conduct since 1860 has remained just the same as the Gas delegates declared it to be in their 1859 report when they had repeatedly tried to bring about a compromise with them. "On behalf of the Gas Companies, every effort has been made to exact an exorbitant maximum, and to paralyze the future efforts of consumers in dealing with this necessity of life, and every endeavour, honourably to terminate this

strife, has been met by a series of attempted exactions deeply to be regretted." But it would be preferable to pay the shareholders of these Companies a premium even upon the present prices of their shares to continuing the existing system. The difference between the rate at which a central authority could borrow money, and the rate of interest paid upon the present price, would soon cause a great saving to the public. Unless enforced by Act of Parliament, such sales could not be effected. In 1868, as we have seen, the Companies succeeded in nullifying the clauses empowering the City to purchase the Gas Companies by the provision that, if one were purchased all the rest must be purchased—and, presumably, at their own price. A price, equivalent to *twenty-five per cent.* on their market value, was offered for the shares of the "Great Central" and refused. Such a method of purchase is unjustifiable except in a last resort.

3. By purchasing the plant at a valuation. By 50 Geo. III., c. 163, s. 32, the first London Gas Act, it was provided that commissioners or trustees of districts might purchase the pipes within their respective districts, at prices to be settled by arbitration. This useful clause was repealed by the 4 Geo. IV., c. 19, s. 36, and the Gas Companies have succeeded in preventing its re-enactment in London. The principle indicated is, however, as we think, the true one, and should be held conclusive in questions of Gas and Water supply, and that is, *that the control of thoroughfares by local authorities ought to extend below the surface.* We say that it ought not to be possible for any trading Company to destroy the symmetry and obstruct the traffic of public thoroughfares at will. Londoners have not yet forgotten the making of Southwark Street—a work of more than Roman excellence—and how, directly it was completed, a Gas Company came, and *ignoring the subway* specially constructed for it, began to tear up the street

from end to end. If this mischief was charged, as no doubt it was, to costs of maintenance, payable in addition to 10 per cent. dividend, then the poor London consumer was taxed to make the street, and then taxed to destroy it!! Nothing could better illustrate his anomalous position. The London Gas Companies opposed the Bill for the utilization of subways introduced in 1864, drawing such a ghastly picture of the danger of explosion as frightened the Committee of the House out of their common sense. They said that the method of joining pipes in use in London was less perfect than in many other towns, and the leakage was so great that subways would be dangerous! That is to say, the Gas Companies opposed an excellent measure, and actually quoted as the most powerful reason against it, their own culpable neglect in using ineffective pipe joints. The system in vogue elsewhere would, however, have so much lessened their expenditure in pipe laying, that they might have been still further troubled with surplus profit, a commodity of which, at this time, they had a surfeit, being diligently engaged in paying not merely a dividend of 10 per cent., but making up the last six years' back dividends to that amount!

The precedent laid down in the first Gas Act may be, perhaps, regarded as worn out by this time, so we will supplement our case here by excellent authority for the purchase of plant and works at an appraised value. In 1872, as we have seen, the "Gas Light and Coke Company" applied for power to raise another million of capital. Before the Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. Evans, the engineer of that Company, and ex-Gas Referee of the Board of Trade, gave evidence, and admitted that the position of the Company was better than it had ever been before, but he claimed for the Company the privilege to earn 10 per cent. upon this new capital, upon the ground

that the Company had submitted itself to the provisions of Mr. Cardwell's Committee in 1868. Very little credit was due to this argument, as the Committee, in that year, had determined, in default of such submission, to grant the Corporation power to compete, a result of which they were seriously afraid. But it seems to have weighed with the Committee of 1872, and the concession was made. It had, in the course of the argument, been objected by the Metropolitan Board, that the concession of a power to earn 10 per cent. would be contrary to the precedent set in the case of the "Imperial;" would be giving a great bonus to the shareholders, *and would complicate matters*, if ever the Metropolis should wish to purchase the interests of the Companies. It was in his reply to this argument, and upon the whole case, that Serjeant Sargood, the counsel of the "Gas Light and Coke Company" laid down the very principle which, as we think, is the true one in purchase. Replying on the whole case, March 13th, 1872, he said "Mr. Philbrick spoke of the future purchase of the Company's undertaking being embarrassed, if their dividends were only limited to 10 per cent. It would seem from what he said that the Metropolitan Board of Works had not enough to do, that they had not enough irons in the fire already, but must be contemplating in the future the purchase of the Gasworks of the Metropolis. But even supposing it were so, and Parliament would ever give them the power to purchase, he did not think it would much affect their position. *If they wished to become Gas makers, they would have to pay a fair price only for the existing works*, and therefore this was not an ingredient to be introduced into a question of this description."

So we say that the best and fairest system of purchase, having regard to the circumstances of the Companies, is a "fair price only for the existing works." None of the

Companies have hitherto challenged Serjeant Sargood's reasoning urged on behalf of the "Gas Light and Coke Company," at a time when it was greatly to their interest to appear fair and reasonable in their pretensions. It is of course not unlikely that these words may be officially disclaimed if any attempt be made to adopt them.

It may be a question whether any measure passed through Parliament in future ought not to contain provisions whereby the principle of giving to the Corporate authority power to purchase the pipes and plant under the streets at a fair valuation should be endorsed. As to the larger measure of purchasing the places of manufacture it is a different question, and not controlled by the same principle, inasmuch as when the authorities are once in possession of the pipes they may put the supply to tender, and if they dislike the prices tendered, establish manufactories for themselves.

4. It is in this latter contingency that London would be justified in establishing independent sources of supply. The right to compel Gas Companies to sell their works is not clear, and independent supply would only be attempted in case they declined a fair price for them. But it is very probable that the Companies would denounce in the strongest terms the donation of power to a local authority to purchase the pipes in any street, and if it should happen, as it has happened before, that the Companies fighting with the Consumers' money prove too strong for the Consumer whose interests may be only half represented in such a contingency, it is difficult to see how any House of Commons legislating in a fair spirit to Londoners, and having before it a mass of precedent, and of ascertained rights, such as have been set out in the chapter on the history of Gas Supply, it is difficult to see how they can deny to existing local authorities in London now, or to any

central authority in the future, the right to supply themselves with Gas. It is not easy to conceive a position of greater injustice than that occupied by a London local authority compelled to obtain Gas to light its public lamps from a given private manufacturer, and compelled to pay nearly twice as much as they could themselves manufacture it for, in order that the private Company may declare an abnormal dividend on a watered and unrectified capital. All other contracts may be put up to tender save the one where it is so important; and, strangest injustice of all, the local authority is absolutely denied by Parliament the right to manufacture this article for itself. When the proposition to manufacture, made by the City, was before the Committee of the House, we were told that it was unfair to allow the Corporation to manufacture Gas, and bring the Companies into competition with a body using ratepayers' money. We confess we quite fail to see why these Companies should be absolved in London from the common incidents of their existence. If a better lighting material than Gas were discovered, can anybody for a moment pretend either that the inventors should not be allowed to light our streets, or that, in case of their doing so, the existing Companies could have a right of compensation? It is true that if the Companies carried their opposition to extremes there would be an immense trouble in relaying streets with pipes. But that trouble would have two compensations: first, that it was being done finally; and second, that the pipes would be made on the best principle, and not open to the complaints made of the present ones. There is little doubt that we could manufacture for 2*s.* 6*d.*, the same quality of Gas as that supplied by the various London Companies. It is no part of our province to enter here into the calculations which demonstrate this. The concession of powers to purchase collieries, which would be unsafe in the

hands of a Company, would be granted to the Supreme Council, and London would receive benefits in every way. Residual products would fetch a higher and an uniform price: the quality of the gas would be higher, its price less, and its supply more regular.*

No body is now in existence to whom it would be justifiable or even safe to entrust this question. The Metropolitan Board have had an ambition to get it, but their conduct in the question has been already detailed. The scandals in connection with their dealings with the Gas Companies need not be added to those enumerated in other matters. It would, however, be interesting to know how far the members of the Board are themselves personally interested in the Companies. It is not necessary that the question should be put in any obnoxious form, or that they should be required to say how many were given or how many were bought, but as a body spending public money, it would have been useful to know whether, when they recently proposed to vote an expenditure of millions upon gas purchase, they had any ulterior or personal objects in view. Surely, large Gas Shareholders are not people who can fairly vote upon the question of purchase in the name of Londoners.†

Immediately upon the constitution of the Supreme

* At present it is the custom of the Companies to lessen the pressure soon after midnight, on the theory that as public houses are then shut up the same pressure is not required. It amounts to something very like a fraud upon public bodies, burning gas otherwise than on the meter system.

† An eminent member of the Board dying in 1875, left behind him for sale by public auction, *inter alia*, the following shares and stocks, viz.—£9,030 10*s.* stock, Commercial Gas Company; 294 shares, Gas Light and Coke Company; 81 shares, Crystal Palace District Gas Company; £700 stock, East London Waterworks Company; £500 capital stock and four £10 shares, Kent Waterworks Company; 27 shares, Ratcliff Gas Company; 37½ shares, Lambeth Waterworks Company; £250 first preference 6 per cent. stock, London Gas Light Company; 103 shares, Surrey Commercial

Council, a Gas Committee would be appointed. To this Committee would be entrusted the consideration of the question of Gas purchase, and probably the Supreme Council would soon become the manufacturers on behalf of the public of this matter of supreme necessity.

Gas Company; 40 shares, Independent Gas Company, &c., &c. *Nil mortuis nisi bonum.* Probably they were fair investments; shares bought for hard cash, but the holder of such shares ought not to vote in questions affecting the Companies.

Chapter XXI.

CONSTITUTION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

Method of dealing with Metropolitan Board of Works; with Vestries; with Water Companies; with the Corporation of Westminster; with Police Force; with School Board; with Thames Conservancy Board and Lee Conservancy Board; with Boards of Guardians, Metropolitan Asylums Board, and Poor Relief System; with County Jurisdictions within the Metropolis; with the Tower of London, &c., &c.

The absorption of the Metropolitan Board of Works would be attended with even less difficulty than would be experienced in the case of the City. That body exists as a central controlling authority, dealing with a considerable number of questions which affects London as a whole. Its jurisdiction and—subject to certain limitations—its establishments, would be transferred to the Central Council in their entirety.

The main drainage jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board would be undertaken by the Drainage Committee of the Supreme Council.

The Embankments—present and future—would be under the immediate direction of the Public Property Committee.

Street improvements would be under the control of the Public Works Committees. Parks and open spaces, under the Public Property Committee.

The protection of life from fire, and control of the Fire

Brigade, would be transferred to the Fire Brigade Committee.

The control exercised by the Board, under the Building Act, and that over street construction would be transferred to the Public Works Committee.

Infant life protection, noxious trades, storage of petroleum, and of explosive substances, cattle disease, and slaughter-houses, would be under the general control of the Public Health Committee.

Tramway control and construction would be within the province of the Public Works Committee. This Committee would also deal with control of Road Locomotives.

The gas and water testing would, when these matters of public necessity were supplied by the Municipality itself, necessarily take place at the particular depôts of supply. All matters in connection with either would be under the direction of the Gas and Water Committees respectively.

After the Supreme Council had in any case decided to put the Artizans' Dwellings Act in force, the carrying out of the resolution would fall within the province of the Public Works Committee.

All the buildings, parks, and public property now vested in the Board, would be transferred to the Supreme Council.

It would also be necessary for the Supreme Council to assume the £11,179,639 loan liability of the Board, and to adopt and carry out all pending contracts.

The method in which the various subjects now under the control of the Board may be best dealt with by the Supreme Council is hereafter considered. The loan powers of the Board will be found to resolve themselves into a very simple form, when a single body undertakes the borrowing and the spending in relation to all the subjects to which those loan powers extend.

With the absorption and transfer of the powers, property, and jurisdiction of the Board, this body would, after the date of the constitution of the Supreme Council, simply cease to exist. Created avowedly for a temporary purpose, it has succeeded in extending its dominion in all directions, simply because of the absolute necessity of a central power, and perhaps when it is dead and gone men may come to think of it in its better light, and applying the City test of judgment by the fruits, think kindly of a body that has left its mark on the face of the Metropolis, and that has executed works which will be strong and durable when centuries have passed over a renovated London.

The effect upon London Vestries of the establishment of a Central Municipal Body may be readily surmised from what has been already written. As independent, irresponsible, executive, elected bodies, they would cease to exist, and although for the purposes of municipal election it would be found most useful to divide the Metropolis into districts, approximating in number and position to those at present existing as separate governments, yet this division would be purely for the purpose of convenience, and, with the exception of the dependent and minor jurisdiction of the Divisional Education and Poor Committees, no Local Council would replace those with which London has for twenty years been familiar.

Each question under Vestry control has been considered, and the merits of the system of directing it from a central body or by a Local Council discussed. The ventilation of this has pointed so strongly to the superiority of central administration and direction, that it will be sufficient here to indicate in what manner each would fall into a central system, reserving the question of method of control and direction to the time when the functions and work of the Supreme Council are under review.

The Drainage Committee of the Supreme Council would undertake the question of Local Sewerage.

The paving, watering, cleansing and lighting of streets, would be under the control of the Public Works Committee. The control of hoardings and footpaths and crossings would be under the same Committee; the gas lamps under the Gas Committee.

The inspection of underground dwellings, the removal of dust, the inspection of nuisances, of slaughter-houses, cow-sheds, piggeries, &c., and of courts, bake-houses, lodging-houses, noxious trades, workshops, &c., the adulteration of food, the provision of mortuaries, baths and wash-houses, disinfecting chambers and carriages for infected persons, &c., would be in the hands of the Public Health Department.

The Education Department would undertake the question of Public Libraries.

The appointment and work of Medical Officers of districts will be considered in their place, and a method of action proposed which shall put an end to the irregularity now existing, both as regards the performance of the work, and the power of obtaining really needful work executed. These officers also would be in the department of the Public Health Committee.

Probably the control exercised by some Vestries over gardens in squares may be usefully given to the inhabitants of the squares themselves, and where interference has taken place with the ecclesiastical functions of parishes by these secular bodies, the parishes would probably be relegated to their former rights. But where possible it ought to be stipulated that in the case of gardens in squares, such gardens should be open to the public.

Provision would be made for the assumption by the Supreme Council of the £1,560,942 due by these bodies upon loans and for the adoption of existing contracts.

Upon the election of the Supreme Council the London Vestries would cease to exist, and the property held by Vestries in public halls and other ways would be transferred to the Council, and probably the places where the Vestries now meet would be utilized as meeting-places for the Divisional Education and Poor Relief Committees, and as the head-quarters of the Municipality in the given division.

The supply of Water is essentially a municipal function. Not merely is it an article of absolute necessity, but it is an article upon the regular and sufficient supply of which depends, perhaps, in a greater degree than upon anything else, the health and the comfort of those who dwell in towns. Cleanliness is impossible without water, whether it be regarded as it affects roads, buildings, or persons. Sobriety is promoted by abundance of water of pure quality. Health is imperilled by its absence, and still more by a tainted supply. The ravages of cholera in London have been distinctly traced to a tainted supply, both in 1866, as we noted in a former chapter, and also in 1849.*

It would seem, then, having regard to its enormous consumption by the authorities of a town, and its absolute necessity to the inhabitants, that under no circumstances ought its supply to be left, as it is in London, entirely under private control, and made a matter of private profit. It is the interest of every one that the supply of water should be equal to every requirement; should be absolutely pure in quality, and should be charged only the simple cost of distribution.

The London water supply, as has been fully pointed out in a previous chapter, is entirely controlled by private Companies, who charge rates to the consumer sufficiently high to enable them to divide a satisfactory profit to their share-

* See Report of Registrar-General for this year.

holders. Taken as a whole, it cannot be said that the London Water Companies have deserved ill of their customers, but their very existence as private organizations, for the supply of an article of prime necessity, is a defect in metropolitan arrangements. When an aggregation of people delegates to private Companies the supply of its water, it puts in the hands of such Companies the health and well-being of the people; and this truth has been fully recognised in many English towns, now supplying themselves through their corporate agencies.

In 1850 a proposal was made for the formation of an Elective Committee to buy out the different Water Companies and to consolidate the whole, but it was not carried out. The Royal Commission of 1869 reported in favour of consolidating the water supply of London in the hands of some public body,* and this has been constantly recommended. Sir William Clay says, "There is no doubt, I think, that the water supply should be, whenever practicable, vested in the hands, not of individuals, but of some authorities, municipal or other, acting on behalf of the public."

The rates paid for water might be readily collected along with other rates, and, certainly, the procurement from the cheapest source, of water, for cleansing roads, is as much within municipal cognizance as the roads themselves. The saving, in many ways, that would result, we cannot now accurately estimate. An eminent statistician, basing his estimate upon a wide experience upon Commissions, came to the conclusion some years ago that fully £100,000 per annum might be saved to the ratepayers by consolidation of the offices.† It is clear that one efficient engineer could, without difficulty, superintend the whole of the works of an

* Report, p. 122.

† Economic Results of Different Principles of Administration and Legislation in Europe. Edwin Chadwick, C.B., London, Harrison, 1859. Journal of Statistical Society, 1859, p. 387.

united metropolitan supply. The same staff of officials would do the work, now distributed amongst several; the cost of rate collection would be taken away altogether if it were included in the ordinary rates. Such rates would have the advantage of being intelligible and uniform, and based upon the simple cost of distribution, without any profit being payable to the distributing authority. Moreover, the ratepayer would then be able to exercise a control over expenditure, which he is perfectly helpless to interfere with in any shape at present. He would also be able, directly, to exert his influence on a corporate body in order to obtain perfectly pure water, good in kind and ample in quantity.

Whenever the supply of water is delegated to a public representative body, there will at once be established a system of constant supply. More than 30 years ago Nottingham, Preston, Glasgow, and Newcastle in Great Britain, and Philadelphia and New York in the United States of America, adopted this system, and many towns have since followed in their wake. In some of these towns it has been proved to demonstration that the substitution of a constant for an intermittent supply has been productive of actual saving in the amount of water used or wasted. Where the supply is always at hand, there is, no doubt, much less waste in the hoarding of it up; but whether this is the reason of the difference, it is not easy to say. It is, however, clear that such a saving has taken place in the experience of other towns, and may be fairly expected here. In the year 1860 a committee of the Westminster Board of Works reported upon the question of constant supply. Before presenting their report they obtained data as to its actual working from 25 towns, and the unanimity of the opinion borne in its favour by those who had tried it, was most remarkable. There is thus ample experience available whenever a constant supply shall be conceded to London.

At present most of the houses in London have it turned on for an hour or two every day, and are compelled to store such stock as they may require. The effect of this in the poorer districts, where the receptacles for storage are frequently of the most unsatisfactory character, is very deleterious to the public health. The arguments advanced by some Companies against a constant supply are well known, and would appear more weighty if they had not been so remarkably dispelled by the experience of other towns. It cannot be pretended that Londoners are less careful or less trustworthy than provincials, and therefore the same results may be anticipated here that have accrued elsewhere. If the actual result has been found to be that in many cases less water has been required under the constant system, we cannot give much heed to the fear of the Companies that present appliances would be found totally inadequate for the new requirements. There is, no doubt, more force in the objection as to the difficulty of forcing water to the highest levels when drawing is going on at lower levels; but that difficulty is merely mechanical, and may be adjusted by a new arrangement of pipes.

In case of fire the advantage is patent, as many fires would never obtain headway if water at full pressure were immediately to be obtained.

Mr. Edwin Chadwick—no mean authority—thus estimates the difference in cost between the existing system and one that might be established. "If the whole field of the Metropolis were clear of Water Companies, and were put up for competition upon this question, 'at what rate per house will you undertake to provide a supply of pure, soft, fresh, and well aërated spring water for each house?' The answer on ascertained data might be . . . . . 'We will do it and keep the distributing apparatus in good order for little more than 2d. per week, one house with another, and for

that sum we will maintain a constant supply at high pressure, night as well as day, and afford the means of reducing, certainly more than one-half, the destruction of life and property by fire."*

It is needful, in order to the carrying out of a system of constant supply, that stringent conditions should be enforced as to waste, and as to appliances for user. We have already dealt with the remarkable proceedings of the Metropolitan Board; but we note this necessity here for the purpose of an argument in favour of the consolidation of the supply, and the transfer of it to some public body. When an article of absolute necessity to the public health is to be supplied, it ought to be supplied at its minimum cost, and not be taxed with a profit to the distributing agency. And still less is it desirable that regulations interfering with domestic privacy and convenience should be under the direction of private and irresponsible bodies. The resentment which naturally arises upon the exercise of inquisitorial powers by a private Company would be non-existent when wielded by a public representative body.

The incidental advantages of consolidation in the saving of office and controlling expenses are capable of estimate; but who can estimate the enormous boon to a poor district of an unrestricted and pure supply of water? Who can estimate the hundreds of lives saved yearly, and the thousands made happier by such a concession?

And whenever a central organization comes into existence, and assumes the public duty of supply and distribution, Londoners will wonder how they could have remained apathetic so long. One centre of management will displace eight, and one system supersede the varying and sometimes dissonant ones that now exist. Public inspectors will test the quality of the public supply, and whenever the

* "Journal of Statistical Society," quoted *supra*.

source of such supply is deemed unsatisfactory, an organization able to grapple with the whole question will take it in hand with a prospect of satisfactory result. The public who control the supply of fountains and the watering of streets will then control the material employed, and greatly to the advantage of the Municipal Exchequer.

It would be possible to levy two water rates, as is now done in Manchester: a public rate for that used for public purposes, and a dwelling-house rate for the water consumed for domestic purposes. Possibly too the difficulty of supply might be met by two sets of pipes, one supplying water for the streets and ordinary domestic uses, and a different quality for drinking purposes. As to the methods of purchase we have already indicated these in dealing with the question of gas. But there is a great difference between the two. The capitals of the Water Companies were thoroughly overhauled in 1852, and the harassing absurdity of a ten per cent. statutory dividend has no place here. Probably but little trouble would be experienced in ascertaining their proper capitals, in case the system of purchase was based upon capital, and there is no prospect of serious difficulty in coming to a fair settlement as to the terms of purchase whenever we have a body to whom we should care to entrust the task of purchase.

A Bill introduced by Colonel Beresford, Sir Charles Russell, and Mr. Forsyth, during the session of 1874, provided for the purchase of the Water Companies by payment of annuities, equal in amount to the average of the dividends paid during the five years previous. We have already shown, when dealing with Gas, how fallacious this principle is, and the same reasoning will apply here.

A question as to the effect of the new assessments upon the water rate has recently given rise to considerable discussion. It seems that the Companies increase their price

with the increase of assessment, irrespective of the consumption. But, as they decrease the charge simultaneously with the decrease of assessment, the system works both ways, although as assessments are mostly rising, its general effect is of course beneficial to the companies. Probably some effort at legislation with respect to this may be made in the Session of 1876.

A remedy for overcharge would of course be found in the employment of a meter, but the establishment of a general meter system would be an unfortunate thing for London. The more water is consumed in the cleansing of houses, and in bath-rooms, gardens, and so forth, the better is it for the public health and sanitary condition.

If it were asked what was the best step to be taken for our present advantage in the matter of the water supply, we should find it not easy to answer. Consolidation, unification, and constant supply are our great wants; but to what public representative body could the supply be confided with any prospect of our interests being duly regarded? Certainly, not to the Metropolitan Board of Works; a body created for a different, and almost temporary purpose, and who, both upon this, and the Gas question, have shown themselves unable to rise to the level of any patriotic action in Metropolitan interests. Representing no one but themselves the public prefer the Companies. The Corporation of the City can advance no fair claim to legislate and direct such a question for the whole Metropolis, so long as it denies common citizenship to those who live outside its boundaries. The Bill of Colonel Beresford, provided for the incorporation of a Metropolitan Water Commission, with a Common Seal, and so forth, and with power to serve notices on the Companies that, after a certain date, their property would be taken over. No doubt, the appointment of such a Commission is one solution of

the difficulty, and they could control the supply until such time as a metropolitan corporation should be ready to take it over. But the proposition does not merit strong advocacy.

There is a wide difference between gas and water supply in London, and whilst, in the case of one, the loss to the public by delay is enormous, it is not nearly so much so in the other, and, although manifest improvements are wanted on every hand, we are content to wait and digest the filtered scourings of the whole Thames Basin as best we may, until such day as the Fates give us a Corporation worthy of our confidence and worthy of the name.

When the £500 a year, paid by the Treasury to the "Corporation of Westminster" is withdrawn, and the examination of weights and measures within the "City" is under the control of Inspectors appointed by the Supreme Council, the "Corporation" itself will probably pass away. Its functions, such as they are, ought to be formally taken away, and the statutes under which it exists, repealed. The vested interests of its officers will receive due consideration. It is an organization that has excited no ill-will, and has humbly and honestly performed its work, without treading on the toes of its more powerful neighbours. It will, probably, have more true mourners than some of them, but no argument can be advanced which would justify its retention, when such retention must tend to mar the uniformity of a new Municipal system.

Speaking upon the Municipal Corporation Act, Lord John Russell asserted that the watching of a town "ought to be completely under the control of the Council, as responsible for the government of the town." This seems to be the true principle, but with respect to the Police Force of the Capital, grave apprehensions have been felt, or at any rate professed to have been felt, that a measure which

would entrust so large a force to the rulers of the Capital, might be fraught with serious danger to the State! This doctrine has found newspaper editors ready to open their columns to its discussion, and the danger of coercion being used towards members of Parliament has been regarded as one of the strongest arguments against the measure. Excellent reasons have hitherto existed for the Police Force of the Metropolis remaining in the hands of the Government, for no body was in existence to which such control could be entrusted. With the creation of the new Municipality this difficulty will be removed, and no one who knows much of Londoners personally, can doubt that they are quite as fit as other English constituencies to be trusted with the direction of their own police.

The City system would be absorbed into the whole, and the property in buildings and *matériel* of the Force would be transferred to the Supreme Council. There could be no objection to giving the Government a veto power upon the nomination of Chief Commissioner. The immediate direction of the Force would be in the hands of the Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing Committee.

In case of such transfer of the police force to the Municipal Body, a question of some nicety would arise as to the control of the police in the extra-metropolitan district now under police supervision. Whether under any circumstances these districts could be represented in the Police and Prisons Committee, or whether with respect to such districts the Government control should remain, would be one of the most important of the questions which would engage the attention of the Supreme Council.

The London School Board with its offices, staff, and organization, would be adopted into the new system with very little modification. Probably several of the present members of the Board would become candidates at the first

Supreme Council election, and as a passport to success would announce themselves as candidates in the educational interest. Thus, it would fall out that the first Supreme Council Education Committee would contain several of the present members of the School Board, and probably the alteration from the old system to the new would be productive of little sensible change.

The Education Committee of the Supreme Council would perform practically the work now performed by the School Board, except as to selection of sites and construction of buildings. The Committee would report upon the educational wants of a given district, recommending the construction of a school of a certain capacity in the district. The selection of the site and the actual construction of the building would be undertaken by departments under the direction of the Public Works Committee.

The Council would have to assume the debt of the Board £1,340,422, and carry out the pending contracts at the time of transfer.

The Thames Conservancy Board would continue to exist and carry on its present work. The only immediate change would be in the constitution of the Board. Seven members of the Public Property Committee would replace the seven members of the City Corporation who now sit at the Board.

At the Lee Conservancy Board the single member from the City and the member representing the Metropolitan Board, would in like manner be replaced by two members of the Public Works Committee of the Supreme Council.

The liability of these two Boards has been incurred in large measure for purposes extra-metropolitan, and the method in which such liability shall be dealt with, and the proportion (if any) to be assumed by the Supreme Council, would be one of the earliest subjects to engage the atten-

tion of the Public Works Committee. The conclusions of such Committee would then be reported to the Supreme Council, and if any step were taken towards such appropriation or by way of altering the constitution of the Boards, it would necessarily be brought before the House of Commons, and the Thames Conservancy Act and the Lee Conservancy Act could only be amended after full public discussion.

The constituting Act of the Municipal Corporation would contain provisions for the transfer to the Supreme Council of the Workhouses, Dispensaries, Infirmaries, Union and District Schools, Land, Buildings, and property generally now held and administered by the various Boards of Guardians.

The performance of the various duties now devolving upon the Boards of Guardians in the Metropolis would be undertaken by the Poor Relief Committee, aided by the Selected District Committees. The expenditure upon the whole work of Poor Relief would be under the control of this Committee, with, of course, the Supreme Council as the final authority sanctioning such expenditure.

The debts of the various Unions would be undertaken by the Supreme Council, and arrangements would be made for the completion of pending contracts and the continuance of existing systems until their merits were considered.

The control exercised by the Local Government Board would also, in the first instance, be continued; and that most efficient branch of the public service would probably be willing to aid, as far as lay in its power, the efforts of the Supreme Council and its Poor Relief Committee to establish uniformity and system throughout the Metropolis in all matters of Poor Law administration.

The policy of the Local Government Board has been so generally excellent that it is not unlikely that a power of vetoing the orders of the Supreme Council might be use-

fully continued, and would be exercised without producing much friction. If this were so, the system of Metropolitan Poor Relief might soon be the model of its kind. The extent and nature of the ultimate Local Government Board control would be fit matter for subsequent discussion and settlement.

The Metropolitan Asylums Board would fall into the new arrangement with great facility. The Poor Relief Committee would take the Asylums under their charge, and would lay down general directions for their management.

The Local Registrars would be appointed by the Supreme Council instead of by the Boards of Guardians at present, and whilst the superiors would remain nominees of the Local Government Board, it would probably be found convenient to arrange the work on the basis of the Electoral Divisions, and the whole system and work would come at an early date under the consideration of the Supreme Council.

The Poor Relief Committee would also undertake the control of such of the County Asylums as in the partition were appropriated by the Metropolis.

The Metropolis being a county of itself, would not require, nor would it be useful for it to have, any separate authority apart from the Supreme Council, to which should be confided the direction of Lunatic Asylums, Industrial Schools, and Prisons. The latter would pass into the hands of the Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing Committee; and if prisoners from districts outside the Metropolis were lodged in Metropolitan prisons to await trial or suffer sentence, the counties from which they came would of necessity contribute the cost of their maintenance.

The same payment of cost would be made in case of lunatics received into Metropolitan Asylums.

The Bill of 1875 contained elaborate provisions for the division of county property, and the ascertainment of the

relative rights of the Metropolis, and the severed parts of the several counties. Similar provisions would be introduced into the Constituting Act, so that London might be a complete organization within itself, not sharing its jurisdiction with surrounding areas.

When this end was attained, the necessity for separate Lunatic Asylum Rates or County Rates would be removed, and the expenditure would be defrayed out of the ordinary income of the Municipality.

All the bridges within the Metropolis, would pass into the hands of the Public Works Committee; the Inspectors of Weights and Measures would be appointed as other inspectors by the Supreme Council. Coroners would be paid out of the corporate funds, and probably nominated instead of being elected as at present. The Lord Mayor might be Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county, and as to Deputy Lieutenant, if the office should be still regarded as an useful one, the nomination might rest with the Crown

With the work of the County of London divided amongst the Committees of the Municipality; with the judges of Quarter Sessions appointed as such, and the magistracy of Aldermen gone; with stipendiary magistrates, exercising jurisdiction over the whole area, there would be no longer any necessity or use for a Commission of the Peace.

The Supreme Council would, as in other cases, adopt the proportionate liability, and continue the contracts of the ceded authorities.

The Tower of London, as a Royal Fortress, would not be brought within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council. It would remain as at present, self-governed, but its jurisdiction must, in all matters, be limited to the area inclosed by the moat.

The money owing by Burial Boards in the Metropolis

has been in most cases borrowed upon the security of the poor rate, and the moneys expended in purchase of ground, &c., has been expended from the same source. Subject therefore to any special equities existing in particular cases, and which might be settled by the Commission, there seems no reason why the property, rights, and liabilities of these Boards should not be transferred intact to the Supreme Council.

The management of the public cemeteries would be in the hands of the Public Property Committee.

The Constituting Act would not deal in any way with the boundaries of the electoral districts in London. These districts are in great need of revision, but such revision would be a matter for the Imperial Legislature rather than the Supreme Council.

Neither does it seem that any clause attempting to deal with the various charities of London which ought to come under Municipal control, or which might fairly be used in the lessening of the public rate, could be usefully introduced into the Constituting Act. The whole question would be considered by the Supreme Council, and if it was found that they had not within their reach adequate means of knowledge as to the extent and nature of these charities, they would probably move Parliament for the appointment of a Royal Commission, and would promote a measure upon its report.

Chapter XXII.

WORK OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

General Regulations of the Council.—Appointment of Permanent Staff.—Delegation of Powers to Committees.—The Municipal Work of London, and the Method of its Performance considered with respect to the various Committees of the Supreme Council.

The Supreme Council being elected and constituted, it becomes needful to consider in what way the work of the Metropolis, and the responsibility for its performance may be best divided amongst its members, and amongst a permanent staff of paid officials. Certain definite leading principles seem to present themselves as applicable to the Metropolis, and such as may be safely laid down for guidance in working out this problem. These are:—

1. That each district shall have a direct representation upon certain leading questions of Municipal government. Such representation would be not merely confined to the Council itself, but in the Committees of forty, nominated as hereafter set out, it is desirable that one member should be nominated from each electoral district. In matters of Poor Relief and Public Education, this is especially necessary, as local interests will be best secured by a member from the district who has devoted special attention to the specific subject.

2. That the amount of work to be done by each member shall be such as can be undertaken by men engaged in business. This provision is needful, as it will enable the Municipality to receive the practical assistance of the com-

mercial classes. This end will be attained by such a division of work amongst Committees, and Supreme Council Meetings, as is hereafter suggested.

3. That there should be an efficient permanent staff attached to every branch of Municipal work, and that the system of direct personal responsibility be adopted, so that the liability for any negligence may be immediately fixed. It will be found that a very large proportion of Municipal work can be satisfactorily performed by a permanent staff. And where this is the case it is infinitely better, from every point of view, to confide its performance to such permanent staff, than to leave it to the intermittent, and, often, unscientific control of volunteers. Over every department of Municipal work ought to be placed a highly paid, and thoroughly competent official. The Chief Engineer of London, with a a salary of £2,500 a year, ought to undertake—and with a competent staff of subordinates would undertake—the entire responsibility of underground London, drains, main sewers, gas and water pipes, &c. The Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief, with the same salary, would be responsible for the streets and buildings. The Chief Poor Law Officer would be responsible for the management of the entire system of poor relief. The Chief of the Works Bureau would direct the executive work, and control the supply department. The Chamberlain or Treasurer would assume responsibility for the receipts and payments of the Municipality. Each of these chiefs would receive efficient aid from an adequate and well-trained body of assistants, and would be appointed "*quamdiu se bene gesserint.*" London requires—and must have—the best available men, and she must make it worth the while of the best men in every department to enter her service. If a capable and responsible head is thus placed over every department, the subdivision of the work amongst subordinate officers, and the division of responsibility

amongst them can be as readily arranged for the work of the whole Municipality as they are for the work of large commercial firms.

4. That the immediate superintendence of different branches of Municipal work shall be entrusted to Committees. The constitution and functions of these Committees will require careful consideration.* They ought not to be entrusted with any spending power, but ought simply to exercise directory power over particular branches of work. The Committees of the Metropolitan Board of Works are as much undermanned and overworked as those of the Corporation of the City are underworked and overmanned. With a competent permanent staff it is possible in a Council of 240 members to avoid both these evils.

5. That the Committees report at regular intervals to the Supreme Council. In the case of nearly all of the Committees such reports may be presented monthly, and ought to be printed. These reports will contain all the recommendations of the Committee upon the questions within their province, and will embody the report of the chief officer of the particular department of the permanent staff that is under its cognizance. The report will be received at the next meeting of the Supreme Council, and if adopted, measures will be at once taken for the purpose of carrying out its suggestions. Where these involve the execution of any work, the Chief Precept Clerk of the Supreme Council will make out precepts to the executive department in accordance with the suggestions, and where they involve the granting of supplies or the payment of money, receipts will be made out for such supplies and for

* By "constitution" is here meant legal constitution, not the appointment of members. There will, it is to be hoped, be no danger of "packed Committees." As to examples of packed Committees on Metropolitan Board, *Vide* evidence of Major Lyon.—*Committee on Metropolitan Local Taxation*, 1861, Q. 2557, *et seq.*

the payment of such money. A future report of the Committee will certify the execution of the work or the payment of the money, as the case may be.

6. That each Committee make bye-laws for the department over which it has control, and that when such bye-laws have received the sanction of the Supreme Council, it shall be responsible for their enforcement. Each Committee would also have authority to appoint Sub-Committees to facilitate the performance of its work.

7. That the Lord Mayor be the Chairman of the Supreme Council, and ex-officio Chairman of all the Committees, and that in addition to this there be appointed a permanent Chairman of Committees with a deputy.

The late Sir John Thwaites, a man of remarkable energy and force of character, held the opinion that it would be within the power of a single man to act as Chairman of every Committee that would be appointed for the carrying out of the Municipal work of London. And certainly, if he had the occasional assistance of a Deputy, it seems possible so to arrange the times of meeting and the work of the fourteen important Chief Committees, proposed to be established in connection with the Municipality, as to permit of one man undertaking the chairmanship of them all. It would be needful to have a man of great ability and grasp of mind, and one who should devote his whole time to the purpose. The salary attached to the office, ought to be at least £2,500 a year, and the Deputy Chairman might receive £1,500 a year. The benefit of thus having competent men, who were thoroughly *au courant* with the work, to preside over the deliberations of each Committee, cannot be overestimated, and its advantages will be readily appreciated by those who have been accustomed to the vagaries of some casually-appointed Chairmen, who are, as a rule, helplessly dependent on the clerk.

8. That where the functions of Committees overlap each other, there should be conferences held quarterly, or at shorter intervals, for the discussion of business. Thus the Water Supply Committee would confer with the Public Works Committee as to the method in which water pipes should be laid down a new street, or as to the time when an old street might be taken up for the purpose of relaying pipes. Before coming to such conference, the Water Supply Committee would have received its report from the Chief Engineer as to the matter, and the Public Works Committee from the Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief. The same system applies in many other cases. Its advantages are obvious. In the particular instance given for example, care should be taken that all operations affecting the same street—pipe-laying and road-making—should be done at the same time.

9. That the meetings of the Supreme Council be so arranged that most of the Committees might report once a month. Probably the Supreme Council would meet weekly; and, with fourteen Committees as proposed, three might report each week, leaving the Special Purposes to report when necessary, whilst the report of the Audit Committee would be generally purely formal. Every Committee would report immediately any matter of urgency. One of the earliest works of the Supreme Council would be the enactment of Standing Orders and Bye-Laws for its own guidance. The appointment of Committees would also probably precede other business.

10. That, when practicable, the divisions of the work of the permanent staff shall coincide with the electoral divisions of the Metropolis. There are few of the branches of Municipal work that will require as many as forty divisions; but where a fewer number are required, several districts may be united. It would, however, seem likely

that an exception may be made to this in matters of water supply and drainage where the divisions might usefully be made according to surface levels. Each electoral district ought to have a local Municipal office. This, however, would be mainly for the convenience of the citizens. It would constitute the centre where the selected District Poor and Education Committees would meet, and the place where the inhabitants of the district might obtain information or send any complaints, as for example in the case of the non-removal of dust. These would be at once forwarded to the responsible authority. Every inhabitant would receive with his tax papers a notice setting forth the place where complaints should be made, and where information might be obtained.

Practically, these principles cover the main ground of the work of the Supreme Council. It remains to consider the work of the Council and its Committees more in detail. And, first, as to the—

Drainage Committee.

The work of this Committee will include the superintendence and general control of the Main Drainage and Local Sewerage system of the Metropolis.

As to Main Drainage, it is probable that the method of management now adopted by the Metropolitan Board, the works, and to a large extent, the staff, would be in the first instance, adopted by the Supreme Council, and afterwards put under the direction of this Committee.

Local sewerage works would be vested in the Supreme Council, and the necessity of reference from the Vestry Surveyor to the Metropolitan Board will be taken away, when the whole is under one united and uniform system. The Constituting Act will contain provisions on the lines of sections 68-80 of "The Local Management Act, 1855,"

save that much of the work there entrusted to Vestries and District Boards will be performed by the permanent staff.

The carrying out and perfection of the system of London drainage is very largely the work of a permanent staff. Vestry Surveyors, with little knowledge of engineering, and no appropriate training, have produced nearly as much disorder and diversity underground as they have on the surface. Barrel drains, oval drains, brick drains, drains that are level, and drains that undulate like the sea, are to be found all over London, in cases where the conditions are the same. Nay, they may be found in the same street, and, unless we are mistaken, Regent Street and Oxford Street could each furnish samples of all of them. One parish considers that a given drain ought to be four feet in diameter, whilst a neighbouring parish carries it forward with a diameter of two feet. When the sewerage of London is taken in hand by a permanent staff, these monstrous anomalies may be expected to disappear.

The work of sewer making is the work of engineers, and not of surveyors, and therefore the local and main drainage system will be under the direction of the Chief Engineer and his staff.

Plans are already in existence showing every drain in the Metropolis. These will be deposited in the office of the Chief Engineer, and so the work of renovation and systematization can go on all over London under the same direction. Certain rules will be laid down as to the nature of drain required in given places, and these rules will be embodied in the printed monthly report of the Drainage Committee to the Supreme Council, and upon the acceptance of such report by the Council, they will become the law of the Metropolis. In the same manner the suggestions as to construction of new sewers will be embodied in the Chief Engineer's report to the Drainage Committee, and included

in the report of the latter to the Supreme Council. Immediately upon the ratification of the report of the Drainage Committee by the Supreme Council, the Council would issue precepts to the Works Bureau for the execution of the work.

The principle of quarterly consultation between Departments and Committees whose functions overlap, would be illustrated here in the matter of renovation of drains. The Drainage Committee and the Public Works Committee would agree with respect to the date at which a street might be disturbed before either would be able to move in the matter. The Engineers' Department would, in case they wished to renew the sewerage of any street, consult with the Architect and Surveyor's Department as to the time when such street would be up for repairs, so that the two renovations might be simultaneously made, and needless interruptions of traffic be prevented. The report of the Chief Engineer to the Drainage Committee and of the Architect and Survevor-in-Chief to the Works Committee would guide those Committees in their judgment as to the time for renewal of the sewerage and for repair of the street. So with respect to the flushing of the sewers. This would have to be done after consultation with the Water Supply Committee.

The Chief Engineer and his deputies would have the entire sewerage of London under their control. With a properly planned system gradually approaching perfection, it is estimated that five deputy engineers would be sufficient for the direction of the whole of the underground work of London. The areas controlled by each of such deputies would probably be dependent upon the levels of the surface, and might be arranged by the Chief Engineer.

The salary of the Chief Engineer ought not to be less—if a man of the proper capacity is to be obtained—than

£2,500 a-year. The salaries of the deputies would probably range from £500 to £1,200. There would be the necessary complement of draughtsmen, clerks, and assistants in the Chief Engineer's office.

Arrangements would be made whereby every householder in London should be supplied at least once a year, along with his tax papers, with a printed notice of the place and person to which complaints as to defective sewerage should be sent. If the Deputy Engineers had each separate offices in their districts, they would be visited by the Chief Engineer once a week. They would also report to him in writing once a month, and he would report to the Drainage Committee at a similar interval. The Chief Engineer and the Deputy Engineers would be appointed by the Supreme Council.

Although with respect to much of its work, the Drainage Committee will do little more than register the conclusions of the Permanent Staff, yet the latter will always be understood to be the subordinate body.

In addition to sewer construction and repair, there will be other questions that will properly come under the cognizance of the Committee. The results upon Thames navigation of the outfall deposits at Barking Creek is a matter requiring most careful consideration. So also the problem as to how best to utilize and make profitable, the 300,000,000 tons of sewage, which the capital city pours into its river. The utilization of this sewage has been more than once before the Metropolitan Board, but hitherto the opinion of the Board's Engineer has been permitted to prevail against that of the first chemists in Europe, and nothing has been done.*

A Committee of twenty members will be sufficient for the work of superintending London Drainage, and there is no

* See Letter of Baron Liebig to Thomas Ellis, 22 June 1863. Ward, Brothers, Bartholomew Close.

need for the members to be chosen on account of the localities they represent.

The Committee would report to the Supreme Council monthly, and would have power to appoint Sub-Committees, convene special meetings, and make special reports as occasion might arise.

Water Supply Committee.

The acquirement of the Water Supply of the Metropolis has been already the subject of considerable discussion in these pages. Upon the completion of the purchase, the works and plant of the present Companies would vest in the Supreme Council, and the Water Supply Committee would take the place of the present Directors of the various Companies.

The first work of the Committee would be to reduce all the existing separate systems into one uniform whole. In this work they would require the assistance of the Engineers' Department, so that the arrangements for supplying water to different levels should be made as far as possible to coincide with a constant supply. The Committee would direct the provision of proper conveniences for a constant supply, and probably it would be desirable to consult with the Head Officer of the Fire Brigade, as to the supply of water in case of fire.

The Committee would fix the rate to be charged for the water supplied to houses, and if such rate were proportionate to the rental, it would (after being included in the Committee's report to the Supreme Council and there confirmed), be passed on to the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee for collection.

The Water Supply Committee would receive reports from the Chief Engineer monthly as to the condition of the

pipes, and of cases where they required relaying: and as in the case of drainage, consultation with the Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief and with the Works Committee would be requisite before any street was disturbed for the purpose. It is probable that, when streets were renovated, subways would be constructed, and the pipes conveying gas and water would both be put into it and the street made complete for many years.

The whole question of sources, quality and quantity of supply would come under the direction of this Committee, and would require most careful consideration. Probably it would be desirable to appoint a Chemist for the purpose of testing the quality of the supply at various places and under various conditions.

The number of this Committee would be twenty-five, meeting at regular periods. It would report monthly to the Supreme Council (matters of emergency excepted), and as in the case of drainage, whenever any work was recommended in the printed report to the Supreme Council and such report was adopted, the Council would issue precepts to the Works Bureau, and the Committee would in a subsequent report certify the work upon completion.

Gas Supply Committee.

In a previous chapter the various methods of acquiring the right of gas supply for the Supreme Council have been discussed at length. If the Council is constituted whilst the private trading companies are still in existence, the method of acquirement will be probably finally settled by the Council itself. Londoners will be content to leave to that body the solution of the question which has taxed and bored Parliaments and Parliamentary Committees for nigh twenty years past

And Parliament itself would experience an enormous relief when a representative Council possessing and deserving the confidence of the whole Metropolis took charge of the Gas Question. No such Council could permit the continuance of the nuisance of the Companies' gas-pipe system for a single year. No such Council would allow its streets to be torn up by any private body whatever, under any circumstances or for any purpose.

It is therefore likely—indeed certain—that in some form or other the Supreme Council will assume a gas control during the first year of its existence. The Gas Supply Committee will therefore be appointed to perform, with respect to the gas supply, the same character of functions as those of the Water Committee in respect to the water supply. The strength of the Committee will depend upon the extent to which existing works are taken over, but if the whole supply were in the hands of the Council, a Committee of the thirty ought to be able to direct—with the aid of the permanent staff—the manufacture. The number would be less if and so long as the distributory powers only were acquired, and not the power of manufacture.

In any case, and under any circumstances, the Supreme Council would acquire for itself the pipes under the streets, the gas lamps and standards, and all buildings and gasometers within the Metropolitan area. In case the supply was, in the first instance, tendered for by the companies having manufactories at Barking, Kensal Green, and elsewhere, one of the functions of the Gas Committee would be to fix the price to the consumer, and to measure the quantity burnt. The sum due from each consumer in respect of gas would then be regularly certified to the Taxation and Finance Committee, who would collect it along with the other Corporation rates. Under no circum-

stances could the personal connection of the Gas Companies with the consumers be allowed to continue. If the Companies existed at all, it would be purely as manufacturing bodies. The Council would contract for the quantity required for public and private consumption at a certain rate per thousand feet. The distribution of the total cost amongst the consumers, the Municipality for public lighting, and the Municipality for cost of distribution, would be part of the work of the Gas Supply Committee.

It is likely that the Council would ultimately become themselves manufacturers. If, however, this were not so in the first instance, the Council would have to make a deduction of some 20 per cent. from the amount of gas passing through the pipes into London, as, owing to the defective pipes in use, somewhere near this proportion seems to be absolutely wasted. When the pipes were renewed and properly joined, the amount of waste ought to be reduced to three or four per cent.

The various Gas Companies would give their plans of pipes to the Central Council, and whenever the Gas Committee recommended renovation of pipes in a given street, the same previous agreement would be made with the Works Committee, as to the disturbing of the street. Where the complete renovation of a street was needed—its paving, drainage, and gas and water pipes—the Works Bureau would probably direct the work to proceed continuously to completion, by the treble shift system, working without intermission night and day.

When the Council became manufacturers of Gas they would require the services of a Gas Engineer-in-Chief, with an adequate staff, and also of a Chemist. It would be perfectly within the power of the former to direct the manufacture and supply of gas for the whole of London. He would report to the Gas Committee, both as to the manu-

facture, as to the buildings required, and as to the proposed adoption of any new methods of manufacture, as well as upon the whole system of distribution. These reports would be received by the Committee, and—if approved—embodied in its report to the Supreme Council. The report, when adopted, would, on the same system as that already considered, be followed by precepts to the Works Bureau to carry out the constructions therein proposed.

The Gas Inspectors testing the quality and pressure of the gas; the Lamp Inspectors examining the condition of the public lamps; and the Meter Inspectors examining and testing the meters, and reporting upon the amount of private consumption, would all be under the direction of the Gas Supply Committee. These inspectors would all report monthly (or oftener, if requisite) to the chief of the permanent staff. Until the Council became manufacturers, this chief would be subordinate to the Chief Engineer of the Municipality, and after the Council became manufacturers, the whole of the *distributing* work of the Gas Supply, although under the immediate control of the Gas Engineer-in-Chief, ought to receive the formal sanction of the Chief Engineer of the Municipality, upon whose shoulders would rest the whole responsibility of London, below the surface.

The Gas Committee would meet fortnightly at first, and report monthly to the Supreme Council, and oftener in matters of exigency. Ultimately, it would be found that the system would almost work of itself; and in the course of years, when the present gas pipes of London had been recast and the manufacture of gas was upon the best principles, the illuminating power would rise, and the sulphurous product would diminish until London became, as she readily might be, the best lighted capital in the world.

Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing Committee.

This Committee would undertake some of the most important duties in connection with the new Municipality. It ought to consist of at least forty members, so as to allow of the appointment of Sub-Committees with adequate numbers, and also in order that each of the forty electoral districts may have one representative upon it in matters which may have special local importance.

The control over Public Justice, as such, would be mainly confined to the supervision and consideration of the manner and method in which justice was administered in the Metropolis. Such consideration would be generally in conference with the Law and Parliamentary Committee, and would be in connection with the constitution of the Central Criminal Court, the Police, and Sessional Courts of minor jurisdiction. Upon the report of the conjoint Committees the Supreme Council would debate any proposed alteration, and, if approved, direct the Law and Parliamentary Committee to draft a Bill for introduction into Parliament.

The control over the Police exercised by the Supreme Council ought undoubtedly, in accordance with the doctrine of Lord John Russell already quoted, to be in the hands of the body responsible for the peace of the town. It is quite true (as the excellent writer in the "Westminster Review" for January 1876 states) that he who controls the guns at Woolwich will have the town in his hands, and therefore the interposition of any Government authority is not *absolutely necessary* for any purpose. But the Treasury pay a considerable part of the cost of the Police, and it would tend to the strengthening of the hands of the Government, and in no way weaken the just influence of the Supreme

Council, to allow to the Supreme Executive a certain power. The Chief Commissioner should be elected by the Supreme Council, but the Home Secretary ought to have a veto power over the appointment. It is also desirable to go somewhat further, and give the Home Office a power of giving orders in certain cases which should be enforced by the Chief Commissioner. If this were not deemed sufficient control, there seems no reason to apprehend danger from going still further, and giving the Home Secretary veto power upon the general regulations made by the Supreme Council for the management and division of the force.

The Committee would have under its direction, all the ordinary work of police arrangements and control, without, however, lessening the powers now possessed by the Chief Commissioner. They would in their report to the Supreme Council, state the estimated requirements of the Police Force for everything connected with it—horses, carriages, forage, fuel, clothing, medicine, pay of men, and equipment generally, for the ensuing month. The Chief Commissioner would report to the Committee monthly as to these and other matters. The report of the Committee to the Supreme Council would embody the Chief Commissioner's report so far as approved, and immediately upon the adoption of the Committee's report by the Supreme Council, precepts would be made out to the Works Bureaus for the supply of the articles required. These would be supplied from the Store Department of the Bureau and delivered as and when required. Precepts upon the Chamberlain would be made out for the money required to pay salaries and wages.

The Supreme Council would have the appointment of the two Assistant Commissioners in its hands, and also of Inspectors of Weights and Measures. These Inspectors would report to the Committee. The areas of their inspec-

tion and the method of their work would be settled by the Committee, and ratified upon the acceptance by the Supreme Council of the Committee's report thereupon.

All other matters in connection with the present jurisdiction of the Police, would be under the control of this Committee. The jurisdiction over cabs and hackney carriages, over omnibuses, road locomotives, and tramways, over the direction of street traffic, of bridges for crossings, and so forth, would practically be in this Committee, but the bye-laws regulating these matters, would be settled by a joint meeting of this Committee and the Public Works Committee, under whose control the streets are placed. Upon the Supreme Council ratifying the bye-laws made by the Joint Committee, they would be passed on to the Police Committee for enforcement through the Police. The same process of Joint Conference with the Public Health Committee, would be needful to settle the bye-laws guiding the Police in Lodging-house inspection, and the control of the Smoke Nuisance.

The whole of the prisons of London transferred from the county and from the City Corporation, would be under the control of this Committee. The Supreme Council would appoint the Governors, Medical Officers, and Chaplains of the Prisons, and the Committee would superintend and report upon their management. A General Prison Superintendent would be appointed by the Supreme Council, to whom all the Governors should report monthly, and who should personally inspect the prisons weekly. The Committee would also have the power of personal inspection. The Prison Superintendent would report to the Committee once a month. This report would include the estimates of the various stores required by the prisons during the year; recommendations as to change of bye-laws, or of

system of general or particular management; erection or enlargement of prisons, &c. It would also certify the amount of work done by the prisoners, and the estimated amount of raw material required for the ensuing month's work. The same system would then apply of Committee's report and recommendations; adoption by Supreme Council; precepts to Works Bureau for supplies and instruction to Works Committee, to receive and certify reception of the finished work of the prisoners, &c.*

This Committee in full session would form the licensing authority for London. Probably no one would be found to recommend the continuance of a Commission of the Peace in London for this sole purpose, and without derogating from the respect due to Justices of the Peace, it may be safely affirmed that this Committee would command infinitely more of public confidence. The House of Commons, in 1835, made Town Councils the licensing authority in the Municipal Corporation Act, but the provision was struck out in the Lords, because it was considered that it might be regarded as a slight upon the Magistrates. This reason was hardly sufficiently strong to have justified the abrogation of an excellent clause; but as no Justices of the Peace will exist in Municipal London, even that reason cannot be urged here.

The licensing will of course not be confined to public houses; but include music and dancing licenses. The Committee ought to settle and determine certain principles upon which the licensing shall proceed, and these principles ought to receive the sanction of the Supreme Council. The Chief Commissioner of Police would report specially

* The whole question of employment of prisoners and its method would be debated in this Committee. Probably the Howard Society and its indefatigable Secretary, Mr. William Tallack, would place their stores of information at its service.

to the Committee upon matters affecting this branch of their jurisdiction. There might usefully be an appeal to the Supreme Council.

The number of the Public Justice, Police, Prisons, and Licensing Committee is large and, probably, Sub-Committees would be appointed, meeting more or less frequently as the matters under their control might require. The whole Committee would report monthly to the Supreme Council, and in any urgent case—as, for example, one affecting the life of the City—would report specially.

Public Education Committee.

The work of the London School Board has been so excellent in its character, and its arrangements for the public education of the Metropolis with some exceptions so complete, that this Committee, when appointed, would find its work ready marked out; and if it contained amongst its members—as in all probability it would—some of the present members of that Board, the adaptation of the existing system to the new one would be a work of very slight difficulty.

The same principles of dependence upon the Supreme Council, as the final authority, which have been illustrated in other departments of Municipal work, would also obtain here. The Committee would arrive at certain conclusions with respect to the educational wants of the Metropolis, or of some part of it—as to the desirability of erecting schools in a given district; as to the fairness of a certain scale of school fees; as to the principles which ought to guide the teaching in Board schools; and generally as to the action to be taken upon the reports of Visitors, &c., but these conclusions must be embodied in a monthly report to the Supreme Council, and would come back to the Committee for enforcement after receiving its sanction. In the same

manner, where such report recommended the purchase of sites or erection of schools, the Supreme Council would issue their precepts to the Public Property Committee to purchase such sites, or to the Works Bureau to erect such schools. The report would, probably, recommend the appointment of certain teachers, and these appointments would require the ratification of the Supreme Council. The estimates for stores and for wages and salaries would, in like manner, come up month by month, and precepts for the supply of the same be made out to the Works Bureau and the Chamberlain, respectively.

The Committee would consist of forty members, one from each electoral district in London. This is especially requisite in this matter of education, in order that every local interest may receive representation.

The system of Selected District Committees to whom is confided certain jurisdiction with respect to the enforcement of bye-laws; the control of Visitors; the applications for remission of fees; and the general question of local school attendance is now, as has been noted, in full and efficient working order. The arrangement ought to be continued under the new system. These Selected District Committees would report to the Public Education Committee.

The Public Education Committee would, however, have a more extended jurisdiction than that of the London School Board. The whole question of the provision of Public Libraries, in accordance with the terms of the Public Libraries' Act, would be within the province of this Committee, and they would report with respect to the erection and furnishing of such buildings for the public benefit. The property in the Guildhall Library passes to the Supreme Council, and its control would be in the hands of this Committee.

The Union and District Schools described in the chapter

on Poor Relief, would pass under the control of this Committee, and be harmonized with the general system. So also with the Industrial Schools now controlled by county authorities.

The City of London School and the Freemen's Orphan School would also probably be brought within the area of their jurisdiction, and possibly also the City Ward Schools.

The report of the Commission on the City Companies would probably open a very wide field of work for this Committee, and also help to fill the public coffers. In January, 1876, the Common Council of the City of London have agreed to a proposition made by the Charity Commissioners, that the Gresham Committee should confer with them as to the settlement of a scheme for the utilization of that trust. Whether, therefore, this may come under the control of the Education Committee largely depends on the issue of such projected conference.

The Charter House School and many other Charity Schools would soon after the constitution of the Council, be brought within the grasp of a powerful system, directed on intelligent principles.

Poor Relief Committee.

This Committee would have the control, subject to the Supreme Council (and, as to part, possibly also to the Local Government Board), of every kind of eleemosynary aid given in the Municipality.

The control and management of Workhouses, Dispensaries, and Infirmaries would be the work naturally assigned to it; but it would also include the control of the Lunatic Asylums made over from the counties, and the Asylums for Infirm Poor from the Metropolitan Asylums Board. The Public Hospitals of the Metropolis are, perhaps, its greatest

pride. Where these are for contagious disease, and now under the control of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, they would be transferred as a matter of course. Where, however, they are subject to no public control except that of the Corporation of London, the conditions are somewhat different. Yet, even as to these and others supported by charitable contributions, it cannot be doubted but that they would pass into the hands of, and their support be undertaken, by the Supreme Council. This would be a matter of time and give rise to animated debate at the Council Board; but the more the matter was discussed the more absolutely unassailable would prove to be the underlying principle that all public elemosynary aid given to the poor of a city ought to be given on defined principles, and through the agency of its rulers.

In the chapter upon Poor Relief it has been pointed out in how many ways great positive gain will accrue to the Metropolis from the centralization and unification of its final Poor Law authority. As to supplies of every kind for Workhouse, Asylum, Infirmary, Hospital, or Dispensary, the system of monthly estimates included in the report of Committee to the Central Council and then authorized by precepts upon the Works Bureau, would be adopted. The enormous gain of this system would be most apparent in this matter of Poor Relief. To have a single purchasing authority and supplies only granted upon certificates signed by responsible officers, is an end for which the best men connected with Poor Relief have long sighed and hoped in vain. The stories of vile butter, of putrid meat, of rotten tea, of sanded sugar, would cease to nauseate our population and disgrace our age; the still worse scandals in the malversation of supplies, so well exposed by Mr. Dexter,* would disappear also. The advantage of a single supplying

* Pamphlet on Government of London, quoted *ante*.

authority, under responsible control, is so undoubted that it cannot be long delayed.

Over the whole system of Poor Relief must be placed a single responsible and well-paid officer. He would be known as the Chief Poor Law Officer, and the best man for the post would deserve a salary of £1,500 a year. He would have, at least, three assistants, and every Asylum, Workhouse, Infirmary, Hospital, and Dispensary, ought to be visited by the Chief Officer once a month, and by one of the assistants every week. The assistants would report to the Chief Officer, and the Chief Officer to the Committee every month.

The classification of the poor in separate workhouses; the establishment of casual wards; the principle and character of the labour test; the extent and nature of gratuitous medical relief; the general principles of out-door relief and of in-door relief; the method of dealing with the houseless poor; the classification of lunatics, insane, and infirm poor; the treatment of the sick poor and of poor suffering from contagious disease, with arrangements for their conveyance to hospitals; public vaccination; the utilization of existing charities and charitable foundations, are the subjects which would occupy the reports of the Chief Officer and the deliberations of the Committee.

To harmonize and systematize the arrangements which exist, would be the work of many months, and this Committee ought to hold weekly session until some of these questions are settled. The Local Government Board having under its direction the whole Poor Law system of the country, ought to be allowed a veto upon the enactments of the Supreme Council, whenever they could have other than a local application. There is small danger of the jurisdictions clashing, having regard to the general action of this most intelligent public department. In case, however, of serious

disagreement, the Supreme Council would be compelled to seek a Parliamentary remedy.

The appointment of Medical Officers, of Masters of Workhouses, and Infirmaries, and of Governors of Hospitals, as well as of the Chief Officer and his assistants, would be in the Supreme Council.

The system of Selected District Committees entrusted with jurisdiction in the granting of out-door relief and in-door relief, and the admissibility of applicants for such relief, would be admitted here. Such Committees would be nominated by the Supreme Council, upon the recommendation of the Poor Relief Committee, and the limits of their jurisdiction and the principles guiding their action, would be most strictly defined.

Every Electoral District in London ought to be represented on the Poor Relief Committee. It would, therefore, number Forty Members. Probably, Sub-Committees would be appointed to devote special attention to the various branches of poor relief.

Public Works Committee.

The Public Works Committee will be one of the most important in the whole Municipal System. It will have the immediate control of the great permanent staff of the Metropolis.

The Chief Engineer of the Municipality, although reporting to other Committees upon various questions affecting their separate jurisdictions, will be primarily responsible to this one; and the constitution and perfection of the Engineering Staff of the Metropolis, will be under the especial care of the Public Works Committee.

The Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief, with the same salary of £2,500 a year, and with ten assistants at salaries

ranging from £500 to £1,200 a year, and the whole attendant staff, will likewise be under the immediate control of this Committee.

The superintendence of the Works Bureau will, however, probably tax the energy and attention of the Committee to the utmost, until it is reduced into system and order. This department—"Bureau" is the most comprehensive applicable term—will be divided into several departments. It will have, as its general object, the supply of all the stores used in any Municipal work in London, and the performance of nearly all the actual mechanical work connected with the Municipality.

First, as to stores. The Public Works Committee, by itself or by its Sub-Committee (subject here and always to the ratification of its acts monthly by the Supreme Council), would invite tenders and decide upon the acceptance or otherwise of such tenders. Every article used in Municipal work—the food, clothes, and furniture required by the whole Poor Law system; the clothes and equipment of the Police Force; the pipes required for gas and water supply; the books, desks, and furniture required for schools and libraries; the stone, bricks, flags, timber, granite cubing, broken granite, pitch, gravel, &c., required in the making of streets and the erection of buildings; the steam rollers, water carts, fire engines, fire escapes, engines, pumps, lamps, lamp posts, chemicals, gas meters, &c., for other departments of Municipal work: all these would be put up by advertisement for public tenders, and those accepted would be published in the printed monthly report of the Public Works Committee to the Supreme Council. Of course it would be open to any dissatisfied tenderer to bring his complaint by petition or through the agency of his representative before the Supreme Council. The date of inviting tenders and the extent of the stores asked for would be dependent upon the

judgment of the Chief of the Store Department, who would report to the Chief of the Works Bureau. The Chief of the Works Bureau ought to have a salary of £1,500 a year. It would be his duty to ascertain the condition of the stores and to include in his monthly report recommendations to invite tenders for certain things. This system would soon work into excellent form, and the quantity of any article required could soon be calculated with great nicety. The Chief of the Store Department would report in writing to the Chief of the Works Bureau at least twice a month. Such report would be upon a printed form, and would set out the stock in hand of every article and the estimated requirements during some fixed ensuing period. Where the article was one not usefully kept in stock—as, for example, horses for the police—they would be bought as required upon receipt of the precept.

Unless in case of urgent necessity (and then only on the written order of the Chief of the Works Bureau) nothing would be permitted to leave the Store Department except upon the precept of the Supreme Council. Such precept would set forth the amount and kind of the article required, and the place and time of delivery. It would be signed by the Chief Officer of the Department to which it related and countersigned by the Chief Precept Clerk of the Supreme Council. It is not needful here to say anything as to the enormous saving to the public service attendant upon the adoption of a new system, nor is it desirable to be deterred from its adoption by the opposition of those interested in the present system, notably by those who profit by the transactions of that giant impersonation of an Unjust Steward—the Corporation of the City of London. It will not be necessary for a representative Municipality to strengthen its position by scattering its orders amongst tradesmen all over London irrespective of charges.

The Works Department of the Works Bureau, will be the great executive body of the Permanent Municipal Staff. It will only be put in motion by a Supreme Council precept of the kind already considered. Where such precept directs the construction of certain work, say, for example, 100 yards of brick sewer, the bricks and lime will have to be supplied by the Store Department. If the quantities are known at the time the precept is sent, then a precept to the Store Department would come down at the same time. If not, then they would be taken out by the clerks in the office of the Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief, and included in the monthly report to the Committee, and by the Committee to the Council, who would then order the precept. This need occasion no practical delay. The several departments of Municipal Work, will each have a Chief, who will report the requirements of his department to the Chief of the Works Bureau.

For example, the Drainage division would be under the control of one Chief Ganger, who would have headmen under him responsible for the tools and also for the work of the gangs under their control. So the Pipe Laying division would be under the control of a chief, and so on through all the departments of Municipal work.

In the erection of buildings the office of the Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief would furnish Clerks of the Works. In road making, the same office would furnish the road Surveyor, who would superintend the making or repair, and a headman or foreman would superintend its carrying out. The making of roads would be conducted on an intelligible principle. They would be steam rolled when made of macadam, and would in all cases be constructed by men whose attention was confined to the same class of work. Where any interruption to traffic ensued from the repair or construction of a road, such construction or repair would be

entrusted to three headmen, directing three different gangs, each working eight hours, so that the work would proceed night and day.

The cleansing of streets would be also a department of the Works Bureau, and the men engaged upon the work would perform it between 12 at night and 8 in the morning. Every street in London ought to be perfectly clean at the latter hour. In case of a fall of snow the Chief of the Works Bureau would direct men to be drafted from other departments to assist. The vile condition of the streets of London during some parts of the winter of 1875-6, has been an utter disgrace to every one connected with them. When the streets are slippery, the Store Department would furnish gravel upon the order of the Chief of the Works Bureau (such order being one of the matters of urgent necessity excepted from the general rule as to precepts). Such gravel would be put down in a single night by the road making division. The street cleansing division would take care that every asphalte street was thoroughly washed every morning, and when every householder knew where to carry his complaint, the division would be kept well up to their work.

Roads would be constructed or repaired upon the report of an Assistant-Surveyor, of whom there would be ten. The character of the repair or construction would then be ordered by the chief of the ten assistants. The quantity of material would be estimated and the suggestion for repair and the amount of material requisite would be included in the report of the Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief to the Works Committee; would be passed on by them to the Supreme Council; and, on ratification, precepts would be issued for the work to be done and the materials provided.

Street watering would be reduced to a system, and would also be under a single head. For this purpose it would be needful to have an intelligent man, and every man

in charge of a van would be required to work on a definite system, under which the amount of his work could be readily ascertained.

The removal of dust is a subject which has rocked more than one London Vestry to its centre, but nowhere in London is it properly done. The American and Scotch system of dust barrels or tubs, and the French system of dust heaps have each something to recommend them. But so long as dust bins continue, the dust ought to be removed from every house once every two weeks. Two-horse vans would probably replace the present clumsy carts. The disposal of the dust would require careful consideration at the hands of the Works Committee. If deposited on wharves it is probable that people might pay to barge it away; if not, then the Corporation might do it. The days when a London dust-heap could sell for £20,000 appear to have gone, never to return. Dust removal would thus be worked on an intelligible system, including every house in the Municipality.

A Department of the Works Bureau would undertake the enforcement of the Building Acts. The Surveyors upon whom these duties would devolve would be much fewer in number than those employed by the Metropolitan Board, and would give their whole time to the work. The construction of all public and private buildings, the regulation of frontage, the naming and numbering of streets, and the control of dangerous structures, would be under the direction of this Department. They would report to the Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief. The erection of public buildings would be undertaken by the Works Bureau: the plans and quantities being made out in the Architect's office, the materials being supplied by the Store Department.

The Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief would include in his monthly report recommendations as to public traffic.

The regulation of cabs, omnibuses, road locomotives, and tramways are within this Department. The rules would ultimately be made after conference between the Public Works Committee and the Public Justice Committee, and would be enforced by the Police. Regulations as to steamboats would be made after consultation with the Thames Conservancy Board.

The Works Committee would nominate seven of their number to represent the Municipality at the Thames Conservancy Board, and two at the Lee Conservancy Board.

The construction of new bridges over the Thames or over streets would be undertaken by the Works Bureau.

Recommendations as to the enforcement of the Artizans' Dwellings Act, 1875, would be made by the Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief, endorsed by the Public Works Committee, ratified by the Supreme Council, and carried out by the Works Bureau.

All buildings required for the various Municipal Departments would be put up by the Works Bureau.

The Works Committee would have the entire control of the Works Bureau and of the Architect's and Engineer's Departments; but responsible and well-paid men would be at the head of each Department and Division. Under these circumstances thirty men ought to be an adequate number on this Committee and for Sub-Committees when needed.

Public Property Committee.

The whole of the real property vested in the Supreme Council, and not immediately under the direction of any other Committee, would be under the direction and control of the Public Property Committee.

The care of the public buildings of the Metropolis, the Guildhall, Mansion House, and local and other offices,

would be part of its work. The consideration of the erection of new buildings, including a Municipal Hall worthy of the capital, would come in the first instance before this Committee. The purchase of lands for sites, and the sale of surplus land, would be transacted under its direction.

If the City house property were transferred to the Supreme Council, this Committee would have its management so long as it remained in the ownership of the Municipality. Where, however, the property was not of itself—apart from the income it produced—either of a Municipal character, or of immediate benefit to the Municipality, it is probable that the Council would dispose of it, as no good object could be served by making the Municipality the landlord of ordinary house and warehouse property, and the loss to the public revenue from the non-accrual of succession or legacy duty, makes such tenure unjustifiable. There are, however, some classes of property which the Municipality would continue to hold. And foremost amongst these are the Public Markets. The management of the Municipal markets would be under the direction of this Committee. They would also be responsible for recommendations to establish new public markets, and in case of the Supreme Council adopting such recommendations, for the selection and purchase of sites. New markets would of course be erected by the Works Bureau. The management of the markets would include the fixing and collection of market tolls. These would be paid into the Chamberlain's office; such payment being certified to the Supreme Council in the monthly report of the Committee.

For the collection of the rents of the property under the control of this Committee, and the market tolls, &c., one permanent officer, reporting monthly, ought to be primarily

responsible. This officer might be known as the Chief Renter.

The Committee would have to consider the question of the erection of artizans' dwellings, upon sites cleared under the provisions of the Act of 1875; and, under certain restrictions, the Municipality might undertake the erection of dwellings for its poor.

To the Public Property Committee would be confided the control of the Parks, Commons, and open spaces of the Metropolis, now controlled by the Metropolitan Board; and the entire jurisdiction of the Board and of the City Corporation, in these matters, would be transferred to the Supreme Council, together with the Parks and open spaces now under the control of either Body. It is probable that, before many years had elapsed from the constitution of a Municipal Council, the Royal Parks of London would be either handed over to the Council, or would be purchased and finally dedicated to the public as places of recreation for ever.

The Vestry jurisdiction over Gardens in squares would, probably, be handed back to the owners of the surrounding property, but this ought, where possible, to be done only on condition of their being open to the public; and the Public Property Committee would have, as one of its aims, the acquirement for the public, of these gardens, to be beautified and kept in order by the Municipality, for the citizens.

The various burial grounds and cemeteries under the control of Burial Boards, and of the Corporation of the City, would be vested in the Supreme Council, and their direction confided to this Committee. The Committee would also have to consider the propriety of establishing new cemeteries, and to select sites for the same. A further and most important question in connection with this class of public

property, would, probably, be raised within no long period after the establishment of a Municipality, and that is, whether it is not the duty a well-organized civic government to provide the citizens over whom it rules, not merely with facilities for healthy existence, but also with the benefits of rapid and economical burial. It is not intended, at present, to discuss this question, but, in view of the many evils resulting from the existing system of interment, it is fit that the Capital of the Empire should consider whether this is not a duty owed to its citizens, and this the more certainly as such duty has been recognised and efficiently performed elsewhere.*

A Chief Ranger ought to be responsible for the order of all Parks, Gardens, and Open Spaces under the direction of this Committee. The Cemeteries might also be usefully put under his control.

The Chief Renter and Chief Ranger would each report monthly to the Committee, and the Committee would report monthly to the Central Council, with the same provisions for the payment of wages and the grant of supplies, as in

* Mr. Chadwick, in his excellent essay on "Competition in the Field of Service" (Journal of Statistical Society, 1859, p. 389), says that, in Paris and some other cities, "at intervals of terms of years sufficient for the renewal of carriages, establishments, &c., the entire field of service for the interment of the dead is put up to competition for contracts, to render the funeral service at scales of material, decoration, and attendance conformable to the habits and wishes of different classes of society, divided into nine classes, and the range of expense is from 15*s.* to £145." The character of the funeral is said to be twice as good as that supplied here, notwithstanding a tax of 60 per cent. for the support of public worship. "The grandest service of the Roman Church, including bearers of crosses, plumes, eighteen mourning coaches and attendants; the attendance of two vicars, besides the curé and twenty-six priests, six singers and ten chorister boys, two instrumental performers, grand Mass at Church, and 120 lbs. of wax tapers, besides an anniversary service and mourning cloth, is supplied for £145, more than one-half of which is paid as a tax." The absolute cost of 28,000 interments in Paris, including tax, was £80,000. The estimated cost of 45,000 in London, £626,000.

the case of other Committees. Twenty-five members will be an adequate number for the work of this Committee.

Fire Brigade Committee.

To this Committee will be entrusted the control of the Fire Brigade, now exercised by the Metropolitan Board of Works. That jurisdiction, including as it does both the extinction of fires and the protection of life from fire, being transferred in its entirety, would leave London in practically the same condition, after the establishment of a Supreme Council, as that in which it exists at present.

But it cannot be supposed that an intelligent Municipal Corporation, possessed of plenary power, would rest satisfied with the present condition of things. The great safeguard from fire is a constant supply of water at high pressure in the mains, and one of the first duties of the Council would be to provide this over the whole Metropolis. Neither is it likely that the Municipality would consent to have the cost of the support of the Brigade partly met by small subscriptions from the Insurance Offices and from the Treasury. In consideration of a reduced rate of Insurance the first of these would probably be remitted.

A much more difficult question will arise, as to whether those owners of property who are directly benefited by the existence of the Brigade, ought not to be compelled to contribute materially towards its support. When the cost of the Fire Brigade was defrayed by the Insurance Offices, it was clear that the non-insurers were protected at the expense of the insurers, or to put it more clearly, the provident at the expense of the improvident; and so long as the contributions of the Insurance Companies continue, the practical result is the same. Taking the value of the insurable property within the Metropolitan area at £1,000,000,000

sterling, and estimating the cost of the Fire Brigade at £100,000 a year, an insurance rate of 2*s.* per 1,000, or about 2½*d.* per cent., would cover its cost. It would, therefore, be a question for the consideration of this Committee and of the Supreme Council, whether those who benefit by this Municipal provision, ought not to contribute towards it to an extent proportionate to the amount of their interest in the same manner as in the case of Municipal provision for gas. An able writer in the "Westminster Review" for January 1876, discusses the question of compulsory Fire Insurance, and a system of contribution from owners of property has been for some time in existence in the city of Manchester.

And great benefit would accrue from an unified system here also. At present the turncocks acknowledge one authority, the Fire Brigade another, the Salvage Corps another, and the Police a fourth. The Water Companies have offered to lodge a turncock in the Fire Engine stations, but that remarkable body, the Board of Works, have *declined the offer.*

The Chief of the Fire Brigade would report to this Committee, and the Committee to the Central Council as in other cases. Twenty members would be sufficient to perform the work.

London has about 400 Firemen, whilst Paris has 1,500; St. Petersburgh, 1,149; Berlin, 1,090; Hamburgh, 790; therefore, whatever may be said as to its efficiency, the question of its strength is one requiring careful consideration.

Public Health Committee.

The Department of Municipal work which would be entrusted to this Committee is closely connected with the health and well-being of the citizens; and it is also one, the

work in connection with which, will be almost entirely performed by the permanent staff.

At the head of this permanent staff will be the Chief Officer of Health. With a competent and adequate staff of Medical Officers and Inspectors he will be the officer finally responsible for the health of the City, and ought to receive a salary of not less than £2,000 a year. It will be the duty of this officer, in conjunction with his subordinate Medical Assistants, to suggest to the Public Health Committee from time to time such regulations as may, in his judgment, be desirable to be made for the preservation of the health of the City. Such regulations, if adopted by the Committee, would be reported by them in ordinary course to the Supreme Council, and after receiving its sanction would be sent back to the Chief Officer of Health for enforcement.

Very great difference of opinion exists as to the amount of work, in the way of house inspection, which can be properly performed by Sanitary Inspectors. A report of the Sanitary and Public Health Committee of the Vestry of Paddington, under date October 26th, 1870, gives forty as the number of houses which can be properly inspected, and of which inspection due registration can be made in a single day by one Inspector. Other Vestries give very different estimates, and some complain that nearly the whole time of their Inspectors is taken up with attending to complaints of the inhabitants, so that no systematic inspection can be made. A well-trained and intelligent Inspector ought to be able to deal with a considerable number of the matters coming within the province of the Health Department. The area of the district for which he would be responsible would necessarily depend upon the character of its inhabitants, and would have to be finally settled by the Public Health Committee in conjunction with the Chief Officer; but within that district, whatever was its area, the Inspector ought to

undertake to inspect and report upon everything included under the term "Nuisances." He ought to report monthly with respect to every noxious trade, every underground dwelling, every public lodging-house, every cow-house, every pigsty, every workshop, every slaughter-house, and every baby-farm within his district.

The monthly reports rendered by the various Inspectors throughout London would be received and collated in the office of the Chief Officer of Health, and, under the regulations already considered, printed notices in the several forms adapted to each case would be sent to those persons infringing the laws made for the preservation of public health. If, upon the receipt of the next monthly report, the same breaches of the law were reported as still continuing, penal measures would be taken against the offenders.

Under this system the condition of every noxious trade, Slaughter-house, &c., throughout the whole of London could be ascertained without any difficulty, and the monthly report of the Chief Officer of Health to the Public Health Committee, would contain a tabular statement as to every one of them, as well as such recommendations as the circumstances seemed to call for. The extent of inspection which ought to be made of houses generally; of canal barges, &c., could only be accurately defined when the circumstances and the data of the several cases are available.

It would probably be found necessary to appoint a special staff of Inspectors for the enforcement of the Adulteration Acts. No penal proceedings ought to be taken under these Acts, except upon the clearest possible evidence, and after at least two independent analyses under the direction of the Chemist, whose appointment was considered in connection with the Gas Supply Committee. The responsibility of promoting such proceedings must rest with the Public Health Committee. It seems desirable that this

Committee should also have jurisdiction for the granting of licenses for the storing of petroleum and explosive substances.

The Coroners for the Municipality, although appointed by the Supreme Council, would be subordinate to the Chief Officer of Health.

When necessary, the Public Health Committee would make regulations with respect to Cattle Disease.

It is doubtful, having regard to the excellent organization now in existence, how far the new Municipality could usefully interfere with the Registration system. If the present system remained intact, the weekly returns would be supplied to the Public Health Committee, and to the Chief Officer of Health.

To this Committee would also be entrusted the question of providing disinfecting chambers and carriages for the free use of the public, at convenient points throughout the Metropolis. The present utterly inadequate supply of Baths and Washhouses might be expected to find its remedy in the work of this Committee. So also with Mortuaries. It is not too much to say that there ought to be a disinfecting room, a Mortuary, a Bath and Washhouse, and a Carriage for infected persons, provided by the Supreme Council in each of the forty electoral districts of London.

Although one of the duties of the staff of Inspectors will be to report upon the condition of London Slaughter-houses, there can be no doubt but that the Supreme Council will sooner or later be called upon to sanction the provision of public Slaughter-houses or Abattoirs, conducted under the immediate direction of Health Officers.* It is exceedingly likely that, when the reports on London Slaughter-houses

* Measures for Slaughter-house regulation may be traced back through the history of the City to the provisions of the 44 Edward III., in 1371, under which butchers were forbidden to slaughter cattle in London, or to pour offal into the Thames.

are submitted to intelligent examination, they will point to the absolute necessity of Municipal provision being made for the slaughtering of beasts.

Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee.

The name of this Committee clearly indicates the duties that will fall to its share. It may be hoped that, in renovated Municipal London, the Supreme Council will succeed in attracting to itself the highest type of commercial men. If this most desirable end can be attained, it will be found that in no department of corporate work will their services be of more extensive utility than in that under the control of this Committee.

And first as to assessment. The assessments made in 1875 had the effect of increasing the rateable value of London something like two millions sterling. But this process called forth much protestation from the householders, and in the district of Kensington alone there were something like 2,000 appeals. If the reassessment of London were made every five years, as at present, there would thus be likely to be very heavy work falling on this Committee at those periods, although this would be seriously lessened if the Committee, in sending in the assessment papers, pointed out the provisions of the Act under which the assessment was made. It would probably be necessary, therefore, at the periods of assessment, either to strengthen the Committee or to call in the aid of Selected District Committees to hear the appeals. This latter course seems open to but little objection.

The Supreme Council would, of course, be the final rating authority of the Metropolis, but the recommendations as to rates, would go up from this Committee. Of course Gas would have a special rate, according to consumption,

and, possibly, Water also, but as to all the rest of the cost of the Municipal system, it would be defrayed by one single Consolidated Rate. This would cover all Municipal expenditure for Drainage, Police, Education, Poor Relief, Fire Brigade, Public Works, &c. The saving attendant upon such a system would be simply enormous. Rates would be levied half-yearly as at present.

The Chamberlain of London would be the Treasurer, and the chief officer of the Permanent Staff connected with this Committee. The rates would be paid by the Rate Collectors into his office, within one week from collection, and the collectors would report monthly, upon printed forms, the date of payment of rates and those still outstanding. The Chamberlain would certify to the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee the monthly receipts and expenditure. If the accounts were systematically kept, there would be no difficulty in this, and if the present City Chamberlain could be persuaded to accept the office, he might be relied upon to initiate a system which would abundantly meet every requirement. But the money must be paid into a Bank immediately on receipt. Considering that the receipts of the Municipality might be expected to range between twelve and fifteen millions sterling per annum, the desirability of establishing a Municipal Bank would, no doubt, present itself to the consideration of the Supreme Council.

Payments out would be authorized in all cases by the Supreme Council Precepts, specifying to whom the payments should be made. These, when countersigned by the Chamberlain, would be honoured by the Bank, and the money would then be remitted according to the terms of the precept. The Chamberlain's monthly report would set out the precepts honoured, and tabulate the receipts, showing the balance which would be duly checked at the Bank.

But, in addition to rates and to the rents and tolls paid in by the Public Property and other Committees, the income of the Municipality would, in the first instance, be augmented by the Grain Duty, Brokers, Rents, and Fruit Metage. These would probably all be ultimately abolished by the Supreme Council. But for the present it is likely that the Coal and Wine Dues would remain, and their collection would devolve upon the permanent staff under the Chamberlain. The unfairness of taxing areas beyond the Municipality is clear, but until the present liability charged upon these dues was cleared off — or rather would have been cleared off if they had been left so charged—the taxation would continue. For the imposition of these liabilities Parliament is responsible.

The Supreme Council would assume the Municipal Loan Liability of about Twenty-six Millions Sterling. All existing loans would be taken up, and a Municipal Stock issued. This might probably be issued at about £3 10*s.*, which would leave a yearly liability of about £900,000, of which sum perhaps one-half would be supplied by receipts from sources in respect of which the loans were contracted. The saving in interest and costs would be more than £300,000 a year. The purchase of the Gas and Water Companies (the loan liability of which is included in the above, although really paid by the consumer) would necessitate a considerable further outlay; but the saving there effected would pay all the interest, and easily carry a sinking fund which would clear off that part of the liability in twenty years, whilst supplying better and cheaper gas to the consumers than they have at present.

The whole question of Municipal Finance would be under the consideration of the Taxation, Assessment, and Finance Committee, and if twenty men of the right sort could be got together, they could do the work with ease.

Law and Parliamentary Committee.

The Town Clerk of London would be the head of the Permanent Staff in connection with this Committee, and he would have the assistance of a competent staff. He would be the Custodian of all the Title Deeds of the Corporation. He will also be responsible for the correctness of the citizen-roll, which ought to be verified once every six months. The other ordinary duties of this officer (except in so far as they are controlled by different provisions here) would attach to him under the new Municipality. Practically, the Recorder and Common Serjeant would be the legal advisers of the Corporation, but such advice would be generally given through the Town Clerk's Office. The Town Clerk will make arrangements for the triennial elections. He will also be nominally the Clerk and Registrar of the Supreme Council. In his office all the legal work of the Corporation will be transacted, including the investigation of titles and the conduct of suits to which the Corporation is a party.

To this Committee will be confided the consideration of all Bills in Parliament which may affect the Metropolis, and the monthly report of the Committee to the Supreme Council will contain the recommendations of the Committee thereupon. It is probable that these recommendations will generally be made by a Joint Committee of the Law and Parliamentary Committee and the other Committee whose special province is invaded by the Bill in question. If the Supreme Council decide to oppose the measure, the matter will be referred to the Law and Parliamentary Committee for the purpose.

So, if the Supreme Council propose to introduce a Bill for any matter connected with the Municipality, the preparation of it will be entrusted to this Committee, and it will afterwards be submitted to the Supreme Council, at

which meeting the Recorder or Common Serjeant will attend to explain its provisions.

The consideration of the duties and functions of the Recorder and Common Serjeant would rest with this Committee, and these officers would be ordinarily expected to attend the meetings of this Committee as well as the sittings of the Supreme Council.

All legal questions affecting the Corporation, will be referred to this Committee for consideration and report. The number of members would be twenty-five.

Audit Committee.

The best audit at the present time existing in the Metropolis is that conducted under the auspices of the Local Government Board. The other audits vary in value downwards. The elected Auditors of Vestries are often incompetent, and there is room for much improvement in others; but, as to the City Audit, which is of the least value of all, the less said about it the better. An independent Auditor going through the City Accounts would soon expose its hollow absurdity. Only one thing would astonish Londoners more than a correct and full audit of the City Accounts proper, and that would be a correct and full audit of the Livery Companies' Accounts. This audit is, however, probably coming, and it will amply repay watching and waiting for.

The audit of the accounts of the Municipality of London would be under the final control of an Auditor-General. This officer, with three or four competent assistants and a clerk or two, ought to be able to perfect a system of audit for the Municipal Accounts. Vouchers would be forthcoming for every expenditure, and the checks on all spending Departments ought to carefully devised. A

monthly account would be presented checking the report of the Chamberlain, and this would be the substance of the Committee's report to the Supreme Council.

The times and method of the audit can be most satisfactorily settled when the system is fairly established. The number of the Committee would be twelve.

Special Purposes Committee.

It is a matter of some doubt whether it is desirable or necessary to have a final standing Special Purposes Committee in connection with a proper system of Municipal government. Very few questions are likely to arise that will not fall within the province of one or other of the Committees, whose functions we have considered; and, when they do, it would seem to be the truer principle to appoint a Committee for the purpose of their consideration at the time.

These objections, however, only apply in cases where a Municipal system has got into full and easy working order. In the establishment of a new system there will be many subjects that will require consideration and settlement once for all. For example, it will be needful to frame standing orders for the guidance of the Supreme Council in its deliberations and practice, and these may be very properly referred to a Special Purposes Committee. Again, if the Supreme Council is to extend civic hospitality to strangers and others, it will be desirable to have a Committee to settle the method of reception. There is quite sufficient plate at the Mansion House to supply the new Corporation. But the hospitality of the future will probably be defrayed out of the Consolidated Rate, and provided for by public tender. It is an utilitarian age, and the days when £4,890* or

* Feast to Royal Family by City, 1727.

£6,898* could be spent in single banquets are gone for ever.

To the Special Purposes Committee would also be entrusted the consideration of the difficult question arising in connection with the transfer of jurisdictions, as to the fate of officers whose posts are either abolished or transferred. There would be serious danger in re-appointing old officers unless they were well affected to the new system, and, as Lord John Russell said, in introducing the Municipal Corporation Act, 1835, a new Council ought to have the power of appointing new officers.† Provision would be made for the due satisfaction of the vested interests of old officers.

No special provisions have been introduced with respect to the duties of Aldermen as contrasted with Supreme Councillors. It is probable that when the settlement of the Committees came to be made, the special position of the Alderman would ensure their having due precedence; and in some, as for example the Licensing Committee, they would constitute the actual working authority.

* Feast to George III. and Queen Charlotte.

† Hansard, vol. xxviii. p. 553.

Chapter XXIII.

WORK OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

A Tabulated Summary of the Method in which the Municipal Work of London would be performed under a Supreme Council, arranged so as to show the Work and Jurisdiction of the Permanent Staff, the Supreme Council Committee, and of the Supreme Council.

The preceding chapter sets forth the functions of the Permanent Staff, of the various Committees, and of the Supreme Council in respect to the different matters of Municipal work, in case the whole Metropolis were placed under the direction of one Central Council.

For the purpose of convenient reference it may be useful to set these out in a tabulated form. It is to be noted that this is not put forward as more than the simple framework of a new system; and, consequently, whilst endeavouring to point out clearly the principles upon which the Municipal Government of London should proceed, and to indicate the position which different Municipal functions will occupy, it makes no claim to have finally disposed of every head of Municipal Jurisdiction. Neither has it been deemed necessary to set out the numbers and the emoluments of the various branches and members of the permanent staff. Such matters can only be properly settled when a new system has got into good working order, and its requirements can be accurately gauged. There can, however, be no doubt as to the necessity for the Heads of Departments, and the number of these will in any case be limited.

Name of Committee.	*No. of Members.*	*Nature and Duty of Permanent Staff.*	*Duty of Committee and Method of Work.*	*Work of Supreme Council.*
1. DRAINAGE.	20	*Chief Engineer of Municipality*, £2,500 a year, controlled by Public Works Committee. Report to Committee monthly. Consult with Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief as to time for making Repairs and as to necessity for works. *Five Deputy Engineers*, £500 to £1,200 a year each, department of Public Works Committee. Control separate areas: visited by Chief Engineer weekly: report in writing weekly to Chief Engineer.	Receive report of Chief Engineer. Frame rules and regulations for general drain construction. Report to Supreme Council monthly, recommending construction, renovation, &c. (after consultation with Public Works Committee). Regulations as to flushing of sewers, recommended after consultation with Water Supply Committee. Certify progress or performance of work. Consider general drainage questions; effects of outfall deposit; utilization of sewage, &c.	Appoint Chief Engineer and Deputy Engineers, receive Reports of Committee, and issue Precepts to Works Bureau.
2. WATER SUPPLY.	25	*Chief Engineer of the Municipality, and Deputy Engineers.* Monthly Report of Chief Engineer to Committee. *Chemist*, to test quality, &c., £500 a year.	Organize existing systems into one with aid of Chief Engineer. Report monthly to Supreme Council. Suggest regulations for constant supply, and when accepted direct carrying out of same. Consult with Fire Brigade Committee as to supply of water in case of fire. Fix water rates subject to adoption by Supreme Council. Consult with Works Committee as to renovation of pipes, construction of subways, &c., Certify progress or completion of work. Receive report of Chief Engineer, and consider questions of sources, quantity and quality of supply.	Acquire supply for the Metropolis. Receive Report of Committee. Issue Precepts to Taxation and Finance Committee for collection of Rates; and to Works Bureau for construction of work and supply of stores. Appoint Chemist to test quality.

Name of Committee.	*No. of Members.*	*Nature and Duty of Permanent Staff.*	*Duty of Committee and Method of Work.*	*Work of Supreme Council.*
3. Gas Supply.	30	*Gas-Engineer-in-Chief*, salary £1,500 a year. Receive weekly reports of Inspectors. Report monthly (and oftener if needful) to Gas Committee; recommend renovation of pipes, &c., subject to sanction of Chief Engineer of Municipality. Recommend erection of new lamps; certify number of meters required, and amount of gas consumed. *Gas Inspectors* to test gas as to quality and pressure. Report to Chemist. *Chemist* to superintend testing arrangements; receive Gas Inspectors' reports, and report to Gas-Engineer-in-Chief. *Lamp Inspectors* inspect and report to Gas Engineer-in-Chief on condition and supply of public lamps. *Meter Inspectors* examine and test meters; report to Gas Engineer-in-Chief on number of new meters wanted. Report quarterly upon amount of gas consumed by private consumers.	Meet fortnightly. Make bye-laws subject to approval of Supreme Council. Receive report of Gas Engineer-in-Chief. Report to Supreme Council *monthly* suggesting the carrying out of matters recommended in the Chief Engineer's report and others. Debate proposals as to new methods of manufacture; as to purchase of coal-fields; and of steamers, wharves, &c.; and make recommendations to Council thereupon. Appoint Sub-Committees where necessary.	Receive Monthly Report of Committee, and adopt or modify the same. Forward to Works Bureau as *Precepts*, the instructions as to pipe laying; construction of buildings; supply of meters, chemicals, lamps, &c., required and suggested in Committee's Report. Forward to Taxation and Finance Committee the Accounts of Gas consumed by public consumers, with Precept for collection. Appoint Gas Engineer-in-Chief and Inspectors.

Name of Committee.	*No. of Members.*	*Nature and Duty of Permanent Staff.*	*Duty of Committee and Method of Work.*	*Work of Supreme Council.*
4. PUBLIC JUSTICE, POLICE, PRISONS, AND LICENSING COMMITTEE.	40 (one from each electoral District.)	*Chief Commissioner of Police*, £2,500 a year. Appointed by Supreme Council, with veto in Home Office. Salary and Duties as at present. Enforce orders of Council, and special orders of Home Secretary. Collect reports and estimates, and report monthly to Committee. *Two Assistant Commissioners*, appointed by Supreme Council, £1,000 a year each. *Four District Superintendents*, £750 a year each; and rest of force appointed by Chief Commissioner. Enforce bye-laws as to Public Traffic, &c. *Inspectors of Weights and Measures*, £300 a year each, appointed by Supreme Council. *Prison Superintendent*, £1,000 a year. Governors, Medical Officers, Chaplains, &c.	*Public Justice.* In conference with Law and Parliamentary Committee, to make proposals as to alteration in constitution, area, or method of procedure, of any Civil or Criminal Court in Metropolis; and conjointly to report to Supreme Council. *Police.* Report to Supreme Council as to bye-laws and regulations generally, monthly estimates: other matters affecting public safety. Make bye-laws as to Public Traffic, after consultation with Public Works Committee; and as to Lodging House Inspection and Smoke Nuisance, after consultation with Public Health Committee. *Weights and Measures.* Prepare rules for guidance of Inspectors, and settle areas, &c. (Offenders to be taken before police magistrates.) *Prisons.* Receive Prison Superintendent's report, and debate matters affecting prison management, and report them to Supreme Council. *Licensing.* Grant music, dancing, and	*Public Justice.* To receive conjoint Report of the two Committees, and, if any suggestion were approved, to direct Law and Parliamentary Committee to draft a Bill for presentation to Parliament. *Police.* Receive Report of Committee and order preparation of Precepts to Works Bureau for stores and to Chamberlain for money. Appoint Chief and Assistant Commissioners. Regulate wages of force and exercise ordinary functions of a Watch Committee. *Weights and Measures.* Appoint Inspectors and sanction bye-laws. *Prisons.* Appoint Prison Superintendents, Governors, Medical Offi-

Name of Committee.	*No of Members.*	*Nature and Duty of Permanent Staff.*	*Duty of Committee and Method of Work.*	*Work of Supreme Council.*
			public house licenses. Settle principles on which they should be granted or withheld. Report to Supreme Council.	cers and Chaplains. Issue Precepts to Works Bureau and to Chamberlain for stores and money. *Licensing.* Ratify principles suggested for guidance of Licensing Committee. Hear Appeals from Licensing Committee.
5. PUBLIC EDUCATION.	40 (one from each electoral District.)	As at present under London School Board. Guildhall Library Staff. Staff of Industrial, and District, and Union Schools, and Freemen's School.	Same as now performed by London School Board, except that monthly report must be made to Supreme Council, with which body will rest the final authority. Receive weekly reports from Board Schools and School Committees. Industrial Schools, and Union and District Schools, and Training Ships. Provision of Public Libraries. City of London School, and Freemen's School, and System of Selected District Committees, with limited jurisdiction.	Ratify appointments of District Committees, Visitors, Officers, Teachers; erection of Schools, supply of stores, &c.; and issue Precepts for same to Works Bureau and Chamberlain. Appoint Librarians and Head School Masters.
6. POOR RELIEF.	40 (one from each electoral District.)	*Chief Poor Law Officer*, £1,500 a year. *Three Assistants*, £750 a year each. Report upon all questions connected with eleemosynary aid to poor. Inspect Work-	Control Workhouses, Dispensaries, Infirmaries, Asylums, Hospitals, &c., subject to Supreme Council. Report upon all questions connected	Ratify bye-laws and regulations subject to limited veto power of Local Government

Name of Committee.	*No. of Members.*	*Nature and Duty of Permanent Staff.*	*Duty of Committee and Method of Work.*	*Work of Supreme Council.*
		houses, Infirmaries, Dispensaries, Asylums, Hospitals, &c. Certify monthly estimates for Supplies.	with Poor Relief to Supreme Council monthly. Harmonize existing institutions, and reduce to uniform system.	Board. Issue Precepts for supplies upon Report of Committee. Appoint Chief Poor Law Officers and Assistants, Medical Officers, Masters of Asylums, Workhouses and Infirmaries, Governors of Asylums and Hospitals, &c
7. PUBLIC WORKS.	30	*Chief Engineer of Municipality, and Assistants. Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief,* £2,500 a year; and *Ten Assistants,* at £500 to £1,200 a year each, reporting on construction of buildings, making of roads and bridges; and District Surveyors under Building Acts reporting to Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief. *Chief of Works Bureau,* £1,500 a year. Report monthly to Committee as to condition of stores. Receive reports from Chief of Stores Department, and Heads of various branches of Works Department, as Drainage, Pipe Laying, Road Making, Street Cleansing, Watering, Dust Removal, &c.	Receive reports of Chief Engineer, Architect and Surveyor-in-Chief, and Chief of Works Bureau. Invite tenders for supplies. Enter into contracts for same, subject to Supreme Council. General control of all matters connected with the supply of stores for the use of the Municipality, and the execution of Works. Frame regulations for guidance of public traffic. Settle rules for guidance of departments in execution of public work. Certify execution of work. To consider all questions of Street Improvement.	Receive Report of Public Works' Committee. Issue Precepts upon such Report for supply of stores certified by Architect, Engineer, or Chief of Works Bureau. Sanction bye-laws as to public traffic, and system of work and as to contracts generally. Appoint Chief Engineer and Assistants, Architect and Assistants, District Surveyors, Chief of Works Bureau, and

Name of Committee.	*No. of Members.*	*Nature and Duty of Permanent Staff.*	*Duty of Committee and Method of Work.*	*Work of Supreme Council.*
				Heads of Departments of Works Bureau.
8. Public Property Committee.	25	*Chief Renter*, collection of rents and market-tolls, reporting monthly. *Chief Ranger*, management of parks, gardens, and open spaces; management of burial grounds and cemeteries: reporting monthly.	Care of existing public buildings. Erection of new buildings. Purchase of sites, and sale of surplus land. Management of existing markets, and constitution of new ones. Artizans' Dwellings. Management of parks, commons, and open spaces. Jurisdiction over gardens in squares. Control of burial grounds and cemeteries. Suggestions as to new buildings.	All real property of municipality vested in Supreme Council, including markets, cemeteries, parks, and open spaces, &c., &c. Final authority as to all matters under control of Committee. Appoint Chief Renter and Chief Ranger.
9. Fire Brigade Committee.	20	*Chief of Fire Brigade* and other officers as at present. Duties as at present. Report monthly.	General control of Fire Brigade. Arrangement with Water Supply Committee for constant supply. Report monthly.	All property and buildings of Fire Brigade vested in Supreme Council. Appoint Chief of Fire Brigade. Final authority in all cases.
10. Public Health.	25	*Chief Officer of Health*, £2,000 a year, Medical Officers, Inspectors, &c. Monthly report of Inspectors upon all Nuisances, Noxious Trades, Lodging Houses, Cow Houses, &c. Coroners.	Enforce penal regulations in case of breaches of law. Make regulations as to inspection and public health generally, also as to cattle disease. Provision of Baths and Wash-houses, Mortuaries, Disinfecting Chambers and Carriages, Abattoirs, &c.	Appoint Chief Officer of Health, Inspectors, Medical Officers, Coroners, &c.

Name of Committee.	*No. of Members.*	*Nature and Duty of Permanent Staff.*	*Duty of Committee and Method of Work.*	*Work of Supreme Council.*
11. TAXATION, ASSESSMENT, AND FINANCE.	20	*Chamberlain*, £2,000 a year; with Subordinate Officers, Tax Collectors, &c. Receive moneys and pay them into Bank. Pay out on precepts of Supreme Council. Report monthly to Committee. Collectors to report to Chamberlain.	Settle rates of taxation. Make assessments, and appoint District Committees under direction of this Committee to hear appeals. Report monthly to Supreme Council, and endorse Chamberlain's Monthly Statement and Annual Budget. Report on dues and income, and expenditure generally.	Assume loan liability of London. Authorize issue of Consolidated Municipal Stock. Authorize Taxes, &c.
12. LAW AND PARLIAMENTARY.	25	*Town Clerk*, £2,000 a year, with adequate staff. Custodian of Title Deeds of Municipality. Responsible for citizen-roll; and makes arrangements for Municipal Elections. Clerk and Registrar of Supreme Council.	Consider Bills in Parliament. Prepare Bills when ordered by Supreme Council. Recommend legal proceedings in its monthly report, and if ratified by Supreme Council, direct conduct of same. Certify result to Supreme Council.	Receive report of Committee. Authorize introduction of Bills in Parliament, and also legal proceedings. Appoint Town Clerk, &c.
13. AUDIT.	12	*Auditor General and Staff.* To report to Audit Committee monthly upon Chamberlain's accounts.	To overlook audit, and to settle times and method in which audit must be made. To report monthly to Supreme Council.	To appoint Auditor-General. Receive monthly Audits.
14. SPECIAL PURPOSES.	15		To consider Standing Orders, and recommend same to Supreme Council. To consider other questions referred to them. To report whenever necessary.	To receive Report of Committee, and to dissolve it when no reference is before it.

The aggregate number of members in the fourteen Committees is thus 367, and if each Committee met monthly, there would be a total number of possible Committee attendances of 4,404. If we add to this a total Supreme Council attendance upon the fifty days of its meetings in the year at 12,000, we have an aggregate possibility of attendance of 16,404, which, being equally divided, would give a personal attendance of 68, which is a number well within the capacity of business men. It is, however, not unlikely that, during the first year of the Council, many of the Committees would meet fortnightly, and some oftener, and this in addition to Sub-Committees. The number of Committee attendances being doubled would make the personal average 86, which is some 64 per annum less than that of the Board of Works (see *ante*, 279).

Chapter XXIV.

LONDON IN THE FUTURE.

Consideration of the Position of London under a Municipal Council. — Various Matters of Municipal Government passed in Review.—Improvement in the Condition of the Metropolis.—Character of the Supreme Council and of the future Lord Mayor.—Conclusion.

London under a Supreme Municipal Council ought to be a city worth living in.

It may well be that its narrow streets and its murky atmosphere will still remain. We cannot anticipate with Dr. Richardson* that, with the imposition of a smoke rate, might come the connection of all chimneys with central shafts into which the smoke should be drawn after being passed through a furnace to destroy the free carbon, and that so passing into the air colourless the smoke nuisance should be for ever abated. Neither can we expect that the exertions of any possible Municipal body will succeed in raising our fogs or changing our climate. But short of these blessings there is much that it may very fairly be expected that such a Municipality will do.

The system of drainage, of which London boasts itself so much, is a system containing rather the elements of perfection, than being perfection itself. When every local drain shall be constructed of the proper materials, with the proper fall, and of the right size; when its connection with

* Address before Social Science Congress, 1875.

every house shall be trapped upon the best principle; when the sewer shall be ventilated at a proper height above the ground, and mechanical arrangements made whereby the whole may be regularly flushed at the will of the Chief Engineer, we shall be in a much better position than we are now.

Our supply of drinking water will be drawn from sources free from possibility of contagion. Either we shall tap some mountain stream near its source or utilize the natural reservoir of a Welsh or Cumberland lake, or else we shall draw clear filtered water from the deep strata below the chalk. Our supply of water for public uses, for the watering of streets and of gardens, and the flushing of drains will be drawn from the Thames at the nearest available point. The supply of both kinds of water will be without stint. Its entire cost will be defrayed by the Municipality. Hydrants and fire plugs will be found in every street, and every fire engine will carry the means of turning on the water. The water mains of both supplies will be constantly at high pressure

The water pipes and the gas pipes will be laid in subways down the middle of every street. These subways will be built exactly over the drains, and the drain connection and the gas and water pipe connections with each house will be so constructed that they may be examined or renovated without disturbing the surface of the street. Where an underground rail or tramway passes beneath a street, a subway will pass on each side of it, the extra cost thus incurred having been defrayed by the constructor of the underground road.

Every gas main in London being laid in a subway, the pipes will be constructed on the best principle; will no longer permit of enormous leakage, and will be readily and constantly accessible. The London consumer will be supplied

with twenty-five candle gas, clear from all sulphurous products, at 3*s.* per thousand feet.

The arrangements for putting out fires in the City will be of the most complete kind. The Police Force and the Fire Brigade will work together. In every district will be a number of stations where a police officer may be found day and night. Each of these stations will be connected by telegraph along the street subways, with the head-quarters of the force and with the nearest fire brigade station. Every householder in the district will know, in case of need, the situation of the nearest of such stations.

Public Markets scattered over the whole Metropolitan area will be built by the Municipality, and remaining under Municipal direction will bring wholesome food within the compass of all.

Every road in London will be constructed upon the best principles by workmen skilled in the work, and will be convenient for traffic both in summer and winter.

In the construction of buildings the duty which every citizen owes to the public, will be rigidly enforced. Not merely will the buildings be made of proper strength and of pure and lasting materials, but conditions of internal ventilation and sewerage, conducive to the health of the inhabitants, will be insisted on.

In every district of London, within easy reach of the inhabitants, will be baths and washhouses constructed upon the best principles, and the price charged for the use of which ought simply to cover the cost of maintenance. The washhouses would have mangle-rooms and drying closets, and the baths both hot water and cold.

Every district would likewise have a disinfecting room for the purpose of freeing from contagious matter the clothes of the sick. This would probably be attached to the public washhouse. The use of it and of disinfectants

would be absolutely free to every one. The public mortuary and the disinfecting carriage for the conveyance of the sick would both of them be at the service of the public, also free of charge.

The enormous piles of buildings now used as workhouses would probably serve a different purpose in Municipal London, and the inhabitants be allowed to end their days in the country where out-door work of a light kind might be readily found for them. Every pauper will be registered in the books of the Municipality, and whilst the inhumanity of separating old couples will come to an end, the classification of the poor will be thoroughly carried out.

The sanitary arrangements of the Metropolis will be of the most complete and effective kind. London stands upon one of the healthiest sites of any English town, and the exact progress of disease would be accurately measured at the head-quarters of the Chief Officer of Health, and means adopted to stay its course. Certain diseases would probably cease to exist at all when conditions of ventilation, water supply, and good drainage were rigidly enforced in every district. The inhabitants compelled to live in clean houses, and surrounded by all the elementary conveniences of civilized life, would be found to be themselves raised in the social scale. No underground dwelling would exist in London, and where any trade was noxious in the sense of injuriously affecting life, it would be removed. The physique of the people would improve under the new conditions of life.

Under the direction of an elected Licensing Authority, public opinion brought to bear upon the Supreme Council, would have its effect. A city careful of the health and well-being of its citizens, and recognising in such care the truest economy, would endeavour to remove everything prejudicially affecting it. A man who pours his wages

down his throat, rarely makes a good citizen, and whilst studiously careful to avoid interference with personal liberty, an enlightened civic government would take care that the facilities for demoralization were lessened and those for improvement increased.

In every district of the town would be a public library and reading-room. The admission would be free, and every rate-paying householder would be entitled to borrow books. Public Parks, Commons, and Open Spaces would be carefully tended, and gardens with seats and fountains would be found in nearly every large square in the City. The public cemeteries would be laid out in an attractive form at the cost of the municipality, and the poor would enjoy equal advantages with the rich in the allotment of the ground.

The whole Municipal System would have the advantage of being readily understood by the citizens. Every rate-payer would have a constitutional right to any information with respect to its income, its expenditure, or its detail working; and the public hall attached to the local Municipal offices in each district, would enable the inhabitants to meet for the public discussion of Municipal or public Affairs.

Men of position might be reasonably expected to allow themselves to be put in nomination for civic honours. The number of wealthy men with available leisure time, is probably larger in London than anywhere else in the world, and such men would be found to take their share in the working out of a truly representative Municipal System.

Represented by one single central authority, London would no longer speak in uncertain or divided tones, but its expressed opinion upon any question would carry with it a force to which it has long been a stranger, and the theory which is held on the Continent, as to the position of Lord Mayor, would more nearly approximate the truth. Practically, the mayoralty of the City of London has been a

nursery for the peerage. Many noble families trace back their ancestry to a City tradesman, and in the Municipal London of the future, the precedents of the past will, probably, be followed, if, indeed, titled men do not seek the honour of the civic Chair.

Surely this will be an object worthy of the highest ambition. It will no longer be the reproach of the Capital that her wealthiest sons, that those of her citizens whose names are synonymous with commercial honour, and integrity, and enterprise in every part of the globe, decline to take part in her government.

And when in the future the emblems of the Lord Mayor of London—the sword to destroy his enemies and the cap of maintenance to cover his head in the day of battle—are borne in procession to the Chancellery, they will symbolize an office carrying with it high responsibilities and acknowledged position; and one which must be sought at the hands of the representatives of the grandest civic constituency that the world has ever known.

The improved Municipal conditions just considered, are in no sense chimerical, but are within the easy attainment of Londoners whenever they finally resolve to possess them Under an enlightened despotism they would all have been now within our reach. And when the citizens of the capital awake to an understanding of their present condition, and of the noble possibilities of their future, it cannot be doubted but that this City, upon whose stage have been enacted some of the grandest dramas in history, and whose fame has spread to the ends of the earth, will assume its true position, and become the best governed, as it is now, the most influential of the cities of the world.

THE END.

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